

Labor Omnia Vincit

Report of the Proceedings

of the

Forty-Seventh Annual Convention

of the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



Held at Los Angeles, California

October 3rd to 14th, Inclusive

1927

Published by direction of American Federation of Labor

**EIGHT
HOURS**

8

*Hours for Work
Hours for Rest
Hours for What
We Will*

*"Whether you work by the piece
or work by the day,
Decreasing the Hours
Increases the Pay."*



*This is a Facsimile of the Eight-
Hour Button of the American
Federation of Labor. ♡ It is
Three Colors, Red, White and
Blue.*

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

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WASHINGTON, D. C.
1927

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1928

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Forty-Seventh Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.....	1	103	Paul Dullzell, 45 West 47th Street, New York City.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators, and.....	1	26	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York
		73	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	73	Peter Beisel, 4100 South Broadway, St Louis, Missouri.
		73	Henry Koch, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		109	James C. Shanessy, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		109	Jacob Fischer, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	109	Roe H. Baker, 112 Valencia Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		109	H. C. Wenzel, 418 North Franklin Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.
		109	Leon Worthall, 129 Hammersmith Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	Leo Abernathy, 620 Duquesne Way, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		25	James Cranna, 1608 Willow Street, Portland, Oregon.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	3	50	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		49	H. J. Norton, Alcazar Hotel, San Francisco, California.
		49	Martin Daley, 7621 South Green Street, Chicago, Ill.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	46	John B. Haggerty, A. F. of L. Bldg., 9th and Mass. Ave. N. W., Wash., D. C.
		46	Felix J. Belair, A. F. of L. Bldg., 9th and Mass. Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		46	Augusta J. Frincke, 444 S. Washington Street, Denver, Colorado.
		70	Collis Lovely, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
		70	Frank W. Anderson, 3108 Collom Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	70	John M. Long, 28 Main Street, Brockton, Mass.
		70	Michael E. McFarland, 946 Parker Street, Roxbury, Mass.
		70	Mrs. Mollie E. Weitler, 135 Lyons Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	54	Albert J. Kugler, 156 Grant Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.
		53	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		53	Adam Zusi, 704 South 14th Street, Newark, N. J.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Nc. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, International Union of America.....	6	140	Walter V. Price, 255 Haven Avenue, New York City.
		140	James T. Cavanaugh, 65 Third Street, Highwood, Conn.
		140	William J. Moran, El Paso, Texas.
		139	Edward Shaughnessy, 4927 N. Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		139	James White, 744 Prospect Avenue, New York City.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	2	139	George Jones, 607 Webster Avenue, Room 307, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		25	Frank Kasten, Suite 440, 327 S. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
		25	William Tracy, 237 So. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	4	54	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		53	Edward F. Ryan, 179 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.
		53	John O'Brien, Insurance Center Building, Cleveland, Ohio
		53	George McTague, 1481 Eighth Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International.....	1	5	J. M. McCune, 3126 South Main Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
Building Service Employees' Interna- tional Union.....	2	31	Oscar F. Nelson, 130 N. Wells Street, Room 407, Chicago, Ill.
		31	Jerry Horan, 1404 Lockwood Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	200	Martin F. Ryan, 400 Carmen's Bldg., W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
		200	F. J. Cullum, 38 Milton Street, Stratford, Ont., Canada.
		200	T. P. Hyland, 316 West 9th Street, Horton, Kansas.
		200	E. Wm. Weeks, Pleasant View, Lockerley Green, Near Romsey, Hants, England.
		403	Wm. Hutcheson, 222 East Michigan St., Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	403	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
		403	J. Rex Anderson, P. O. Box 1313, Dallas, Texas.
		403	Wm. Crissman, Box 470, N. S., Pitts- burgh, Pa.
		402	W. C. Franklin, 460 W. Main Street, East Providence, R. I.
		402	Thos. F. Kearney, 229 Martin Street, East Providence, R. I.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	4	402	Wm. Reinke, 1217 Clay Street, Cin- cinnati, Ohio.
		402	Daniel J. Ryan, 12 E. Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		46	I. M. Ornburn, Room 620, 508 S. Dear- born Street, Chicago, Ill.
		46	G. W. Perkins, Care of Chicago Federa- tion of Labor, 623 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		46	William Collins, 11 Appleton Street, Boston, Mass.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	4	45	W. A. Campbell, Room 620, 508 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
		75	Thos. F. Flaherty, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		75	Elden L. Chapman, Postal Clerk, Holly- wood Station, Los Angeles, Calif.
		75	Frank Willis, P. O. Clerk, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		75	Charles Englehardt, P. O. Clerk, Pater- son, N. J.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	2	50	John B. Schulte, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
		50	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.....	2	51	Max Zaritsky, 621 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	51	Max Zuckerman, 1779 Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Draftsmen's Union, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	23	A. B. Doolittle, 5011 10th Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
		16	James Gilboy, 7640 Sangamon St., Chicago, Illinois.
		237	James P. Noonan, 506 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		237	Chas. M. Paulsen, 4919 N. Cuyler Ave. Chicago, Ill.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	237	Edw. J. Evans, Room 1201, 130 N. Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.
		237	Martin T. Joyce, Room 412, Tremont Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		236	T. C. Vickers, 537 Pacific Building, San Francisco, Calif.
		236	Julia O'Connor Parker, 1110 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass.
		34	Frank Feeney, 402 Perry Bldg., 16th and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34	James J. McAndrews, Room 1603 Capitol Bldg., 159 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.
		34	Walter Snow, 700 Wesley Avenue, Oak Park, Ill.
		76	Arthur M. Huddell, 6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	4	76	Dave Evans, 6334 Yale Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		75	Joseph Fay, 4 Fleming Avenue, Newark, N. J.
		75	James Graham, 7541 Clyde Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	2	40	Matthew Woll, 210 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		39	Henry F. Schmal, 3136 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Missouri.
Federal Employes, National Federation of.....	3	67	Luther C. Steward, Labor Bldg., 10 B St. S. W., Washington, D. C.
		67	Gertrude M. McNally, Labor Bldg., 10 B St. S. W., Washington, D. C.
		66	John Fitzgerald, 72 Adelphi Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	1	160	Fred W. Baer, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		30	John F. McNamara, 9 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	3	30	C. L. Shamp, 3615 North 24th Street, Omaha, Nebraska.
		30	Joseph W. Morton, 1748 North Whipple Street, Chicago, Ill.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International.....	2	36	Philip A. Silberstein, 651 Madison St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		36	Pietro Lucchi, 1495 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		95	T. A. Rickert, Room 506, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		95	B. A. Langer, Room 621 Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	95	Frank Doyle, Room 210, 69 Canal Street, Boston, Mass.
		95	A. Adamski, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, New York.
		95	Daisy A. Houck, 621 Bible House, New York City.

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Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	2	400	Morris Sigman, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.
		400	Isidore Nagler, Cloakmakers' Union, 130 East 25th St., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	30	James Maloney, 1006 Colonial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
		30	William Gable, 9811 McNerney St., Home Gardens, Los Angeles, Calif.
		26	William P. Clarke, care, American Bank, Corner Huron and Jefferson Streets, Toledo, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....	2	26	Gus Weltz, R. F. D. No. 2, Cambridge, Ohio.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	6	Thomas J. Maloney, 4163 26th Street, San Francisco, California.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	2	43	Samuel Squibb, 25 School Street, Quincy, Mass.
		42	James Duncan, 25 Gilmore Street, Quincy, Mass.
		39	Michael F. Greene, 418 Bible House, New York City.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	38	Martin Lawlor, 418 Bible House, New York City.
		38	Chas. Cullen, care, 418 Bible House, New York City.
		117	Joseph V. Moreschi, 25 School Street, Quincy, Mass.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	6	117	J. B. Etchison, 116 North Noble Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		117	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		117	Herbert Rivers, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
		116	James Taughran, Room 201 Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Calif.
		116	Peter Fosco, 850 S. Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		80	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Ave., Buffalo, New York.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	80	Jere L. Sullivan, Room 610, 528-30 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		80	Thos. S. Farrell, The Davis Farley Co., Davis and Farley Bldg., Cleveland, O.
		79	Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.
		79	Conrad Schott, 14 South 6th Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	1	99	M. F. Tighe, 500 South Main Street, W. E. Pittsburgh, Pa.
		44	John H. Bell, Lathers, Bldg., 2605 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	4	44	William J. McOrley, 500 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		44	Charles J. Case, 917 Main Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		43	George Moore, 2510 North Harding Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Laundry Workers' International Union.....	2	28	James F. Brock, 817 Second Avenue, Troy, New York.
		27	Harry Dubecker, 1220 S. Street, Sacramento, California.
		80	Edward J. Gainor, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		80	M. T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	80	Charles D. Duffy, Main Post Office, Chicago, Ill.
		80	John T. Mugavin, Provident Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		80	Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.

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Letters Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	1	6	Robert Askew, 829 Jefferson Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	28 27	Philip Bock, 499 Chestnut Street, Brooklyn, New York. Arthur J. Millard, 20 Naylor Street, San Francisco, Calif.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	2	174 173	Joseph P. Ryan, 164 11th Ave., New York, N. Y. J. C. Bjorklund, 4007 South Park Ave., Tacoma, Wash.
		121	A. O. Wharton, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
		121	Chas. W. Fry, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		121	L. V. Hart, Room 304, Columbia Securities Building, Delaware and Ohio Streets, Indianapolis, Ind.
Machinists, International Association of.....	6	120	Chas. F. Wills, 6019 South Maplewood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		120	R. A. Henning, 2395 University Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota.
		120	Dan Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		71	F. H. Fljozdal, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of.....	4	70 70	E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. F. M. Sullik, Box 103, Ames, Iowa. A. F. Stout, 466 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers, and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of.....	2	25 24	Stephen C. Hogan, 406 East 149th Street, New York City. James P. McCrane, 422 East 143rd Street, New York City.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	1	31 39	Horace F. Strother, 2022 Oakland Avenue, Piedmont, Calif. Patrick E. Gorman, Room 604 Burnham Bldg., 160 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	3	39 39	Dennis Lane, Room 604, 160 North La Salle St., Chicago, Ill. M. J. Kelly, 116 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		63	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Metal Workers, International Association, Sheet.....	4	63 62	Thomas Redding, 4941 West End Ave., Chicago, Ill. Richard Pattison, 162 East 23rd Street, New York, N. Y.
		62	Wm. J. Rooney, 1533 North Long Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	2	20 20	Homer Whitmore, 904 9th Ave., South, Great Falls, Mont. John McMullen, 514 South Montana St., Butte, Montana.
		500	Thomas Kennedy, 1107 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		500	William Green, A. F. of L., Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		500	Walter Nesbit, Mine Workers' Bldg., Springfield, Illinois.
		500	Lee Hall, 77 Ruggery Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	500 500 500 500	C. J. Golden, Dime Bank Building, Shamokin, Pennsylvania. Rinaldo Cappellini, 512 Miller Building, Scranton, Pa. Frank Hughes, 408 Columbia Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. George W. Lewis, 1142 West Lawrence Avenue, Springfield, Ill.

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Molders' Union of North America, International.....	4	67 66 66 66 134 134 133	M. J. Keough, P. O. Box, 699, Cincinnati, Ohio. William Huplits, 2054 E. Orleans St., Philadelphia, Pa. Patrick McCarthy, 119 S. Throop Street, Chicago, Illinois. Robert T. McCoy, P. O. Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio. Joseph N. Weber, 1440 Broadway, New York City. Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa. Edward Canavan, Care, Local 802, A. F. of M., 958 Eighth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	133 133 133	John W. Parks, 2009½ Main Street, Dallas, Texas. Charles L. Bagley, 403 California Bldg., Los Angeles, California. Wm. J. Kerngood, 239-241 Halsey Street, Newark, N. J.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	1	10 189 188 188	Harvey C. Fremming, City Hall Annex, Long Beach, Calif. George F. Hedrick, Painters and Decorators Bldg., Lafayette, Ind. Clarence E. Swick, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Ind. Christian M. Madsen, 1330 N. Kedsie Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	188 188 188 188	John J. Doyle, 54 Norwalk Avenue, Buffalo, New York. John J. Riley, 106 Federal Street, N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa. James Meehan, 54 Olive Street, Lawrence, Mass. William R. Smith, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, New York.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	20 20	Frank P. Barry, 25 South Hawk Street, Albany, N. Y.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	2	35 35	James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. R. H. Koch, 28 W. Chippewa Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	20	Edward I. Hannah, 336 East 59th Street, New York City.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	24 78 78 78 78 90 90 90 90	Frank A. Peterson, Lock Box 130, Rockport, Mass. Edw. J. McGivern, 17 Robbins Road, Arlington Heights, Mass. John Donlin, 5145 West 22nd Street, Cicero, Illinois. Henry Biehl, 4718 N. Avers Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. M. J. McDonough, 944 39th Street, Oakland, California. Henry Huebner, 3550 N. 17th Street, Flushing, New York. John Coefield, 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. Thomas E. Burke, 1138 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	5	90 90 90 90 90	Charles Anderson, 1901 5th Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. Chas. M. Rau, 408 S. Leavitt Street, Chicago, Ill. William Fallon, 129 Bidwell Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5		

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Polishers, Metal, International Union.....	2	30	W. W. Britton, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	1	30	Ray Kelsay, 1308 Olney Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Printers' and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	72	John McGillivray, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	12	Thomas A. McQuade, 1130 Montello Avenue N. E., Washington, D. C.
		80	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
		80	Clayton A. Pense, 300 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.
		80	James T. Tracy, Room 206, 538 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
		80	M. O. Van De Water, 302 Stowe Terrace, Los Angeles Calif.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	2	80	Cal. J. Doggett, 538 Maple Avenue, Room 208 Los Angeles, Calif.
		25	John P. Burke, P. O. Drawer V, Fort Edward, New York.
		25	Maurice La Belle, 168 Arlington Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	30	Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vermont.
		203	Wm. B. Fitzgerald, 260 Vernor Highway, East, Detroit, Michigan.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5	203	L. D. Bland, 332-334 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		202	P. J. Shea, 101 S. Irving Ave., Scranton, Pa.
		202	Gus Anderson, 504 Labor Temple, Fourth and Jefferson Sts., Portland, Oregon.
		202	William Wepner, 212 Ordway Building, 207 Market Street, Newark, New Jersey.
		97	W. M. Collins, 506-508 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railway Mail Association.....	2	97	H. W. Strickland, 506-508 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition.....	2	20	J. M. Gavlak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
		20	Fred Gausman, 4015 N. Ridgway Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	3	50	Andrew Furuseth, 409-410 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		50	Victor A. Olander, 623 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		50	Paul Scharrenberg, 525 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad.....	3	27	D. W. Helt, 4750-54 North Kimball Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		27	C. J. Hayes, 1523 Winstanley Avenue, East St. Louis, Ill.
		26	W. E. Raynes, 1411 Fruitvale Avenue, Oakland, Calif.
		58	William F. Canavan, Suite 1352, 1440 Broadway, New York City.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	58	Henry C. Griffin, 1315 Lafayette Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
		58	P. J. Ryan, P. O. Box 1333, Montreal, Que., Canada.
		57	Thomas Maloy, 500 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Illinois.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	37	Winfield T. Keegan, 78 Lincoln Street, Jersey City, N. J.
		36	Chas. A. Sumner, 3110 Olive Street, Kansas City, Missouri.

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Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	29	M. W. Mitchell, 324 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Indiana.
Stove Mounters' International Union....	1	29	P. J. Cullen, 179 West Washington Street, Room 506, Chicago, Illinois.
Switchmen's Union of North America....	3	16	Frank Grimshaw, 6466 East Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Michigan.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	2	30	T. C. Cashen, 3 Linwood, Buffalo, N. Y.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	30	James B. Connors, 5441 S. Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	29	J. M. Perry, 1299 Edmund Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	39	C. N. Bolander, 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....	1	38	Gust Soderberg, 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Textile Workers of America, United....	2	35	Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, Room 512, 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	145	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	144	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Typographical Union, International....	6	144	Thomas Farrell, 217 West Twelfth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	1	144	John McLaughlin, 536 Bryant St., San Francisco, Calif.
Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United.....	1	144	Edward McCaffrey, 208 West 14th Street, New York City.
Building Trades Department.....	1	144	John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		70	E. J. Manion, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
		70	D. G. Ramsey, Suite 1125, Chicago, Temple, Chicago, Ill.
		70	H. B. Perham, 1378 Montclair Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		70	E. I. Davidson, Center City, Minnesota.
		70	H. J. Gibbs, Yantic, Connecticut.
		30	Wesley Russell, care, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		150	Thomas F. McMahon, 603-609 Bible House, New York City.
		150	Sara A. Conboy, 603-609 Bible House, New York City.
		14	E. Lewis Evans, 50-53 Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Ky.
		40	John J. Collins, 246 East 116th Street, New York City.
		125	Charles P. Howard, 2820 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		125	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		125	Max S. Hayes, 2829 Coventry Road, Shaker Heights, Cleveland, Ohio.
		125	John C. Harding, 110 North Pine Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		125	William R. Trotter, 929 Eleventh Avenue, East, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.
		124	William J. Robinson, 969 Trinity Avenue, Bronx, New York City.
		102	William Kohn, 230 East 58th Street, New York City.
		6	Chas. A. Alexander, 212 13th Street, Hoboken, New Jersey.
		1	Wm. J. Spencer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Metal Trades Department.....	1		James O'Connell, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor....	1	1	E. J. Harris, P. O. Box 173, Montgomery, Alabama.
Arizona State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Henry S. McCluskey, Capital Building, Phoenix, Arizona.
California State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Daniel C. Murphy, 90 Justin Drive, San Francisco, Calif.
Colorado State Federation of Labor....	1	1	John E. Gross, 323 American National Bank Bldg., Denver, Colorado.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. M. Atkins, 453 10th Avenue, South, St. Petersburg, Florida.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. W. Cunningham, 316 Sinclair Avenue N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John H. Walker, 728 Illinois Mine Workers Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. N. Taylor, 2421 South 7th St., Terre Haute, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. C. Lewis, 609½ Mulberry St., Des Moines, Iowa.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor....	1	1	William E. Hulsbeck, 1721 Race St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Ernest H. Zwally, 1348 Jackson St., Shreveport, Louisiana.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. A. Johnson, 142 Berkley St., Boston, Massachusetts.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor....	1	1	E. G. Hall, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Missouri State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Wm. M. Brandt, 615 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Stephen Ely, Room 27, Montana Bldg., Helena, Montana.
Nevada State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Townshend, 24 West Douglas Ave., Reno, Nevada.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Hugh Reilly, 41 Franklin Street, Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor....	1	1	John Sullivan, 2268 Hampden Place, Bronx, New York City.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, 321 Atlas Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Joe C. Campbell, 519½ West Main Street, Room 12, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph Reed, 302 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Mates, Williamstown, Pennsylvania.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. T. Roberts, Labor Temple, Dallas, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Walter H. Stroud, 1047 Ann St., Portsmouth, Virginia.
Washington State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Walter Bennett, 1620 Fourth Ave., Seattle, Washington.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James L. Studdard, Box 1197, Fairmont, West Virginia.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, 909 Richardson Court, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades....	1	1	Mary Barker, 685 Myrtle St. N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Stephen G. Kelly, Municipal Bldg., New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	Lewis Bowen, 1304 Williams St., Birmingham, Ala.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Herman Kosta, 185 Hancock St., Cambridge, Mass.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Anton Johannsen, 1402 Winnemac Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Joseph T. Hallowell, Palace Hotel, 6th and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James F. Malley, 1355 Central Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. B. Cain, 16 East Chestnut St., Columbus, Ohio.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. F. Buckland, Box 1016, Denver, Colo.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, 274 Vernor Highway East, Detroit, Mich.
East St. Louis, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	H. H. Barnes, care 305A, Collinsville Avenue, East St. Louis, Ill.
Ely, Nevada, Central Labor Union of White Pines County.....	1	1	Lillie Barbour Clinedinst, Carson City, Nev.
Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. D. Barry, 458 Stafford Ave., Erie, Pa.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	G. W. Starkweather, 623 Buckham St., Flint, Mich.
Fort Wayne, Ind., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Adolph J. Fritz, 605 Peoples Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Fort Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly.....	1	1	James J. Farrell, Fort Worth, Texas.
Fresno, Calif., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Glen M. De Vore, Holland Bldg., Fresno, California.
Glendale, Calif., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John K. Sands, 1344 North Maryland Ave., Glendale, Calif.
Hamilton, Ontario, Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. A. O'Dell, 20 Rutherford Ave., Hamilton, Ont., Can.
Houston, Texas, Labor and Trades Council.....	1	1	George A. Wilson, 513 San Jacinto St., Houston, Texas.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Tony Augustino, Labor Temple, Joliet, Ill.
Kansas City, Kansas, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Mrs. M. J. McSpadden, 701 Stewart Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John T. Smith, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Klamath Falls, Oreg., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Archie F. Rice, 245 S. Riverside St., Klamath Falls, Oreg.
Lakeland, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Thomas Contrner, 204 W. Cannon St., Lakeland, Fla.
Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harry Halton, 924 Washington Ave., Alton, Ill.
Little Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	William Denison, 236 E. Main St., care, Tim Murphy, Little Falls, N. Y.
Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Jos. C. Coulter, Box 327, Long Beach, Calif.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. W. Buzzell, 540 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred J. Dempsey, Box 43, Lynn, Mass.
Mount Vernon, Wash., Tri-City Central Labor Council.....	1	1	H. W. Lindlow, Sedro-Wooley, Washington.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Napa, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Mrs. Elma F. Smith, 1423 Lincoln Ave., Napa, Calif.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Peter J. Brady, Federation Bank of New York, 34th and 8th Ave., New York City.
Oakland, Calif., Central Labor Council of Alameda Co.....	1	1	Ben F. Bowbeer, 1030 Franklin Street, Oakland, Calif.
Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	T. P. Holcraft, 314 E. 6th Ave., Olympia, Wash.
Orange Co., California, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Robert M. Conkey, 1278 Whiting St., Fullerton, Calif.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 166 Clemow Ave., Ottawa, Ont., Can.
Pasadena, Calif., Board of Labor.....	1	1	Harry A. Huff, 191 North Raymond Ave., Pasadena, Calif.
Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Harry Wickert, 225 N. Adams St., Peoria, Ill.
Phoenix, Ariz., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	C. T. Francis, 209 North Eighth Street, Phoenix, Ariz.
Portland, Orego., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	N. E. Williams, Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.
Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	B. H. Crowell, South Eliot, Maine.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. Edwards, 128 East 28th Street, New York City.
Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	W. H. Young, State Office Bldg., Colfax and Sherman St., Denver, Colo.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 105 North 6th St., Reading, Pa.
Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. B. Clinedinst, 212 North Virginia St., Reno, Nev.
Richmond, Calif., Contra Costa Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. R. Tosh, 5823 Occidental St., Oakland, Calif.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Patrick H. Reagan, 62 State St., Rochester, N. Y.
Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Arthur Ferguson, Labor Temple, Sacramento, Calif.
San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	C. O. Whitlock, 941'G St., San Bernardino, Calif.
San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Charles F. Brummett, 621 Sixth St., San Diego, Calif.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	George K. Kennard, 1854 E. 92d St., St. Joseph, Mo.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	George R. Patterson, Rm. 856, Planters Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Ferguson, 348 Winfield St., San Francisco, Calif.
San Juan, P. R., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Rafael Alonzo Torres, Box 270, San Juan, P. R.
San Pedro, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Harry Ohlson, Box 66, San Pedro, Calif.
Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. C. Hopkins, 111 West Haley, St. Santa Barbara, Calif.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	William McGuern, 2915 E. Cherry St., Seattle, Wash.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	R. R. Roland, 920 Olive St., Shreveport, La.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	F. E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ So. 6th St., Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	R. T. Wood, 1530 North Douglas St., Springfield, Mo.
Stockton, Calif., Central Labor Council, of San Joaquin Co.....	1	1	George Dean, 1415 East Oak St., Stockton, Calif.
Tiffin, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. H. Trimmer, 77 South Washington St., Tiffin, Ohio.
Topeka, Kans., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Christian V. Hope, 823 Kansas Ave., Topeka, Kans.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council.....	1	1	William Covert, Labor Temple, Toronto, Ont., Can.
Utica, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	B. Schiro, 1004 Mohawk St., Utica, N. Y.
Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	L. B. Leavitt, 927 Tennessee St., Vallejo, Calif.
Vancouver, B. C., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Tom Cory, 803 Holden Building, Vancouver, B. C., Can.
Ventura, Calif., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Maurice Daly, 234 Simpson St., Ventura, Calif.
Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James W. Fitzpatrick, 13 Wall Street, Waterbury, Conn.
Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Harry Norrington, 1554 Marshall St. Bewood, Wheeling, W. Va.
Automobile Wreckers' Union No. 17915, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	David Ostran, 1804 South Kedzie Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Bank Clerks' Union No. 17906, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	J. B. Miller, Peoples National Bank Bldg., 409 South Hill St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Union, No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.....	1	17	Ben A. Albert, 629 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Cleaners, Dyers and Presser Union, No. 17960, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	I. Goldberg, 1095 Market St., Room 612, San Francisco, Calif.
Cleaners and Dyers' Union (Retail), No. 17792, Chicago, Ill.....	1	7	Samuel Ruben, 629 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers No. 17954, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	Albert J. Bock, Room 208, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Calif.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Union, No. 17965, Long Beach, Calif.....	1	1	Leonard Graham, Room 215, Mission Theatre Bldg., Long Beach, Calif.
Federal Labor Union No. 17873, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Charles I. Kleinman, 11 West Eighteenth Street, New York City.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.....	1	1	Ben F. Oglesby, 616 Garfield St., Kansas City, Kansas.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Albert C. Campbell, 347 Cleveland Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
Miscellaneous Foremen and Inspectors of Public Works' Union No. 17894, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	John R. Taylor, 5901 Crocker St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Washington.....	1	1	Ely Caston, 155 23d Ave., Seattle, Wash.

DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Newswriters' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Michael Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Mass.
Post Office Laborers' Union No. 17899, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	Walter C. Gayhart, Box 1602, Los Angeles, Calif.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17701, Oklahoma City, Okla.....	1	1	Edna Campbell, 1814 Linwood St., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	1	William C. Elliott, Post Office Box 811, Cincinnati, Ohio.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	Arthur Pugh, 76-78 Swinton Street, London, W. C. 1., England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	W. Sherwood, 28 Travistock Square, London, W. C. 1., England.
Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary....	2	1	Alfred Farmilo, 12010 95th Street, Edmonton, Alberta, Can.
		1	Mrs. Anna B. Fitzgerald, 5436 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		1	Mrs. Ethel Holmes, 5436 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Number of Unions	NAME	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
92	National and International.....	266	27,755
4	Departments.....	4	4
28	State Bodies.....	28	28
72	Central Labor Unions.....	72	72
16	Trade and Federal Unions.....	16	38
4	Fraternal Organizations.....	6	3
216		394	27,900

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers. 1911 James Duncan. 1913 George W. Perkins.
*1915. *1917.

To British Trades Union Congress

1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire. J. W. Sullivan.	1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson. John T. Dempsey.	1917 { John Golden. James Lord. J. A. Franklin.
1896 { Adolph Strasser. Marlin Fox.	1907 { W. E. Klapetzky. Andrew Furuseth.	1918 { Wm. J. Bowen. Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1897 { Geo. E. McNeill. James Duncan.	1908 { James J. Creamer. John P. Frey.	1919 { John J. Hynes. Timothy Healy.
1898 { Harry Lloyd. James O'Connell.	1909 { B. A. Larger. W. B. Wilson.	1920 { Mrs. Sarah Conboy. Wm. J. Spencer.
1899 { Thomas F. Tracy J. M. Hunter.	1910 { T. V. O'Connor. Wm. B. Macfarlane.	1921 { James J. Forrester. Benjamin Schlesinger.
1900 { Sidney J. Kent. Daniel J. Keefe.	1911 { Daniel J. Tobin. George L. Berry.	1922 { E. J. McGivern. Peter Shaughnessy.
1901 { Eugene F. O'Rourke. Patrick Dolan.	1912 { John H. Walker. Chas. L. Baine.	1923 { Anthony J. Chlopek. Peter J. Brady.
1902 { Henry Blackmore. Max S. Hayes.	1913 { Louis Kemper. W. D. Mahon.	1924 { Edward J. Gaihor. A. Adamski.
1903 { Martin Lawlor. W. D. Ryan.	*1914 { Matthew Woll. W. D. Mahon.	1925 { Edw. J. Evans. †Frank Farrington.
1904 { D. D. Driscoll. John A. Moffitt.	***1915 { Matthew Woll. W. D. Mahon.	1926 { Wm. L. Hutcheson. John Coffield.
1905 { James Wood.	1916 { Matthew Woll.	1927 { Michael Casey.

From British Trades Union Congress.

1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.	1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	***1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield
1895 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield
1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Sklamer.	J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.
1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1920 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker.
1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.	1910 { W. Brace. Ben. Turner.	1921 { E. L. Poulton. H. Smith.
1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinlon.	1922 { R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson.
1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smille.	1923 { O. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales.
1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1924 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell.
1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	**1914 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1925 { J. Bromley. G. Hicks.
1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.	1915 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.	1926 { Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood.
1904 { William Abraham. James Wignall.	1916 { John Hill.	
1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1917 { Arthur Hayday.	

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1908 Hugh Frayne.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1909 Jerome Jones.	1919 Sam Griggs.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1910 John J. Manning.	1920 W. G. Shea.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1921 John O'Hara.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1912 John T. Smith.	1922 William E. Eulsbeck.
1903 John Coleman.	1913 Wm. J. McCoskey.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.
1904 John H. Richards.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1924 Walter W. Britton.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1925 James Duncan.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1926 James B. Connors.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 David A. Carey.	1908 P. M. Draper.	1918 Thos. Moore.
1899 David A. Carey.	1909 F. Bancroft.	1919 J. M. Walsh.
1900 David A. Carey.	1910 E. P. Pettipiece.	1920 J. A. McClellan.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1911 Wm. Gloeckling.	1921 U. M. F. Bush.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1922 Ernest Robinson.
1903 James Simpson.	1913 Gus Franco.	1923 James A. Sullivan.
1904 John A. Flett.	1914 R. A. Riggs.	1924 John Colbert.
1905 William V. Todd.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1925 Donald Dear.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Gutierrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
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*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

†Did not attend.

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 5-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio.	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Michigan.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, California.	October 3-14.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1928

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1.—The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution

can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

Sec. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

Sec. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

Sec. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No resolutions shall be introduced by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions, having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage worker: who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies and State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union.

No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, Eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations; and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name

of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be

\$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be

set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or international organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body, shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (\$7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work

while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor

Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or central body or state branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body, or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the unions or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation

of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come

under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

Forty-Seventh Annual Convention OF THE American Federation of Labor 1927

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day—Monday Morning Session

Los Angeles, Cal.,
October 3, 1927.

McCarthy, who will deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

(By the Right Rev. Magr. McCarthy)

We beseech Thee, oh Almighty Eternal Father, God of mercy, of love, peace and prosperity, to graciously look down upon Thy children assembled here this morning in the interests of labor, the great cause so dear to the hearts of all, to deliberate upon what is best for them and most conducive to their success and happiness, conforming in all things to Thy holy and divine will.

Direct their actions, therefore, and carry them out by Thy gracious assistance, that every prayer and work of theirs may always begin through Thee and by Thee be happily ended through Christ our Lord, Thy Divine Son, our Blessed Saviour, Who, by His actions during life, through His association with St. Joseph, the Carpenter, in their humble home at Nazareth, dignified labor in every sense of the word, taught us how to pray, and directed us.

We pray Thee, therefore, oh Eternal Father, Creator of heaven and earth, in the words of Thy Beloved Son, to hear us and bless us this morning.

Our Father, Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy Name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

Pursuant to law, the forty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10:20 o'clock a. m. in the Cinderella Roof ballroom, by Collins Hardin, general chairman of the local arrangements committee.

Previous to the opening of the convention and between the addresses of welcome, an orchestra composed entirely of members of Local Union No. 47, American Federation of Musicians, entertained the delegates and visitors. The national anthem was played after the officers and invited speakers had reached the platform.

Chairman Hardin

Ladies and gentlemen, delegates and guests to the forty-seventh convention of the American Federation of Labor, distinguished visitors, and President Green: Organized labor of Los Angeles is honored more than we can say by your presence in our city as guests of the local movement, and on this, the opening day of what we hope will be the greatest convention in the history of the Federation, we bid you welcome and say to you that we are proud to be your hosts.

The people of Los Angeles have been particularly kind in their assistance to our local committee in making arrangements for this convention.

At this time I shall call upon a representative of the Roman Catholic Church, the Right Reverend Monsignor

Chairman Hardin: This splendid orchestra which has been playing for you this morning is a Los Angeles product, and all its members are members of Local Union 47, American Federation of Musicians, under the direction of Brother Arthur Kay.

In Los Angeles our movement functions through the Central Labor Council, which has established great prestige for organized labor in this community, and at this time I take pleasure in presenting to you the president of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, A. W. Hoch.

**ADDRESS BY MR. A. W. HOCH
(President, Los Angeles Central Labor Council)**

Mr. Chairman, President Green, delegates to this great Federation of Labor convention, and ladies and gentlemen—On behalf of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council I greet you and bid you a hearty welcome. It is indeed a privilege and a pleasure to have this great assembly of representatives of the organized workers with us, under the leadership of President Green. There is a profound interest that always attaches itself to an occasion of this kind. A convention, whether national or state, is a mile post which indicates the progress of labor. It is there we review the past, with the hope of laying plans to bring about benefits whereby all of our great movement may enjoy them.

The decisions of this great convention will be noted by millions of people, and it therefore behooves you delegates to use great deliberation, to bring about a closer relationship between the various international and national unions, and to bring about a greater prosperity for the workers of this great country.

In this altruistic work I know there are some who do not agree with the things that we do. They are not members of organized labor, but you ladies and gentlemen of this great convention know that the work of the international, as well as the local unions, stands for all that is best—better working conditions, better civilization, better homes and firesides, better citizenship, and the greatest good for the greatest number. Here each craft may bring its own problems for a general discussion.

One of the bugaboos of Southern California is the American plan, or open shop. There is no need for me to tell you of this plan, yet certain interests are spending thousands of dollars in order to force American citizens and workers to seek employment under this plan. Mushroom organizations have sprung up from time to time, but the hosts of labor are going on and on to its ideals.

We have planned an entertainment which I hope that each one of you will enjoy, and that it will leave a

pleasant remembrance with you when you go back to your home, that you will think well of us and try to be back with us again soon. Our local committee has made every arrangement possible for the comfort and convenience of you delegates and has also made some arrangements to expedite the transaction of the business of this convention, so that it will go down in labor's history as an epoch in labor's progress.

In conclusion, if the familiarity of welcome was unuttered by human voices, California's flowers and sunshine would proclaim "welcome" in as profuse an accent as could be extended to such a great body of men and women.

Chairman Hardin introduced Mr. John F. Dalton, president of the California State Federation of Labor.

**ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN F. DALTON
(President, California State Federation of Labor)**

Mr. Chairman, his excellency, the Governor of this State, members of the Executive Council, delegates and friends—It is indeed a great pleasure to be permitted, on behalf of the California State Federation of Labor, to extend to you a sincere welcome to the State of California and to the city of Los Angeles. We welcome you to our business and industrial districts, teeming with life and animation. We welcome you to our residential districts, with their pretty bungalows, their massive apartments and palatial dwellings. We welcome you to our beaches, washed by the waters of the silent, calm and peaceful Pacific. We welcome you to our quiet woodlands and beautiful valleys, adorned by nature's greenery and rippling streams, on our north, to the south, and hidden behind the silent mountain sentinels which look down from the east upon our city. We who love California welcome you to California.

This great American Federation of Labor, which has brought to our city delegates from every state in the Union, from our sister Republic on the south, from the Dominion of Canada on the north, and from countries across the seas, surely must also love California, since this is the third time you have accepted our invitation to be our guests. And may I say to you at this time, on behalf of organized labor of California, that there is always a sincere welcome awaiting you in our happy land, which many writers, poets and travelers have said is the nearest approach to Paradise that may be found any place in this whole world.

There are only three States in which you have convened more often, and these are three of the leading industrial states of the Union—Pennsylvania, where this Federation had its inception in 1881 and in which com-

monwealth you have convened four times, and four times in Ohio and a like number of times in New York state. So we of California feel that to have you cross this great continent three different times in order to be with us is a great honor indeed. We welcome you to California.

We know that your stay here will be a pleasant one. We are equally certain that, as a result of your deliberations, the wide world over will benefit, because we realize that in the heart of each delegate here assembled there is a sincere desire to serve your kind, my kind, and all mankind, regardless of race or creed.

Therefore, brothers and sisters of the trade union movement of North America and of the entire world, I deem it a great honor and privilege to be permitted, on behalf of more than one hundred thousand members of the California State Federation of Labor, to extend to you a sincere, hearty, whole-souled welcome to the city of Los Angeles and to the State of California.

Chairman Hardin: The city government of Los Angeles, and particularly the city council, has been very kind to our local movement in helping to arrange for this convention. Our chief executive, the mayor, who was to address this meeting this morning, finds it impossible to get here, so he has sent a special representative, the president of our city council and acting mayor, William G. Bonnell.

ADDRESS BY MR. WILLIAM G. BONNELLI

(President, Los Angeles City Council, and representing the Mayor of Los Angeles)

Mr. Chairman, esteemed officials, distinguished guests, and friends—President Dalton has told you that the American Federation of Labor has met in California three times. This is your first appearance in Los Angeles. I can assure you it is a particular pleasure to me to be the first representative of the city of Los Angeles to ever welcome your membership. It is a pleasure for several reasons—first of all, the American Federation of Labor has been almost alone in a number of its fights for the well-being of our fellow men; it has in times of stress helped to maintain some of our most desirable American institutions. As an official, it is a pleasure to welcome such an organization. It is a pleasure to me personally to welcome such an organization, for I know a number among the membership, they are personal friends.

Since I know that about ninety per cent of you are from elsewhere or from out of the State of California and may know little of our state and our city, I want to suggest a thing or two about the city of Los Angeles. No doubt a number of you have heard

that the moving picture industry has made us what we are today, or that our climate has been the sole making of the city of Los Angeles, or that the tourists have been the making of our city. First of all, as to the climate, it has been here for a long time, longer than the lives of you or me.

Climate alone never made any city. As to the moving picture industry or any other single or particular industry, that alone has not made Los Angeles or any other city. Los Angeles has been made by the work and the labor and the energy and the ability of the men and women who make it up. It was that in the past, it is coming to be more and more that in the future, for while we are favored with a beneficent climate, it is beneficent only when it is put to real utility, it is beneficent to industry, for it gives more comfortable and more favorable conditions under which to employ capital. It is favorable to labor in that it gives him or her better conditions under which to work, a more uniform run through the year, a happier environment within which to give service.

We are a city which has doubled in size in the last six years. We are building more and more permanently, for we are bringing here more and more industries. Goodrich, Firestone, and one after another of the big industries are moving into Southern California. They are able to move here because of a number of favorable conditions. They are able to prosper here as labor prospers here. We hope we are building for the betterment of our city, for the betterment of industry, and for the betterment of labor.

I make these remarks so that you will have no misapprehension as to the conditions in our Southland for the betterment of labor. Labor is not much different here than anywhere else, but the conditions under which it thrives and communities grow and develop are a little different here than elsewhere. We hope they are more favorable for you and for us.

It is a pleasure to welcome you here. I am sure, as the chairman has suggested, we have done what little we could to insure your happiness and comfort while you are here, and I can assure you we are with you in your laudable ideals.

Chairman Hardin: In the American Legion organized labor has found many friends. One of those who has been outspoken in his admiration and friendship for our movement and has risen high in public esteem and for whom his friends predict a great future has honored us with his presence this morning, and I have pleasure in presenting to you the Lieutenant-Governor of the State of California, the Honorable Burton Fitts.

ADDRESS BY HON. BURON FITTS
(Lieutenant-Governor, State of California)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen of the convention—I know that I shall but reiterate or shall but echo, as only he can do, the welcome to California by that splendid citizen whom we have as our first executive, Governor C. C. Young. We do, in behalf of the state government of California, extend to you a very cordial, sincere and true welcome to this state, and I say to you very sincerely that I hope when the time comes for your convention to adjourn and you are homeward bound, you will have found as much pleasure, as much comfort and as much happiness in California as we who live here find in your being with us at this convention.

The American Federation of Labor is an organization in the cause of humanity. You came into being by reason of the fact that we are living in a human world, and just so with the average citizen upon the street, when we cease in any government, when we cease in any nation to have a prosperous and contented and happy citizenship, then that nation or that government is in a bad way. And vice versa, ladies and gentlemen, when any government within all civilization and all Christendom ceases to be a human government, then that government will fail.

But aside from the fact that you have contributed so much in all the years gone by to the cause of your fellow men, realizing, as you have and as you do that political achievement is not the index of success, but that after all it is how we stand shoulder to shoulder in finding happiness and prosperity and contentment for our fellow citizens, realizing what you have done and what you have contributed to that cause of humanity, aside from that, if you had not done that there is another great justification today in America for the American Federation of Labor. For, ladies and gentlemen, the real danger to this country today, the real source of concern to the future continuance of this government of ours as a constitutional and representative form of government, is the indifference and the apathy of the American people toward their responsibilities as American citizens.

Our government is not founded upon a few, it is founded upon and will remain in this nation just so long as it is buried deep and represents the whole body of the American people. You have taken an interest in that government, you are taking an interest today and manifesting the responsibilities and the obligations that come with American citizenship by taking a clean, healthy, active interest

in the matters of government, community, state or nation.

And so I say to you, keep it up, this government is worth living for. It is a representative government. Your President of the United States, your Governor, and all of us in matters of government are no more nor less than trustees of the power and authority that you have and that you, as citizens, have vested in us.

I have received, throughout the length and breadth of California, this request—not only in behalf of the state, so far as my end of it goes, but in behalf of another great organization that, too, has made the cause of humanity its cause in California—to extend a very cordial and hearty welcome to your convention. Shortly after the armistice was signed we realized there were men who were armless, men who were legless, and men who were tubercular by reason of their service. The American Legion in California has asked to be represented to you in its welcome this morning. It just so happens that our Department Commander is also attending a convention in Paris, otherwise he would be here to extend a welcome. We have done what we could in these ranks for our fellow men, we have tried to make them a little happier and more contented, those who came home disfigured and disarmed, those who came home physically afflicted by reason of their service.

It just so happens that many of your own membership are outstanding figures in the ranks of the American Legion. Certainly the American Legion, with all of its patriotism and with all of its work in behalf of our fellow men, has never known a truer, finer, cleaner citizen in whom Americans can find just pride than in that splendid representative of organized labor in the American Federation of Labor—our past National Vice-Commander, Mr. George L. Berry of Tennessee, who is with us today.

We are mighty glad you are here in California, and we hope you may go home with a realization that those of us here on the western coast of America, on the western slope of the Rockies, also believe in the cause of humanity, that you may go home with a realization and conviction that there is here a citizenship that believes in a continuance of a representative form of government, a government representing you fairly and honestly and decently within the four corners of this nation of ours.

Chairman Hardin: The Church Federation of this city has always been friendly to organized labor. A representative of this Federation has been fraternal delegate to the Los Angeles Central Labor Council for a number of years, and in the preparations for this convention he has been a part of

the arrangements committee and has contributed to this work in no small part. I take pleasure in introducing to you the secretary of the Los Angeles Church Federation, the Rev. E. P. Ryland.

ADDRESS BY REV. E. P. RYLAND
(Los Angeles Church Federation)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, ladies and gentlemen—I count it a distinguished honor to be permitted to welcome you, in the name of the churches of Los Angeles. A little while ago, when that gracious gentleman, Monsignor McCarthy, was about to lead in prayer, I suggested to him that those of us who were Protestant Christians would beg to have him include us, that we, too, through him, might be praying for the blessing of God on this convention, and then I suggested that when I made a word of welcome he would permit me to include the Catholic churches of the city, so that Catholics and Protestants alike, we are speaking to you as the representatives of the church.

So far as the Christian churches are concerned, I beg leave to remind you that their Founder was one of the workers of the building trades of His time. I have been asked in a most friendly manner on a number of occasions why the churches were cordially giving welcome to the American Federation of Labor Convention, possibly more than to other conventions that come here, and I answered that we welcome all of our fellow men who come to our city representing great groups of the people of America, but when it comes to the American Federation of Labor we have represented that group in which possibly the very Founder of our church would find His home if He were on the earth today, for it would be hard for me, however I may honor the dealers in real estate or the great bankers of our country, or the leaders of the interests of factory, railroad and steamship, to imagine Jesus Christ as being sought else, when He lived among men, but one who did His part of the man-work of the world for the world's common good.

It is a conviction that will not let me go, that the church and the labor movement, when the true purpose of each is discovered, are of one mind in seeking to make life to be more abundant, more worth living, on the part of the multitudes of mankind. However much there may be of failure on the part of each group, the ultimate purpose of both is to make life to be more abundant for the many, through the removal of exploitation, the distributing of the burden of work, the elimination of child labor, the improving of the conditions and shortening the hours of women's work, the opening up of opportunity for recreation

and adequate leisure, the making available to many the privileges of education, and the time to cultivate the high relationship that man bears to God.

The church could wish that there were no class struggle in the world, but that all men were willing frankly and gladly to welcome the fact of brotherhood. Unhappily, there is class distinction and the church cannot close her eyes to that fact. Sometimes it is emphasized and deepened by the labor movement. Sometimes it is emphasized and deepened by the opponents of the labor movement. This is to be regretted. All men are in reality brothers and are dependent, one on the other. Our objective should be the elimination of differences that are artificial and wrong, and the building up of the spirit of human solidarity, of a true brotherhood based on the essentially great value of every human being.

Because you stand for the value of humanity as above the value of things, because you are seeking to make life to be more abundant for all—the very purpose that our Lord Himself declared to be His purpose—because you would destroy gross exploitation and bring in the spirit of mutual service, we who represent the Christ of the Christians—and I dare add the Jehovah of both Jews and Christians—give to you a most heartfelt welcome.

If we can whole-heartedly from time to time welcome to our city the representatives of engineers and physicians, the leaders in the sciences and arts, the conferences of teachers and the representatives of religion, then can we give double welcome to you who represent labor in its truest and broadest sense, on which the very structure of civilization rests and without which our proudest achievements would early fall and decay.

May I presume to repeat an incident that is told by Dr. L. F. Jacks, of London, one of the outstanding men in that little group of forward thinkers in the British Empire? Dr. Jacks said that he has a friend who is a very distinguished surgeon, a man with a world-wide reputation. This great surgeon was looked upon by many as an atheist, and possibly there was some ground for their conviction, but he resented the idea that he was an atheist, and on one occasion when he had been cornered by the words of some of his theological friends he had to defend himself in this way. He said: "Gentlemen, if you would know what my faith is, then come and see me operate." If you would know the faith of any man you need not seek it in his word, seek it in his work. If it be a surgeon or any worker for the human good, and if he do it with the high spirit of service for his fellow men, then he is giving expression to the true nobility of a great faith.

The churches of Los Angeles welcome you. They have invited your representatives to speak in many of their pulpits next Sunday, and we will be seeking even larger opportunity to work with you in the fulfilling of the purpose of Jesus Christ, who said, "I have come that mankind might have life and might have it more abundantly."

Chairman Hardin: California, we believe, is one of the greatest commonwealths in the world. For a number of years it was governed by a friendly state administration. A few years ago a reactionary and unfriendly state administration succeeded in acquiring control of this state. We are happy, though, to say that a year ago, labor of California, aided and backed by the progressive people of our state, overthrew this unfriendly, reactionary administration and elected a governor in whom labor has every confidence.

We are honored with his presence this morning, and I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Governor of the State of California, Honorable C. C. Young.

**ADDRESS BY HON. C. C. YOUNG
(Governor of the State of California)**

Mr. Chairman, President Green, and delegates to this splendid convention in this splendid city, ladies and gentlemen: I have been very busy up there, as you may imagine, trying to attend to my duties as Governor of this State of ours, but if I had been doubly busy the cordial greeting you have shown me here would have been ample repayment for my coming to this city for the express purpose of being with you at this convention.

I presume that during the course of my administration, which has only just commenced, I shall have occasion to welcome a great many national conventions to our state. I think there is no convention that I shall take a more genuine, a more hearty pleasure in welcoming than that which is just before me this morning, and that for a number of reasons.

In the first place, it is an honor to welcome delegates made up from every state in this nation of ours, and I understand that you are representative, in greater or less numbers, of all the states of our Union, as well as of some of our sister nations not of our own country. We are glad to have you here because we want you to get acquainted with our state. As some one has already said, you have been here a number of times, at least I believe, in the city of San Francisco, the last time a dozen years ago. Some of you here today may have been there at that time, and we want you to see the growth of this state and the development during the years which have intervened.

We are glad to welcome you to this wonderful city in the southern portion of the state, a city which, as you have been told, has doubled in population in the last

six or seven years, a growth almost unprecedented anywhere in the world, a city of homes, building more rapidly, perhaps, than any other city of the United States, a city of wonderful industrial enterprises.

Do you know that some twenty-five or thirty years ago there was practically nothing in the way of industry here in this great city of the Southland, and that there are now over three thousand industrial enterprises, and they are coming in with great rapidity? This building of new homes, this establishing of new industrial enterprises means just this, that the city is being made up, not simply of those few wealthy people who come here from the east to spend their time on account of its climate, but it is being built up by the workers of our nation. Therefore, you are coming to a place which is particularly glad to welcome you here.

While I am speaking about that, may I digress for just a moment to tell you something that may be interesting to you, coming as you do from different parts of this nation? There is a matter that the State Federation of Labor has been tremendously interested in for a great many years, and they may possibly call your attention to it at this convention. There is a wonderful country down here, but there is a limit to the development of that country unless it can secure that which any city or any community must secure in order that it may develop and grow. By that I mean an adequate supply of pure water. This city is now getting somewhat toward the limit, it can see the limit of its growth, and that limit of its growth will be the stopping of that industrial growth and the stopping of those things which mean so much to you. Therefore, not only the city of Los Angeles, not only the counties in the southern part of the state, but all the state of California is profoundly interested in that thing which is not to be settled merely by the state, but must be settled nationally—the Boulder Canyon project, which is the one thing which will permit the continued growth and expansion of this city.

We are glad that you can be down here in the south and have an opportunity to look into that problem and go back to your homes and tell what you have seen and heard about it first hand.

We are also glad to welcome you because you are a convention a little different from the ordinary kind of convention, the conventions of various aspects of the business world. You are met here particularly to advance the cause of humanity. I don't suppose we could imagine a more altruistic group, a group which has a higher purpose in the serving of humanity, than that audience which sits before me today. I don't want to tire you, but as I read the history of this country I am profoundly impressed with the wonderful changes that have taken place during the last hundred years, so far as the men and women who toil are concerned. A century isn't very long in the history of the world or in the history

of our country, but do you know that considerably less than one hundred years ago the average work day was twelve to fifteen hours, and that the average pay for that long day was from sixty cents to a dollar, or possibly a trifle more? Children and women everywhere in the mills working for a mere pittance, a few cents a day.

That is all changed, and why has it changed? Very largely because of the advent of organizations such as yours. In the first place we had scattered trade councils, local councils in various places. Then arose the federation of such councils. When I was a boy there existed that interesting and picturesque organization known as the Knights of Labor, and forty-six or forty-seven years ago you were born, and you have grown from nothing at all until now you have pretty nearly three million members scattered over these United States.

Do you know that at that early time, if you had tried to organize in anything like this, you would have been committing a penal offense in many places? But you have shown such fairness, you have so captured the people of Los Angeles, that when you come here you see this city decked with flags to welcome you. There are mighty changes taking place in this country as far as labor is concerned.

However, it is not my place to tell you these things. If you would excuse me I might just say a word or two in regard to things in our own state, which I know more intimately. I went to the legislature in the first place some eighteen years ago. When I went to the legislature there was placed upon my desk a thin little book of somewhat less than sixty pages, and that book contained what were then known as the labor laws of California. At the same time there was placed upon my desk another book, but that book was not quite so small, it had over 860 pages, and that book was known as the corporation laws of California.

Ladies and gentlemen, please don't misunderstand me—I am not in any degree a corporation biter, and I would not want to be construed as one. I believe capital has a right to organize, and I believe every advantage should be given to it, as long as they do not insist that the rights of the dollar mark shall transcend human rights.

That year we passed in California what was known as our first direct primary law. It was not a very good primary law as it was first passed, but it sufficed to elect to our state government a progressive governor and legislature. In 1911 we had our first session under that new regime. Previously to 1909, when I first went to Sacramento—and I counted them up, I know whereof I speak—there had been just thirty-nine labor laws enacted in the previous thirty-seven years. That first year of this new regime in 1911 there were thirty-nine labor laws enacted. I wish I had time to tell you what some of those laws are.

You have seen similar laws enacted in your various states. There was a women's eight hour law, the insistence that women should not be allowed, everything considered, to labor at a time beyond her strength. There was the workmen's compensation law, a law which is in effect now in forty-three of the forty-eight states, a law which we were told when we tried to enact it that it would absolutely ruin all industry, but a law which has so gained the public confidence and the confidence of the employer as well as the employee, that no one would have the hardihood to try to wipe it off the statute books or modify it in any essential particular.

At the next session we enacted still more, and so on from that time until this. This year you put upon the statute books thirty-five laws. You handed them down to me as governor. I signed those laws. I want no credit for doing it, I did it simply because they were good laws, and I ought to have been ashamed of myself if I hadn't signed them.

These are some of the things that have happened in this state of ours. Owing to the fact that we have had at the head of the labor organizations in this state such men as you in your national organization have had in your lamented President Gompers, and now in President Green and all the rest of them, men of vision, the people of this state have gained confidence in them. They know that you, stronger than any other force in this nation, are the enemies of anything that approaches radicalism, and that being true they depend upon you to carry this banner forward that you have already carried forward so splendidly during all these years. They hope and trust that as time goes on the chasm of the gap which bridges capital on the one hand and labor on the other will become closer and closer and be bridged better and better, because they know that you realize, as well as the employer of labor realizes, that each is necessary to the other and that with fairness, tolerance and respect, each to the other, there is no limit to what may be the prosperity of this nation of ours.

And so, my friends, we are glad to have you with us, we hope that you may visit the various portions of this state of ours; we hope you will like it, and we want to say to each one of you, we don't ask you to leave your own state, but if you do leave, don't go to any other state—come out here to California.

(The address of the Governor was applauded for some time.)

Chairman Hardin introduced Mr. Harvey E. Garman, chairman of the Entertainment Committee and editor of the Los Angeles Citizen.

ADDRESS BY MR. HARVEY E. GARMAN
(Chairman, Entertainment Committee)

Mr. Garman said in part: Brothers and sisters and distinguished visitors: I realize that a person who has charge of the

entertainment of a body of delegates and visitors such as we have here has no easy task. It is not my first experience, for more than a quarter of a century ago I helped plan the entertainment for an American Federation of Labor convention that was held in Denver in 1894. A few men who were there are here today. I have renewed acquaintance with one or two who were then young and vigorous, in the prime of their manhood, whose hair was black or light, as their temperament may have brought it about, and today they have grown gray in the service, but I find their spirit is just as willing today as it was in those days, and they have carried on a magnificent fight in all those years. They are passing all too quickly.

We are glad to have you here. That goes double for the Entertainment Committee. We have been planning for more than a year to do what we could to make your stay pleasant, and we are going to offer you quite a little entertainment. This is the contribution of organized labor of Los Angeles. With a very few exceptions, the amount of money necessary to carry out the ambitious program that we have prepared is the free will offering of the Organized Labor Unions of Los Angeles. Only two others were solicited, and they volunteered their assistance. More than sixteen thousand tickets for a ball were sold to the unionists of this city, and that ball was given with a very small expense. Over nine thousand people were present, so you can imagine that the boys and girls were enthusiastic over the fact that they were going to have you here.

On behalf of the Entertainment Committee and the organized labor movement of Los Angeles, we are more than pleased to have you with us. We are going to do everything we can. Organized labor's house of Los Angeles is yours.

Chairman Hardin: The invitation to this convention to come to Los Angeles was submitted to you one year ago through the executive representative of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, and I take great pleasure in presenting to you the secretary of the Central Labor Council, J. W. Buzzell.

**ADDRESS BY MR. J. W. BUZZELL
(Secretary, Los Angeles Central Labor Council)**

Mr. Chairman, President Green, members of our committee, delegates and visitors: All of our committee, I know, are like myself. They find it hard to command words to tell you how proud we are that you are in our city as our guests. When we were submitting the invitation last year in Detroit we had the same feeling that many times before moved us not to ask for the convention, that perhaps we didn't have the nerve or the ability to do it.

As the chairman has said, we raised the finances for this entertainment in our own movement, with the exception of two

small personal donations that came without solicitation. Los Angeles, we believe, is going to profit by your presence. That is the thing that we are proud of. The acting mayor, the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor have told you that new people and new industries have been brought to Los Angeles with the growth of the city. Along with it have come new thoughts, and we are convinced, and the reception you have received since coming here proves that we are rightly convinced, that these new people have new thoughts with them, and they are not interested in the traditions of a few native characters in this community, they are not interested in the traditional fights of those few characters, and they can no longer be blackjacked into an industrial dispute to suit the whims of a few people.

We believe that when this convention has transacted its business and has gone the people of Los Angeles will have had the opportunity to see organized labor in action as it really is, and not as it is sometimes pictured by someone else. We believe that when you have gone we will have found new contacts, new friends and new acquaintances that will redound to the credit of the movement.

We are proud to have you here. Now, President Green, I can't tell you how proud I am to have been given this place on the program, to be privileged to present to you this gavel, one that is made of California wood by a California trade unionist, bound with California silver, and, sir, we trust that with this gavel you will preside over the finest and greatest convention that the American Federation of Labor has ever held.

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN
(Response to Addresses of Welcome)**

Chairman Hardin, members of the Local Committee of Arrangements, Reverend Father McCarthy, President Hoch, of the Central Labor Council; President Dalton, of the California State Federation of Labor; His Honor, W. G. Bonnell, Acting Mayor, representing the city of Los Angeles; Dr. E. P. Ryland; His Excellency, Governor Young, Brother Harvey Garman and Secretary Buzzell: I express to all of you, on behalf of the delegates in attendance at this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, our deep appreciation of the cordial greeting and welcome which you have extended to us. Furthermore, we deem it a very great honor to know that the City Council of Los Angeles adjourned this morning and are here visiting with us, the American Federation of Labor delegates.

Since we arrived in the city we have observed abundant evidence of the sincerity of the welcome which was to be verbally extended to us this morning. Our hearts have been made glad; we rejoice with you; we anticipate a most pleasant and profitable visit here. We shall go from here feeling that we have been permitted, for a brief while, to en-

joy the glorious sunshine and the golden sunsets of this delightful country.

To the representatives of the labor movement in this beautiful city, may we convey to you the fraternal greetings of the millions of working men and women who have the honor to represent? We come here because we are interested in you. We want to show you by our presence that we are interested in the economic conditions and industrial welfare of the working men and women of all sections of our country. We are proud to number these working men and women in the city of Los Angeles as a part of our great movement, and we are proud to have these one hundred thousand devoted unionists numbered among the millions of working men and women identified with the American Federation of Labor. I refer to the working men and women of California represented in the California State Federation of Labor.

I find language totally inadequate to convey to the people of this great state and this beautiful city the real, deep, profound feelings of appreciation that are in the hearts and minds of all of us, but if we can show by our actions during our stay here that we deeply understand the words you have uttered, and if we can, by those same actions, contribute toward the advancement of your common welfare, toward making more friends for you, toward promoting understanding of our labor movement, then we shall go from here back to our homes happy and compensated because of our visit here.

We have assembled here from every state in the Union, the representatives of the organized labor movement in all sections of the country, men and women who are trained in the work of our movement. Many of them have given more than half a century of service to this great cause of organized labor, so we come here as practical men, prepared to deal with the problems of life in a practical way, men who understand the hopes and aspirations of the workers, and we sincerely hope that we may be permitted to give proper expression to the hopes and aspirations of the millions we have the honor to represent.

But we speak for humanity, we speak for our great mass of people who perform the work of the world. We represent the miner who penetrates to the darkest recesses of the deepest mine, and in like manner we represent the skilled mechanic who lays the last brick upon the skyscraper. We represent the man who toils in the street and we represent the artists who rendered such beautiful music this morning. We represent the artisan, the mechanic, the worker and, furthermore, we are pleased to speak for the millions of women and children dependent upon these working men.

And in this convention we shall speak in terms that cannot be mis-

understood. We shall, as we have in the past, meet every problem fearlessly. There can be no evasion on the part of the delegates who attend the American Federation of Labor convention. This is the court of last resort; this is the supreme tribunal, the voice of labor upon the American continent, so we cannot evade our responsibilities; they cannot be shifted on, they will be met here in a courageous fashion, for which the working men and women who assemble in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are noted.

We shall speak for the children—we have always spoken for them. The cause of the children lies closely in the hearts of the working men and women, and we shall never rest satisfied until every child is given a fair opportunity in this United States of America. If we do not speak for the children, who will speak for them? Who has been talking for the children of America? Who is it that speaks for them now anywhere and everywhere? My friends, it is the voice of labor and the hosts of labor, those who love the children, those who realize that the workers' children can only be given a chance when they are made free from the destroying effects of industrial service.

We do not want to make the children free merely because we want to advance our own selfish economic interests; we are interested in the children of America because we are interested in America first. We want to perpetuate here upon the American continent the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. We love America, we love America's institutions, and whenever they are assailed the millions of working men of America will rise in defense of these institutions and these principles. And it is because we want to preserve and to perpetuate them and to make it possible for coming generations to enjoy liberty and freedom and democracy that we want the children to be made free, so they can grow up to be citizens of a great republic, capable of discharging the duties of citizenship, intelligent enough to understand the principles of a free government.

And we shall speak here upon political and economic problems. The men and women in this convention will speak upon the subject of court injunctions as used in labor disputes. We shall speak upon this subject because we come in close contact with these decisions, with these injunctions. While we ask no special privileges, no special favors, while we ask to be neither above the law nor below the law, we ask to stand upon the same common plane as every other American citizen.

We do not want to be isolated and dealt with by government by injunction, but we want to be included with all classes of citizens and dealt with by government by law. So we expect to try to seek a remedy in accordance with American ideals and American traditions. We expect to submit our plan, and we shall ask the Congress of the United States and the Legislatures of the different states to accept our plan, to give us the relief we deserve, and we shall petition in accordance with the rights of American citizens, just as our forefathers of old petitioned for redress from existing wrongs.

Then, my friends, we shall speak of wages and hours and conditions of employment. These are things that lie close to the hearts of thorough-going trade unionists. Yes, we believe in high wages. The American Federation of Labor has advocated high wages; it will continue to advocate high wages, and it will exercise its economic power in order to secure high wages for the working men of this country.

And in this proposition we stand upon sound economic principles. The prosperity of every community is measured upon the size of the payroll; it does not depend altogether upon the money that is in the banks and the wealth of the citizens; it depends upon the distribution of that money in equitable amounts among the working people who make up the community. If low wages meant prosperity, then the low wage countries of the world ought to be prosperous, while America would be suffering a depression; but search the records, examine history, and you will discover that prosperity is found in those countries and those nations where a high wage is maintained.

And so I say here upon this public platform today that, notwithstanding the charge that we are advocating economic absurdities, many of the representatives of industry, the representatives of large corporations have accepted the wage theory of the American Federation of Labor, and they have the courage to go on the platform and defend it.

We are at the threshold of an important convention. We are here to serve the working men and women of our country. Our doors are open. We invite the public to come and sit with us, to listen to our discussions, to praise us as they see us in action, to know our faith, as the brother said, by and through the works we perform, and the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor will rest their case upon the work of this convention and upon the bearing and attitude of those representatives who are here to represent the workers of our country.

May I say to you that we shall go from here carrying with us the most pleasant memory of our visit. We are glad to be permitted to work in such a pleasant environment, in an atmosphere cooled by the snow-capped mountains and the rippling waves of the Pacific. We shall return each morning to our work refreshed by a night's rest spent in a pleasant environment, and we will show you by the things we do how much we appreciate the cordial welcome you have given us.

It now gives me exquisite pleasure to declare the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor of America in session and open for the transaction of business.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegates Gibbs, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Los Angeles, Cal.,
October 3, 1927.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, consisting of three duly elected delegates, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submits the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 380 delegates, representing 92 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 28 State Branches, 65 Central Bodies, 14 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 5 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Paul Dullzell, 103 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 26 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, Henry Koch, 219 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, Jacob Fischer, Roe H. Baker, H. C. Wenzel, Leon Worthall, 545 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Leo Abernathy, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, 60 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, H. J. Norton, Martin Daley, 148 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, Felix J. Belair, Augusta J. Frincke, 138 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Collis Lovely, Frank W. Anderson, John M. Long, Michael E. McFarland, Mollie E. Weltler, 350 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Albert J. Kugler, Joseph Obergfell, Adam Zusi, 160 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Walter V. Price, James T. Kavanaugh, William J. Moran, Edward Shaughnessy, James White, George Jones, 837 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 50 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, Edward F. Ryan, John O'Brien, George McTague, 213 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—J. M. McCune, 5 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Oscar F. Nelson, Jerry Horan, 62 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, F. J. Cullum, T. P. Hyland, E. Wm. Weeks, 800 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcherson, Frank Duffy, J. Rex Anderson, Wm. Crissman, W. C. Franklin, Thos. F. Kearney, Wm. Reinke, Daniel J. Ryan, 3,220 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—L. M. Ornburn, G. W. Perkins, William Collins, W. A. Campbell, 183 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Thos. F. Flaherty, Elden L. Chapman, Frank Willis, Charles Engelhardt, 300 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—John B. Schulte, C. C. Coulter, 100 votes.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—Max Zaritsky, Max Zuckerman, 102 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—A. B. Doolittle, 23 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—James Gilboy, 16 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—James P. Noonan, Chas. M. Paulsen, Edw. J. Evans, Martin T. Joyce, T. C. Vickers, Julia O'Connor Parker, 1,420 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, James J. McAndrews, Walter Snow, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Arthur M. Huddell, Dave Evans, Joseph Fay, James Graham, 302 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 79 votes.

Federal Employees, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, John Fitzgerald, 200 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, 160 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary—John F. McNamara, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, 90 votes.

Fur Workers' Union, International—Philip A. Silberstein, Pietro Lucchi, 72 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Frank Doyle, A. Adamski, Daisy A. Houck, 475 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Morris Sigman, Isidore Nagler, 800 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, William Gable, 60 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Wm. P. Clarke, Gus Welts, 52 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Thomas J. Mahoney, 6 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Samuel Squibb, James Duncan, 85 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Michael F. Greene, Martin Lawlor, Wm. Harding, Jr., 115 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, J. B. Etchison, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Taughran, Peter Fosco, 700 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees, International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thos. S. Farrell, Emanuel Kovelski, Conrad Schott, 398 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 99 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—John H. Bell, William J. McSorley, Charles J. Case, George Moore, 175 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, Harry DuBecker, 55 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swarts, 400 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural—Robert Askew, 6 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, Arthur J. Millard, 57 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Jos. P. Ryan, J. C. Bjorklund, 347 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, L. V. Hart, Chas. F. Willis, R. A. Henning, Dan Haggerty, 723 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljosdal, E. E. Milliman, F. M. Silik, A. F. Stout, 282 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, James P. McCrane, 49 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—Horace F. Strother, 31 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. J. Kelly, 117 votes.

Metal Workers, International Association, Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding, Richard Pattison, Wm. J. Rooney, 250 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Homer Whitmore, John McMullen, 40 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—Thomas Kennedy, William Green, Walter Nesbit, Lee Hall, C. J. Golden, Rinaldo Cappellini, Frank Hughes, George W. Lewis, 4,000 votes.

Molders Union of North America, International—M. J. Keough, William Huplits, Patrick McCarthy, Robert T. McCoy, 265 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Chauncey A. Weaver, Edward Canavan, John W. Parks, Charles L. Bagley, Wm. J. Kerngood, 800 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—Harvey C. Fremming, 10 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, Clarence E. Swick, Christian M. Madsen, John J. Doyle, John J. Riley, James Meehan, 1,123 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—William R. Smith, Frank P. Barry, 40 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, R. H. Koch, 70 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Frank A. Peterson, 24 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed J. McGivern, John Donlin, Henry Blehl, M. J. McDonough, Henry Huebner, 390 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, Charles Anderson, Chas. M. Rau, William Fallon, 450 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, 60 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—John McGillivray, 72 votes.

Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate—Thomas A. McQuade, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Clayton A. Pense, James T. Tracy, M. O. Van De Water, Cal. J. Doggett, 400 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, Maurice La Belle, 50 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Suito, 30 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—Wm. B. Fitzgerald, L. D. Bland, P. J. Shea, Gus Anderson, William Wepner, 1,012 votes.

Railway Mail Association—W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, 194 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—J. M. Gavlak, Fred Gausman, 40 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, Paul Scharrenberg, 150 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—D. W. Helt, C. J. Hayes, 80 votes.

Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—William F. Canavan, Henry C. Griffin, P. J. Ryan, Thomas Maloy, 231 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Winfield T. Keegan, Chas. A. Sumner, 73 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, J. P. Cullen, 58 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Frank Grimshaw, 16 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—T. C. Cashen, James B. Connors, J. M. Perry, 89 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—C. N. Bolander, Gust Soderberg, 77 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Florence Curtis Hanson, 35 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, Thomas Farrell, John McLaughlin, Edward McCaffrey, John M. Gillespie, 865 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, D. C. Ramsey, H. B. Perham, E. I. Davidson, H. J. Gibbs, 350 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—Roscoe H. Johnson, 39 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, 300 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 14 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—John J. Collins, 40 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, John C. Harding, William R. Trotter, William J. Robinson, 749 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—William Kohn, 102 votes.

Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United—Chas. A. Alexander, 6 votes.

Building Trades Department—Wm. J. Spencer, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—James O'Connell, 1 vote.

Railroad Employees' Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.

Alabama State Federation of Labor—E. J. Harris, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—Henry S. McCluskey, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Daniel C. Murphy, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—John E. Gross, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—J. M. Atkins, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—C. W. Cunningham, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John H. Walker, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—T. N. Taylor, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—William E. Hulsbeck, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—Ernest H. Zwally, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—E. A. Johnson, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Wm. M. Brandt, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—Stephen Ely, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—George Townshend, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Theodore M. Brandie, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—John Sullivan, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Joe C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—Joseph Reed, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—John J. Mates, 1 vote.

Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—R. E. Roberts, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—Walter H. Stroud, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—Walter Bennett, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—James L. Studdard, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Mary Barker, 1 vote.

Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Stephen G. Kelly, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Lewis Bowen, 1 vote.

Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—Herman Kosta, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Anton Johanssen, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Joseph T. Hallowell, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—James F. Malley, 1 vote.

Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor—M. B. Cain, 1 vote.

Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.

Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—C. F. Buckland, 1 vote.

East St. Louis, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union—H. H. Barnes, 1 vote.

Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union—E. D. Barry, 1 vote.

Flint, Michigan, Federation of Labor—G. W. Starkweather, 1 vote.

Fort Wayne, Indiana, Federation of Labor—Adolph J. Fritz, 1 vote.

Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly—James J. Farrell, 1 vote.

Fresno, Cal., Trades and Labor Council—Glen M. DeVore, 1 vote.

Glendale, Cal., Central Labor Union—John K. Sands, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Canada, District Trades and Labor Council—E. W. A. O'Dell, 1 vote.

- Houston, Tex., Labor and Trades Council—George A. Wilson, 1 vote.
- Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County—Tony Augustino, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—M. J. McSpadden, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—John T. Smith, 1 vote.
- Klamath Falls, Ore., Central Labor Union—Archie F. Rice, 1 vote.
- Lakeland, Fla., Central Labor Union—Thomas Contrer, 1 vote.
- Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Harry Halton, 1 vote.
- Little Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—William Denison, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Cal., Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.
- Mount Vernon, Wash., Tri-City Central Labor Council—H. W. Lindlow, 1 vote.
- Napa, Cal., Central Labor Council—Elma F. Smith, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York—Peter J. Brady, 1 vote.
- Oakland, Cal., Central Labor Council of Alameda County—Ben F. Bowbeer, 1 vote.
- Olympia, Wash., Trades Council—T. P. Hollcraft, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.
- Pasadena, Cal., Board of Labor—Harry A. Huff, 1 vote.
- Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Harry Wickert, 1 vote.
- Phoenix, Ariz., Central Labor Council—C. T. Francis, 1 vote.
- Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council—N. E. Williams, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—B. H. Crowell, 1 vote.
- Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—E. W. Edwards, 1 vote.
- Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. H. Young, 1 vote.
- Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.
- Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council—J. B. Clinedinst, 1 vote.
- Richmond, Cal., Contra Costa Central Labor Union—W. R. Tosh, 1 vote.
- Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Patrick H. Reagan, 1 vote.
- Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades Council—Arthur Ferguson, 1 vote.
- Santa Barbara, Cal., Central Labor Union—C. C. Hopkins, 1 vote.
- St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—George K. Kennard, 1 vote.
- St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—George R. Patterson, 1 vote.
- San Diego, Cal., Federated Trades and Labor Council—Charles F. Brummett, 1 vote.
- San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—Frank Ferguson, 1 vote.
- San Pedro, Cal., Trades and Labor Council—Harry Ohlsen, 1 vote.
- Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—R. R. Roland, 1 vote.
- South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—F. E. Doyle, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—R. T. Wood, 1 vote.
- Stockton, Cal., Central Labor Council of San Joaquin County—Geo. Dean, 1 vote.
- Tiffin, Ohio, Central Labor Union—C. H. Trimmer, 1 vote.
- Topeka, Kansas, Federation of Labor—Christian V. Hope, 1 vote.
- Utica, N. Y., Trades Assembly—B. Schiro, 1 vote.
- Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—William Covert, 1 vote.
- Vallejo, Cal., Central Labor Council—L. B. Leavitt, 1 vote.
- Vancouver, B. C., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Tom Cory, 1 vote.
- Ventura, Cal., Central Labor Union—Maurice Daly, 1 vote.
- Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—James W. Fitzpatrick, 1 vote.
- Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly—Harry Norrington, 1 vote.
- Automobile Wreckers' Union No. 17915, Chicago, Ill.—David Ostran, 1 vote.
- Bank Clerks' Union No. 17906, Los Angeles, Cal.—J. B. Miller, 1 vote.
- Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.—Ben A. Albert, 17 votes.
- Cleaners and Dyers' Union (Retail) No. 17792, Chicago, Ill.—Samuel Ruben, 7 votes.
- Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17965, Long Beach, Cal.—Leonard Graham, 1 vote.
- Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17960, San Francisco, Cal.—I. Goldberg, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union No. 17614, Reno, Nevada—Lillie Barbour Clinedinst, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union No. 17873, New York, N. Y.—Chas. Kleinman, 1 vote.
- Freight Handlers' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.—Ben F. Oglesby, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Mo.—Albert C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Miscellaneous Foremen and Inspectors of Public Works Union No. 17894, Los Angeles, Cal.—John R. Taylor, 1 vote.

Post Office Laborers' Union No. 17899, Los Angeles, Calif.—Walter C. Gayhart, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17701, Oklahoma City, Okla.—Edna Campbell, 1 vote.

Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, Ohio—William C. Elliott, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—Arthur Pugh, W. Sherwood, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Alfred Farmilo, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League—Anna B. Fitzgerald, Mrs. Ethel Holmes.

Respectfully submitted,

H. J. GIBBS, Chairman.

A. ADAMSKI.

WM. J. ROBINSON, Secretary.

Chairman Gibbs: I move the adoption of the report of the committee and the seating of the delegates.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Robinson and adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair will, with your permission, announce the names of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, as follows:

Rules and Order of Business.—John Sullivan, Joseph P. Ryan, Daisy A. Houck, William Harding, Homer Whitmore, John O'Brien, William Kohn, John Collins, Edward McCaffrey, E. Lewis, H. C. Wenzel, Walter V. Price, Isidore Nagler, L. V. Hart, W. R. Smith.

President Green also announced the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary of Convention, Charles E. Tracy, Typographical Union No. 174, Los Angeles.

Sergeant-at-Arms, James J. Coakley, Electrical Workers' Local No. 18, Los Angeles.

Messenger, Paul Kenney, Plasterers' Local No. 2, Los Angeles.

At 12:45 o'clock p. m. the convention recessed until 3:00 o'clock of the same day.

First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock p. m., Monday, October 3rd. President Green in the chair.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Mullaney, Shanessy, Worthall, Haggerty, Belair, Weltler, Tracy (Wm.), Nelson, Horan, Ryan (D. J.), Schulte, Coulter (C. C.), Zaritsky, Feehey, McAndrews, Snow, Huddell, Evans (D.), Fay, Graham, Baer, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney, Duncan, Moreschi, Etchison, Marshall, Rivers, Fosco, Brock, Gainor, Askew, Bock, Millard, Ryan, Hart, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Rooney, Kennedy (T.), Nesbitt, Golden, Cappellini, Hughes (F.), Lewis (G. W.), Fremming, Hedrick, Swick, Madsen, Doyle (J. J.), Meehan, Smith (W. R.), Barry, Hannah, Peterson, Cosefield, Fallon, McQuade, Doggett, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Suitor, Fitzgerald (W. B.), Wepner, Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Gaviak, Helt, Cashen, Perry, Johnson (R. H.), Evans (E. L.), Harris, McCluskey, Atkins, Huisbeck, Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Brandle, Campbell (Joe C.), Mates, Roberts, Stroud, Studdard, Kelly, (S. G.), Kosta, Hallowell, Malley, Buckland, Martel, Barry, Starkweather De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, Augustino, Rice, Contner,

Denison, Brady, Draper, Huff, Wickert, Williams, Crowell, Edwards (E. W.), Young (W. H.), Bower (A. P.), Tosh, Reagan, Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Dean, Trimmer, Hope, Schiro, Leavitt, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller (J. B.), Graham, Kleinman, Oglesby, Campbell (Albert C.), Gayhart, Campbell (Edna), Elliott.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Your committee has examined the following credential and recommend that the delegate be seated:

Long Beach, Cal., Central Labor Council—James C. Coulter, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate John J. Collins, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

Your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the forty-seventh annual con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1927, submit the following report:

Rule 1: The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m., reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day, on account of the social conditions, meeting shall not be held.

Rule 2: If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3: Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4: No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5: A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6: A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7: Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention. The committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

Rule 8: A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9: At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10: When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11: Motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 12: A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13: The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14: Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15: It shall require at least thirty delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16: All resolutions shall bear signature of the introducer and the title of

the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17: No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18: When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had the opportunity to record their votes the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19: When a roll call ballot has been ordered no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20: Robert's Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session, which shall be dispensed with unless called for.

2. Reports of committee on credentials.

3. Reports of officers.

4. Reports of regular committees.

5. Reports of special committees.

6. Unfinished business.

7. New business.

8. Election of officers.

9. Selection of next meeting place.

10. Good of the Federation.

11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN SULLIVAN, Chairman,
JOHN J. COLLINS, Secretary,
JOSEPH B. RYAN,
DAISY A. HOUCK,
WILLIAM HARDING,
HOMER WHITMORE,
JOHN O'BRIEN,
WILLIAM KOHN,
ED McCAFFREY,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
H. C. WENZEL,
WALTER V. PRICE,
ISIDORE NAGLER,
L. V. HART,
W. R. SMITH.

The report of the committee was adopted.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees appointed by the President:

Committee on Executive Council's Report — James Wilson, George L. Berry, Thomas Kennedy, William L. Hutcheson, Wm. E. Weeks, Jere L. Sullivan, William P. Clarke, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, Martin Lawlor, Collis Lovely, Patrick McCarthy, Wm. A. Campbell, James T. Cavanaugh.

Committee on Resolutions — Matthew Woll, G. W. Perkins, B. A. Larger, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, Geo. W. Lewis,

Thomas L. Hughes, Dave Evans, P. J. Morrin, Geo. F. Hedrick, John Coenfeld, Chas. F. Howard, Joe Weber, P. J. Shea, Victor A. Olander.

Committee on Laws—Daniel J. Tobin, Dennis Lane, L. D. Bland, A. J. Kugler, Thomas McMahon, Charles Anderson, James O'Connell, Frank Doyle, George Jones, William Tracy, Charles W. Fry, Paul Scharrenberg, Clayton A. Pense, J. Rex Anderson, Leon Worthall.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, Sara A. Conboy, Thomas S. Farrell, John McMullen, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, Martin Joyce, Gertrude McNally, D. W. Helt, Philip Bock, E. E. Millman, Roe H. Baker, C. J. Golden, Augusta J. Frincke, Oscar Nelson.

Committee on Labels—John J. Manning, C. N. Bolander, Max Hayes, M. Zuckerman, W. C. Franklin, Joseph Obergfell, Wm. Collins, J. M. McCune, Henry Goldstone, John J. Riley, Felix Belair, Frank W. Anderson, Thos. J. Mahoney, C. A. Weaver, P. J. Ryan.

Committee on Adjustment—T. A. Rickert, Edward Flore, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, Wm. J. Kerngood, Roy Horn, H. B. Perham, Frank Hughes, F. H. Fljozdal, M. F. Tighe, William F. Canavan, Frank Kasten, James Maloney, M. F. Greene, Michael E. McFarland.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Jacob Fischer, Wm. J. Moran, L. E. Swartz, F. J. Cullum, Jos. M. Marshall, Wm. Huplita, Rinaldo Pellini, James T. Tracy, E. I. Davidson, Thos. Redding, John T. Mugavin, P. M. Draper, Adam Zusi, James E. Connors, J. W. Buzzell.

Committee on Education—James P. Noonan, John H. Walker, Paul Dulzell, Thos. F. Kearney, H. C. Griffin, Henry F. Schmal, Thomas Farrell, Thomas E. Burke, M. O. Van De Water, Wm. R. Trotter, Morris Sigman, Florence Curtis Hanson, A. O. Wharton, R. H. Koch, John B. Haggerty, Lewis Bowen.

Committee on Boycotts—John McGillivray, Martin Daley, Charles D. Duffy, Herbert Rivers, Charles J. Case, A. F. Stout, Edward Canavan, John J. Doyle, Thomas Malloy, James J. McAndrews, James F. Brock, M. J. McDonough, Gus Anderson, Geo. Moore, T. C. Vickers.

Committee on State Organizations—Martin Ryan, S. C. Hogan, Frank A. Peterson, Henry Blehl, Walter Nesbit, C. M. Paulson, J. M. Gillespie, D. P. Haggerty, W. M. Collins, Patrick Gorman, Joseph Fay, John Fitzgerald, E. G. Hall, T. N. Taylor, J. C. Lewis.

Committee on Building Trades—W. J. McSorley, Edward J. Evans, Joseph V. Moreschi, Frank Feeney, Arthur M. Huddell, Joseph A. Mullaney, John Donlin, Edward Ryan, Richard Pattison, Edw. Shaughnessy, William Crisman, W. H. Fallon, M. W. Mitchell, Sam Squibb, Christian M. Madsen, J. M. Gavlak.

Committee on Shorter Workday—M. J. Keough, Edw. J. McGivern, E. J. Gaior, Thomas P. Hyland, John B. Schulte, Peter Beisel, H. J. Norton, John C. Harding, Lee Hall, E. P. Barry, Elden L. Chapman, John F. McNamara, Roscoe H. Johnson, James P. Meehan, John H. Bell.

Committee on Legislation—I. M. Ornburn, Thos. F. Flaherty, Luther Steward, W. B. Fitzgerald, W. W. Britton, Thos. C. Cashen, Emanuel Kovel-eski, Julia O'Connor Parker, Daniel J. Ryan, Chas. F. Wills, Thos. McQuade, Winfield Keegan, James Gilboy, Thos. J. Donnelly, Clarence E. Swick.

Committee on International Labor Relations—George W. Perkins, Max Hayes, James Wilson, Andrew Furu-seth, James O'Connell, B. A. Larger, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, Matthew Woll, J. A. Franklin, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Sara Conboy, E. J. McGivern, Edward J. Gaior, Albert Adamski, Edward J. Evans, John Coenfeld, Michael J. Casey.

President Green announced that the name of Henry Koch had been substituted on the Committee on Labels for Henry Goldstone.

Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers: In accordance with the usual custom, I move that President Green be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and adopted, and the secretary added President Green's name to the committee.

President Green announced that copies of the Report of the Executive Council were being distributed to the delegates, and requested Vice President Duffy to read a summary of the report, as follows:

SUMMARY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Our report for the year 1927 is divided into sections corresponding to our various activities. The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor show the sound condition of our movement. There has been a gain in total membership during the past year and an increase in the average membership of directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions. Our finances have been wisely expended and administered, and the total balance on hand August 31, 1927, was \$251,642.74. The report of the trustees of the American Federation of Labor Building showed a balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year of \$26,164.78.

We begin our report on specific achievements with an enumeration of outstanding achievements, matters upon which

policy should be formulated and a discussion of outstanding problems. Under "Achievements" we list progress toward mutual understanding, jurisdictional adjustments, a new goal—the five-day week, constructive activities of trade unions, union wage standards maintained, progress in educational work, the Pan-American labor congress, success in defeating communist efforts to control our movement.

We recommend formulation of policies with regard to income for old age and union investments.

Under "Outstanding Problems" we discuss the legal status of the union, how to organize highly mechanized industries, how to maintain members' interest in union work, and company unions.

Under the section "Economic" we make documentary report of agreements reached between the Painters and Electrical Workers, the Machinists and Teamsters, Machinists and Engineers. An adjustment of the long-standing difficulty within the International Journeymen Horse Shoers Union, and an agreement between the Bricklayers and Plasterers are included. We also report agreements pending between the Electrical Workers and the Railway Signalmen, the Machinists and Street and Electric Railway Employees, the Tunnel and Subway Constructors and the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers. We review the reorganization of the International Fur Workers under trade union control, progress in plans to extend trade union organization, and commend the loyal service of volunteer organizers.

Under the heading "History of Hours of Labor" we give a summary of progress in reducing hours of work since 1776.

With regard to labor banks, we urge extreme caution in conducting financial institutions, and declare it is unwise to experiment further until we know exactly which policies are safe and dependable.

Under Section 2, "Education," we report on work that has been accomplished during the past year by the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education. This committee is giving major consideration to compulsory school attendance laws in order to help local committees on education to raise standards for compulsory school attendance laws and their administration. The committee is also making a study of vocational education. A study of the selection of text books was made and published for the benefit of local committees.

Under "Publications" we list the books, pamphlets and other literature published recently by the American Federation of Labor.

The undertakings of the Workers' Education Bureau for the past year are reported, together with its Fifth National Convention. We recommend that all unions cooperate with the Bureau. We also recommend a change in the constitution of the Workers' Education Bureau which will make trade union control more effective.

Under the heading "Memorials" we make a recommendation for a Samuel Gompers Memorial and report upon our cooperation with memorial foundations to Woodrow Wilson and Thomas Jefferson. We also urge appropriate observance of Labor's special memorial days.

Section 3, "Legislation." The outstanding laws in which Labor was interested which were enacted during the past year were Workmen's Compensation for Longshoremen, Liberalization of Rates in the Federal Workmen's Compensation Act. Among the bills hostile to Labor which were defeated were conscription legislation, registration of aliens, blue laws for the District of Columbia, fixing of prices during suspension of mining, and the Wadsworth-Garret amendment to the Constitution. We then make a detailed report upon all federal legislative activity and summarize labor legislation enacted by the various states, with a section devoted especially to our various efforts to improve workmen's compensation legislation.

Section 4, "Legal," contains a report on the work of the Legal Information Bureau, a discussion of important legal decisions during the year concerned with injunctions, picketing, strikes, interstate commerce, trade unions, wages, workmen's compensation, conspiracy, trade union agreements, contempt and criminal syndicalism.

Section 5, "Political," contains a report on our non-partisan political activity.

Section 6, "Public Relations," reports on our cooperation with the Personnel Research Federation and the American Bar Association. We recommend continued cooperation with these two organizations.

Section 7, "Public Welfare," deals with relief for the Mississippi flood victims, modification of the Volstead Act, and the regulation of child labor.

Section 8, "Health," contains our report on cooperation in the observance of child health day and our efforts to secure information on health hazards from the use of the pneumatic hammer.

In Section 9, "International Relations," we report on the Mexican-American Labor Immigration Conference and submit the memorandum of agreement reached by the conference. We submit the report of the American Federation of Labor delegates to the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention. We report correspondence with the International Federation of Trade Unions and our efforts to help Cuban Labor. We submit the reports of the labor representative in the Third Pan-American Commercial Conference and the Advisor on Labor Questions to the International Economic Conference, as well as our efforts to help and advise the Australian Industrial Commission.

On next page commences full report of Executive Council.

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, October 3, 1927.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:

In placing at the beginning of our report the annual statements of the Federation's Secretary and Treasurer, we submit an audit of the membership and financial strength of the federated American labor movement. Responsibility for promoting this movement was entrusted to us by the Detroit convention, and our report of stewardship indicates progress. We believe that in addition to the progress that can be measured by figures there has been a growth in the spirit and the effectiveness of union organization that will enable it more effectively to cope with changing industrial conditions. Industry today makes greater demands upon the individual or the organization that would influence developments and trends. We hope that what we have done in the recent past to equip ourselves to meet these new problems will bring cumulative progress in the near future.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1926, and ending August 31, 1927.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$251,642.74. Of this total, \$217,839.56 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used only to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions.

The balance, \$33,803.18, is in the general fund and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, \$524,284.74, the total expenses, \$485,033.96; amount of receipts over expenses, \$39,250.78.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1927:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1926.....		\$212,391.96
Per Capita Tax.....	\$343,300.06	
American Federationist.....	107,498.61	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:		
Per capita tax from locals.....	35,733.78	
Initiation fees.....	10,029.65	
Reinstatement fees.....	622.45	
Supplies.....	6,388.92	
Interest:		
Bank deposits.....	\$6,249.84	
U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	548.20	
Canadian Victory Loans.....	859.66	
		7,657.69
Net Profit on sale of \$40,000 U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	409.38	
Net Profit on sale of \$15,000 Canadian Victory Bonds.....	1,008.75	
Received from Intl. Fur Workers Union on account of auditing books.....	1,200.00	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	7,374.30	
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	3,061.15	
		<u>524,284.74</u>
Total receipts.....		<u>\$736,676.70</u>

EXPENSES

General.....	\$380,451.77	
American Federationist.....	86,963.15	
Defense Fund:		
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	10,990.00	
Accrued interest on stock of Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (added cost, to par value, at time of purchasing shares of stock).....	413.20	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	6,215.84	
Total expenses.....		<u>\$485,033.96</u>
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1927.....		<u>\$251,642.74</u>

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund.....	\$33,803.18	
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	217,839.56	
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1927.....		<u>\$251,642.74</u>

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1927:

Rent.....	\$15,504.00
Refund on supplies returned.....	4.30
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	6,215.84
Secretary's bond.....	10.00
Treasurer's bond.....	125.00
Insurance.....	117.48
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	371.61
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of three legislative committeemen: W. C. Roberts, Edward F. McGrady and Edgar Wallace.....	8,133.24
Newspapers, magazines and books (Library).....	3,725.40
Postage stamps.....	8,987.25
Printing Bound Proceedings of Detroit convention.....	1,723.05
Supplies and Printing.....	25,531.26
Supplies for Resale.....	1,926.26
Miscellaneous expenses.....	6,683.06
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department).....	2,668.41
Mailing Equipment.....	24.52
Official Stenographer, Detroit convention.....	1,062.75
Telegrams and Telephones.....	4,740.73
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain, Canada, Mexico, Pan- American Convention and Australian Government Commission.....	1,592.37
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	2,713.57
Detroit Convention:	
Messengers, sergeant-at-arms and assistant secretary and roll-call clerk.....	560.00
Printing roll-call.....	107.40
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	3,332.28
Addressing envelopes, Daily Proceedings.....	90.25
Printing, envelopes and supplies.....	55.00
Stenographers.....	1,958.12
Rental of Office Furniture.....	109.75
Committee and Office Rooms.....	247.59
A. F. of L. Booth.....	171.00
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out Daily Pro- ceedings, rent of typewriters and desks, typewriting, photographs, supplies, stationery and hauling.....	273.55
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	657.23
Salaries:	
President.....	12,000.00
Secretary.....	10,000.00
Treasurer.....	500.00
Office Employees.....	101,122.28
Expenses:	
Executive Council Meetings.....	11,373.34
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. C. Meetings.....	70.95
Stenographers expenses attending E. C. Meetings.....	1,853.75
President, traveling.....	8,012.46
Secretary, traveling.....	1,870.24
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	10,990.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	19.56
Union Label Trades Department.....	70.86

Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	\$58.06
Organizers' salaries and expenses	114,778.76
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	86,963.15
Printing, publishing and editing <i>A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter</i>	8,590.50
Pan-American Federation of Labor	5,000.00
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Detroit Convention	472.73
Expenses, special committees and conferences	8,369.47
Legal Expenses	64.44
Expenses, Sesqui-Centennial Exposition	1,521.34
Auditing books in Fur Workers' Union of New York City Strike Investigation	1,400.00
Expenses, Fur Workers' Convention	96.60
Accrued Interest on purchase of stock of Union Labor Life Insurance Co.	413.20
Total	\$485,033.96

BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1927, INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds of affiliated organizations:

Year	Receipts	Expenses	Year	Receipts	Expenses
1902-3	\$529.00	\$309.60	1916-17	\$5,906.61	\$4,970.68
1903-4	398.75	402.60	1917-18	3,544.91	3,055.26
1904-5	406.75	285.65	1918-19	9,626.78	8,067.33
1905-6	736.35	591.16	1919-20	13,285.93	11,121.06
1906-7	1,128.79	817.76	1920-21	9,490.68	7,816.14
1907-8	1,261.51	1,021.96	1921-22	5,979.90	4,963.00
1908-9	1,692.35	1,226.03	1922-23	6,368.76	5,310.10
1909-10	2,874.75	2,392.75	1923-24	6,593.44	5,523.52
1910-11	2,988.55	1,448.38	1924-25	7,101.75	6,021.58
1911-12	2,710.07	2,089.15	1925-26	7,896.98	6,781.52
1912-13	3,225.55	3,863.18	1926-27	7,374.30	6,215.84
1913-14	3,221.76	1,898.55			
1914-15	5,190.74	5,052.66			
1915-16	5,092.79	4,428.19			
			Total	\$114,627.74	\$95,673.65

RECAPITULATION

Total receipts from 1902 to August 31, 1927	\$114,627.74
Total expenses from 1902 to August 31, 1927	95,673.65
Excess from 1902 to August 31, 1927	\$18,954.09

EDUCATION FUND

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1927, \$4,432.41, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to and including August 31, 1927, \$3,331.92, leaving a balance on hand August 31, 1927, amounting to \$1,100.49. The name of Fund for Promoting and Advancing Cooperation was changed by order of the Executive Council to Education Fund.

RECAPITULATION

Total donations, including interest, April 1, 1918, to August 31, 1927	\$4,432.41
Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1927	3,331.92
Balance on hand, August 31, 1927	\$1,100.49

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Since 1920 no contributions have been received, except interest which amounts to \$208.83, and the only expenses paid amount to \$1,243.30. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL BUILDING FUND

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College to be used for such educational developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, 1925, to August 31, 1927, including interest amount to \$1,606.06.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

GOMPERS' MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1927..... \$98 50

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

FLAG FUND

Receipts from June 10, 1918, to and including August 31, 1927..... \$542 54

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS' FUND

Total receipts (October 16, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927)..... \$34,414 99

Total amount forwarded to Secretary-Treasurer Sara A. Conboy (October 23, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927)..... 34,414 99

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses has been mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' FUND

Total receipts (October 21, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927)..... \$24,806 37

Total amount forwarded to Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff (October 23, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927)..... 24,806 37

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses has been mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

FUND TO AID THE STRIKING MINERS OF GREAT BRITAIN

Total receipts (July 12, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927)..... \$33,869 33

Total amount forwarded to Secretary A. J. Cooke (July 30, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927)..... 33,869 33

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses has been mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, MERGED, WITHDREW, AMALGAMATED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND REINSTATED

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 19; suspended, 31; reinstated, 10.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 9; suspended, 64; joined national and international organizations, 2; reinstated, 5.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 3; suspended, 20; reinstated, 4; joined national and international unions, 2.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Disbanded, 1; Elastic Goring Weavers' Amalgamated Association.

BENEFIT PAYMENTS REPORTED BY 24 NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND 14 DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS

Organizations	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployment benefits.	Traveling benefits.
A. F. of L. Local Unions.....	\$1,800.00	\$147	\$9,128.50		\$4,609.00	\$865.00
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	39,500.00		a81,664.81			
Broom and Whisk Makers.....	1,200.00					
Carpenters.....	616,893.23	89,225				152,265.16
Cigarmakers.....	a221,251.33		142,881.45		8,725.55	9,738.25
Conductors, Sleeping Car.....	38,000.00					
Firemen and Oilers.....	17,000.00					
Foundry Employes.....	1,400.00					
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	39,500.00					
Glass Cutters and Flatteners.....	200.00					
Glass Workers, Window Marble Polishers.....	6,600.00	2,400				
	1,250.00					
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.....	2,565.00	150	8,901.00		1,200.00	
Molders.....	272,500.00		198,857.20		59,000.00	
Pattern Makers.....	10,200.00		6,035.66	\$2,051		
Paving Cutters.....	4,450.00					1,612.43
Piano and Organ Workers.....	500.00	80	400.00		75.00	
Printers and Die Stampers.....	8,686.00					627.77
Printing Pressmen.....	111,640.77		c80,000.00			
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	28,500.00					
Stove Mounters.....	2,250.00				1,795.50	
Tailors.....	9,299.30		14,290.00			
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	2,300.00					
Typographical.....	423,662.72		b1,388,499.12			
Totals.....	\$1,861,148.35	\$92,002	\$1,930,660.74	\$2,051	\$75,405.05	\$165,108.61

aIncludes disability benefits.

bFor maintenance of Union Printers Home, Old Age Pensions, and operating Trade School for apprentices.

cOperating Tuberculosis Sanatorium, Home for Aged and Trade Schools.

Many of the local unions provide death, sick and out-of-work benefits for their members in addition to the benefits paid by the international unions that made reports. The amounts above reported are in the majority of cases those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits.

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1927, we had 365 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 24,237, and a defense fund of \$217,839.56, to protect the members of the 365 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1,795 general and district organizers, as well as 19 paid organizers

and the officers of the 794 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$35,733.78; initiation fees, \$10,029.65, and reinstatement fees, \$622.45.

Defense Fund For Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months beginning September 1, 1926, and ending August 31, 1927:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund..... \$35,733.78

EXPENSES

Union and Location	Average Membership	Weeks	Amount
Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers' Union No. 10943, Granite, Ill.	82+	19	\$10,990.00
Total expenses.....			\$10,990.00

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1926.....	\$122,095.78
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1927.....	35,733.78
Total.....	\$228,829.56
Paid out of Defense Fund.....	10,990.00
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1927.....	\$217,839.56

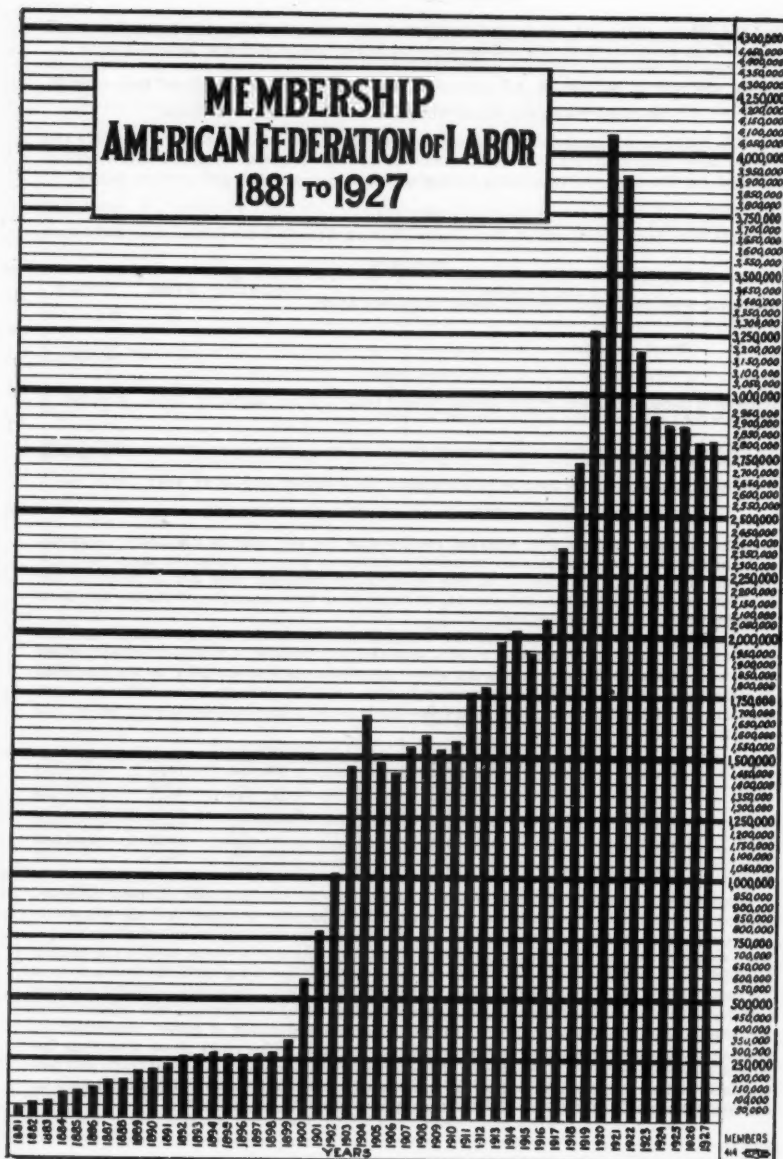
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

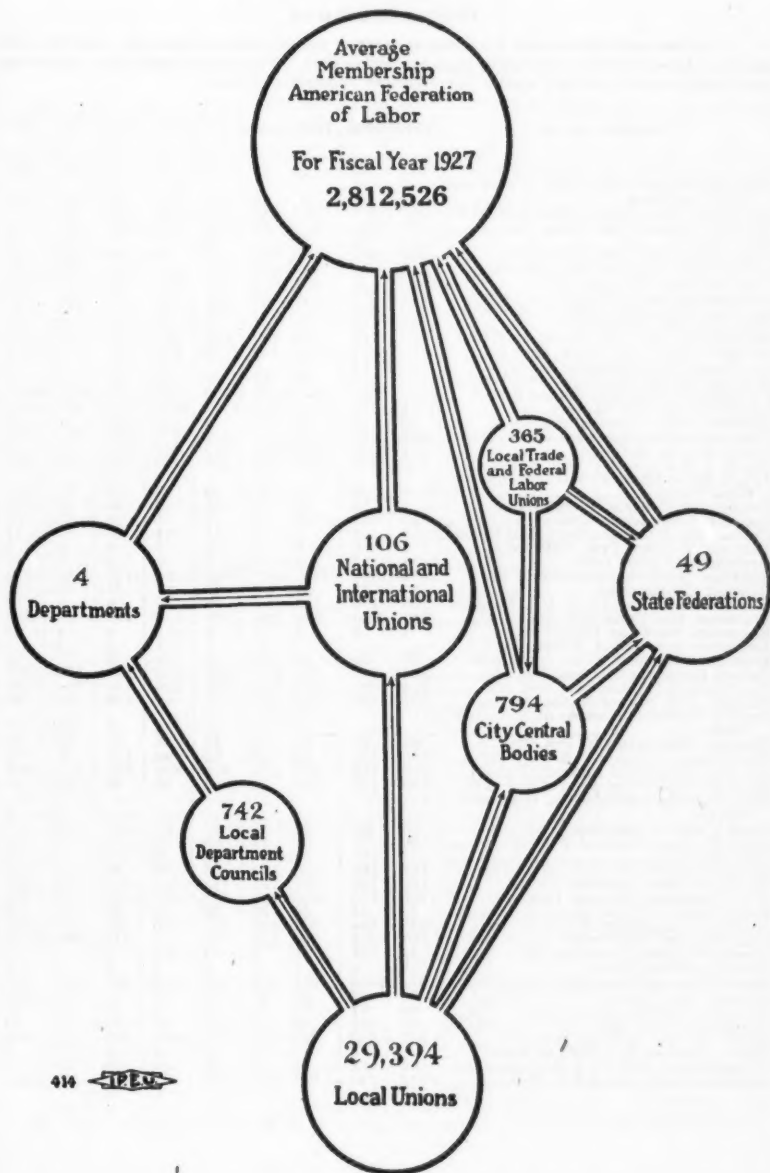
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 2,812,526. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore, the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts, or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicates that because of strikes or unemployment there were at least 500,000 members for whom per capita tax was not paid to the American Federation of Labor. Adding this number to the 2,812,526 paid-up membership will give a grand total of 3,312,526 members. The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past thirty years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1905.....	1,494,300	1913.....	1,996,004	1921.....	3,906,528
1898.....	278,016	1906.....	1,454,200	1914.....	2,020,671	1922.....	3,195,635
1899.....	349,422	1907.....	1,538,970	1915.....	1,946,347	1923.....	2,926,468
1900.....	548,321	1908.....	1,586,885	1916.....	2,072,702	1924.....	2,865,799
1901.....	787,537	1909.....	1,482,872	1917.....	2,371,434	1925.....	2,877,297
1902.....	1,024,399	1910.....	1,562,112	1918.....	2,726,478	1926.....	2,803,966
1903.....	1,465,800	1911.....	1,761,835	1919.....	3,260,068	1927.....	2,812,526
1904.....	1,676,200	1912.....	1,770,145	1920.....	4,078,740		

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1927—forty-seven years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organization as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 29,394 local unions in the 106 national and international unions and 365 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a total paid-up average membership of 2,812,526 for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1927.





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1919 up to and including 1927. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.
Actors, Associated, & Artistes of A.	30	69	118	94	77	74	101	104	103
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Asso. of Heat and Frost Insulators	18	22	26	20	20	22	24	25	26
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.	210	275	280	248	229	222	218	216	219
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	359	442	470	452	432	453	480	512	545
Bill Posters	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	233	453	500	367	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	849	1030	845	417	194	175	171	145	148
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	368	467	410	402	399	372	362	369	350
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	164	207	247	163	129	134	136	129	138
Brewery Workmen, International Union	400	341	273	190	166	160	160	160	160
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	27	52	54	41	48	48	50	50	50
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	837
Bridge & Struct. Iron Wkrs., Intl. Asso.	170	242	199	140	146	177	163	191	213
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	10	14	12	8	7	7	7	6	5
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union	8	8	94	78	62	62	62	62	62
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	3079	3315	3521	3138	3150	3155	3170	3197	3220
Carmen of A. Bro. Railway	1004	1821	2000	1717	1600	1375	1250	887	800
Carvers' Union, International Wood	10	12	12	11	9	10	10	11	12
Cigarmakers' International Union	363	388	342	320	309	277	235	200	183
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	714	1860	1696	1378	961	884	912	w	w
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail	150	208	212	167	103	100	100	100	100
*Cloth Hat & Millinery Workers International Union	m	m	m	m	m	m	78	87	102
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car	12	25	26	23	23	23	23	23	23
Coopers' International Union	40	43	44	28	17	15	13	11	10
Cutting Die & Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	2	2	3	3	††	††	††	††	††
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	5	6	6	5	5	5	4	4	4
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	18	35	22	10	6	6	6	7	16
Elevator Constructors	1312	1392	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420
Elevator Constructors	30	51	38	38	52	51	51	95	102
Engineers, B'n. Ass. of U. S. & C., Nat. Mar.	128	170	211	190	w	w	w	w	w
Engineers, Intl. Union of Steam	250	320	320	320	271	250	253	270	302
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate	1	2	4	3	2	1	w	w	w
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal				1	1	1	1	1	1
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	50	59	65	65	65	68	72	77	79
Federal Employees, National Fed.	204	385	330	250	212	208	202	179	200
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of	154	221	180	161	160	150	160	160	160
Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary	205	296	350	250	125	90	100	80	90
Fruit & Vegetable Workers of N. A., Intl. Union of				19	††	††	††	††	††
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of	54	91	52	40	40	36	35	35	35
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	108	121	45	47	92	89	114	78	72
Garment Workers of America, United	460	459	472	475	476	475	475	475	475
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	100	100	100	97	70	60	60	60	60
Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of A. Window								3	4
Glass Workers, American Flint	95	99	97	87	81	61	53	53	52
Glass Workers, National Window	50	48	50	50	50	40	20	20	20
Glove Workers	7	10	7	4	2	2	3	5	6
Granite Cutters' Intl. Asso. of A., The	107	105	105	100	95	86	85	85	85
Hatters of North America, United	100	105	115	115	115	115	115	115	115
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	400	420	460	460	475	490	615	665	700
Horsehoers of United States and Canada	54	54	54	25	20	20	20	15	12
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	608	604	572	465	354	385	385	386	398
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	197	315	254	159	117	111	114	100	99
Jewelry Workers' International	51	81	8	22	12	12	8	7	6
Lace Operatives, Amal.	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	905	1054	941	939	912	910	900	801	800
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. & Metal	60	59	80	80	80	80	89	160	175
Laundry Workers, International Union	60	67	70	65	55	55	55	55	55
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United	67	117	80	34	20	20	20	17	10
Letter Carriers, National Asso. of	307	325	325	325	325	325	325	400	400
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural		3	16	10	6	3	3	5	6
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.	56	61	72	76	63	55	63	54	57
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	313	740	641	463	343	305	318	301	347

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.
Machinists, International Association of.	2546	3308	2736	1809	973	779	714	714	723
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.	542	9	9	9	377	383	374	291	282
Marble, etc., International Assn. of.	10	12	12	17	23	30	32	42	49
Masters, Mates and Pilots.	62	71	91	55	41	41	39	34	31
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.	663	653	439	196	104	115	122	122	117
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.	202	218	242	250	250	250	250	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United.	3938	3936	4257	3729	4049	4027	4000	4000	4000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.	178	211	162	46	81	91	85	81	40
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	516	573	585	265	321	336	275	284	265
Musicians, American Federation of.	654	700	746	750	750	771	800	800	800
Oil Field, etc., Workers.	45	209	248	61	25	22	12	7	10
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.	827	1031	1133	978	928	1033	1076	1114	1129
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.	57	74	107	83	70	62	50	46	40
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.		26	16	9	†	†	†	†	†
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	90	90	90	80	80	70	70	70	70
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.	18	19	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	26	26	24	24	24	24	24	24	24
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	20	32	27	9	7	6	6	6	5
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & C., Oper.	190	194	239	246	252	300	300	322	390
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	320	320	319	350	350	350	392	450	450
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal.	100	100	100	82	67	60	60	60	60
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of.	145	162	170	178	180	200	237	279	300
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.	74	80	91	92	91	83	81	78	72
Powder and High Explosive Workers.	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2
Printing Pressmen, International.	340	350	370	370	370	387	400	400	400
Printers' Union of N. A., I. S. & C. Plate.	13	14	15	15	12	12	12	12	12
Printers and Color Mixers, Machine.	5	5	5	5	†	†	†	†	†
Print Cutters' Assn. of A., Natl.	4	4	4	3	†	†	†	†	†
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	84	95	113	68	46	50	50	50	50
Quarry Workers, International.	30	30	30	30	24	29	30	30	30
Railway Employees' Amal. Assn., S. & E.	897	987	1000	1000	1000	1000	1010	1010	1012
Railway Mail Association.	134	144	150	166	167	179	191	195	194
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.									
United Slate, Tile and Composition.	10	18	28	30	30	30	30	30	40
Sawmills' National Union.	1	1	1	1	†	†	†	†	†
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	427	659	1033	492	179	180	160	150	150
Stereographers, Intl. Assn. of.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.	62	123	113	105	89	80	80	80	80
Slate and Tile Roofers.	6	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Spinners' Intl. Union.	22	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.	185	196	194	195	196	200	200	220	231
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.	54	59	61	60	62	65	68	69	73
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.	39	40	44	46	49	50	51	57	58
Stove Mounters' International Union.	19	19	20	20	18	16	16	16	16
Switchmen's Union of North America.	118	140	101	88	87	93	89	87	89
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.	120	120	120	120	119	100	93	83	77
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.	28	93	93	70	46	37	35	35	35
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.	756	1108	1087	764	727	760	789	820	865
Telegraphers, Commercial.	20	22	32	34	26	37	41	42	39
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.	446	487	500	500	500	433	392	350	350
Textile Workers of America, United.	558	1049	829	300	300	300	300	300	300
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of.	32	101	58	8	††	††	††	††	††
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.	42	152	123	34	19	15	14	14	14
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.	20	30	30	30	30	30	30	37	40
Typographical Union, International.	647	705	748	689	681	688	710	733	749
Upholsterers, International Union of.	55	56	60	67	73	75	76	86	102
United Wall Paper Craft of N. A.	1	1	1	1	†	†	†	†	†
Weavers, Elastic Goring.	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Centrals.	816	926	973	905	901	855	850	833	794
State Branches.	46	46	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local unions.	1091	1498	1027	747	581	514	504	455	467
Total vote of Unions.	33849	41307	40410	33336	30486	29847	29,958	28,790	29191

†Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ††Disbanded. mSuspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. qSuspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City Convention. rMerged with Composition Roofers, etc. sSuspended for failure to comply with decision of the Montreal Convention. tAmalgamation of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S., with National Print Cutters Association of America, and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. uWithdrawn from Affiliation. vMerged with International Plate Printers and Die Stammers. *Reinstated, Oct. 14, 1924. wSuspended for failure to comply with decision of Atlantic City Convention.

ORGANIZERS EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$114,778.76. Of this amount, \$492.35 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$100 for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	AMOUNT RECEIVED
*1. Hugh Frayne.....	New York, Pennsylvania.....	\$11,897.92
2. Edw. F. McGrady....	New York, Washington, D. C., New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Missouri, Michigan.....	7,228.22
3. Wm. Collins.....	Michigan, New York, Connecticut, Vermont.....	6,878.50
4. C. N. Idr.....	Texas, California, Washington, D. C.....	6,634.44
5. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Oregon.....	6,599.50
6. P. J. Smith.....	Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, Montana, Michigan, Colorado, Florida, Washington, D. C.....	6,567.55
7. J. B. Dale.....	California.....	6,559.62
8. P. F. Duffy.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York.....	6,357.95
9. T. J. Conboy.....	Missouri, Indiana, Illinois.....	6,248.52
10. O. E. Woodbury.....	Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois.....	6,165.55
11. Edgar Wallace.....	Washington, D. C., Connecticut, New York, Michigan, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Illinois, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Maryland, New Jersey, Ohio, New York, Washington, D. C.....	5,860.74
12. A. Neary.....	New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania.....	5,189.80
13. H. F. Hilfers.....	Canada.....	5,062.32
14. A. Bastien.....	New Jersey, New York, Washington, D. C.....	4,815.05
15. C. J. Jennings.....	Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	4,337.31
16. J. M. Richie.....	New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Washington, D. C.....	4,282.29
17. A. Marks.....	Massachusetts.....	4,157.85
18. F. H. McCarthy.....	Vermont, New York.....	3,257.28
19. J. E. Roach.....	Pennsylvania.....	3,245.89
20. W. E. Bryan.....	New York.....	2,073.61
21. D. Silverman.....	Illinois.....	747.50
22. John Fitzpatrick.....	Paid to district organizers in amounts less than \$100.....	119.00
	Total.....	\$114,778.76

*Includes \$5,865.92 paid for rent of office and office expenses and salary of stenographer.

†Paid to Secretary Aaron Fleisher, United Neckwear Makers No. 11016.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1927, there have been issued 97 charters to Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Twenty-eight Central Bodies as follows:

California:	Louisiana:	Oklahoma:	Rhode Island
Monterey County	Monroe	Blackwell	Pawtucket
Watsonville	Michigan:	Lawton	Tennessee:
Connecticut:	Owosso	Okmulgee	Johnson City
New London	Mississippi:	Oregon:	Texas:
Florida:	Gulfport	La Grande	Borger
St. Augustine	Montana:	Pennsylvania:	Breckenridge
Georgia:	Lewistown	Greensburg	Harlingen (Lower
Columbus	New Jersey:	Lebanon	Rio Grande Valley)
Idaho:	Plainfield	Naticoke	Vermont:
Lewiston	Ohio:	Porto Rico:	Brattleboro
Illinois:	Findlay	Arecibo	Wisconsin:
Mattoon			Janesville

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

	1926-1927
Central Bodies.....	28
Local Trade Unions.....	54
Federal Labor Unions.....	15
Total.....	97

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor	Garment Workers, United	Photo-Engravers
Bakers and Confectioners	Garment Workers, Ladies	Piano and Organ Workers
Bill Posters and Billers	Glove Workers	Plate Printers
Boilermakers	Hatters	Powder Workers
Blacksmiths	Horseshoers	Pressmen, Printing
Bookbinders	Iron and Steel Workers	Print Cutters
Boot and Shoe Workers	Jewelry Workers	Slate Workers
Brewery Workmen	Lathers	Stove Mounters
Brickmakers	Laundry Workers	Tailors
Broommakers	Leather Workers	Textile Workers
Cap Makers	Lithographers	Timber Workers
Carpenters and Joiners	Machinists	Tobacco Workers
Brotherhood	Marble Workers	Typographical
Carvers, Wood	Metal Polishers	Upholsterers
Cigarmakers	Metal Workers, Sheet	United Wall Paper Crafts
Coopers	Molders	Weavers, Wire
Draftsmen's Unions	Painters	
Electrical Workers	Papermakers	

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS

Actors	Firemen, Stationary	Musicians
Barbers	Hotel and Restaurant	Stage Employes, Theatrical
Clerks, Retail	Employes	Teamsters
Engineers, Steam	Meat Cutters and Butcher	
	Workmen.	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge and Lodge Paraphernalia Makers; Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender Makers, Spirit Level Workers and Photographic Workers.

CONCLUSION

I congratulate the officers of the national and international organizations and all our affiliated bodies as well as the general membership, without whose loyal support and cooperation all effort would have been in vain, upon the splendid struggle that has been made to maintain the resistance of their respective organizations and the solidarity of our movement against the campaign of opposition of our enemies. I also desire to express my sincere appreciation of the assistance and cooperation extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and our affiliated bodies and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank Morrison

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER TOBIN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from August 31, 1926, to August 31, 1927. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME		EXPENSES	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1926		1926:	
September 30.....	\$28,117.49	September 30.....	\$35,846.32
October 31.....	41,095.72	October 31.....	46,111.17
November 30.....	50,601.22	November 30.....	47,698.09
December 31.....	38,136.47	December 31.....	37,702.96
1927		1927	
January 31.....	45,990.63	January 31.....	42,725.50
February 28.....	39,374.90	February 28.....	38,473.77
March 31.....	49,483.88	March 31.....	47,410.60
April 30.....	42,664.25	April 30.....	34,242.02
May 31.....	34,952.53	May 31.....	36,771.17
June 30.....	44,077.28	June 30.....	39,129.86
July 31.....	39,953.27	July 31.....	38,293.77
August 31.....	69,837.10	August 31.....	40,628.73
Total income for 12 months.....	\$524,284.74	Total expenses for 12 months.....	\$485,033.96
Balance in hands of Treasurer, August 31, 1926.....	210,391.96		
Total funds.....	<u>\$734,676.70</u>		

RECAPITULATION

Total funds (balance and income).....	\$734,676 70
Total expenses.....	<u>485,033 96</u>
August 31, 1927—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$249,642 74
August 31, 1927—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1927.....	<u>\$251,642 74</u>
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates.....	\$100,000 00
Indiana Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates.....	50,000 00
Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check.....	44,642 74
Federation Bank and Trust Co., New York, N. Y., int. bearing certificates.....	40,000 00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co., Stock.....	15,000 00
Treasurer's balance, August 31, 1927.....	<u>\$249,642 74</u>

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,

Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., September 1, 1927.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1927:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1926.....	\$18,531 35
Receipts from rents, Sept. 1, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927.....	30,371 70
Receipts from interest on Certificates of Deposit.....	515 63
Receipts from interest on U. S. Federal Farm Loan Certificates.....	225 00
Receipts from waste paper.....	56 29
Receipts from interest on checking account.....	85 41
Total.....	\$49,785 38

EXPENSES*Maintenance:*

Pay roll (building employees).....	\$12,984 85
Taxes.....	3,034 16
Special assessment taxes.....	66 29
Electricity.....	1,344 71
Fuel (coal).....	1,415 26
Supplies.....	960 52
Upkeep and repairs.....	170 63
Plastering and painting.....	1,301 15
Cleaning windows.....	480 00
Insurance (liability).....	274 62
Insurance (fire).....	87 50
Water Rent.....	234 36
Hauling ashes and trash.....	145 00
Upkeep of rest room (laundry).....	20 30
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	122 10
Installing new safety devices on two elevators as per District of Columbia Code.....	976 65
Rent of safe deposit box.....	2 50
Total expenses.....	\$23,620 60

RECAPITULATION

Receipts.....	\$49,785 38
Expenses.....	23,620 60

Balance on hand August 31, 1927..... **\$26,164 78**

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Bank, subject to check.....	\$664 78
Mt. Vernon Bank, interest bearing certificates of deposit.....	20,500 00
Federal Farm Loan Certificates.....	5,000 00

Balance on hand August 31, 1927..... **\$26,164 78**

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

THE RECORD OF THE YEAR'S WORK

In reporting on the work and progress of the American Federation of Labor, we are dealing with the record of an institution which constitutes one of the determining factors in life and in the civilization of the North American continent. It is the labor movement that makes it possible for the majority of the population to participate commensurately in material and social progress. Like trade associations, engineering societies, bar associations, medical societies, etc., trade unions are organizations of persons with mutual interests and common work problems. The way the membership works and the ideals they follow are important in shaping the development of economic progress and, hence, of all life. The basic objectives of all organizations which rest upon occupation are identical: advancement of the work itself, and economic returns that will enable the membership to have for personal use the material comforts of life and opportunities for abundant life.

The various technical, trade and professional associations promote the interests of important smaller groups while the labor movement is responsible for raising the standards of life in wide circles which constitute the major portion of the population. That nation is making most substantial progress where standards of life are rising consistently among all groups. Not only is it socially necessary to have the broadest basis for rising standards of living, but it is also economically essential in order that consumers' demand keep pace with increasing output.

The labor movement, therefore, is something more than a militant organization necessary to assert and defend the rights and interests of wage earners; it is something more than an organization that furthers the material personal interests of members exclusively; it is a force for social as well as individual advancement—a constructive as well as a protective agency; it is an agency through which workers may develop a partnership with management in the doing of work itself; it is the instrumentality through which workers achieve conditions of life that approach their ideals of constructive and creative living.

Viewed in the light of these services, the record of one year's undertaking is of fundamental importance. Our report for the year 1927 we have divided into two parts: First, an interpretative resumé of achievements and outstanding problems; second, documentary and detailed data.

OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS

1. Progress Toward Mutual Understanding—The achievements of the American Federation of Labor during the past year are of the substantial nature prerequisite to future growth. Foremost among these achievements is a change in public opinion toward the trade union. Many employers and much of the general public are beginning to see that the union is not simply a militant organization with no interest in work itself, but that in addition to its militant functions the union is the agency through which the workers can make their fullest contribution to industry and society. This function of the union becomes possible when management attacks the problem of making the right adjustments between individuals as well as the right use of materials. Viewed in this way the union not only cares for the interests of the workers, but is an agency through which the workers cooperate in production and contribute the experience of those who handle tools and machinery.

This change in understanding of the trade union will do much to show that it is a better business policy to have the cooperation of trade unions than it is to fight them. It will also secure a more favorable public opinion in support of remedial labor legislation. In no small degree is this changing understanding due to the new emphasis Labor has put upon its constructive work. Formerly Labor has allowed spectacular incidents of strife to overshadow the more important events of constructive development and service. The Federation has taken the initiative in reversing this attitude by securing publicity for more substantial developments. By shifting attention from problems of defense or aggression to those of constructive building, the relative importance of the sustained work of the union becomes more obvious. Effort spent in directing decisions of industry in accord with the welfare of wage earners is potential for permanent results. With the extension of this policy, throughout the whole

labor movement is coming more general and keener appreciation of the value of the unions. The business advantage of unionization has become more generally accepted.

2. Jurisdictional Adjustments—The second important evidence of the healthiness of the American Federation of Labor is found in the successful adjustment of a number of jurisdictional disputes during the past year. The development of jurisdictional disputes is inevitable in the progress and expansion of trade union growth and activity; ability to find an adjustment in such disputes is also indicative of adaptability that is growth.

A report of specific agreements and their texts is given under Section 1—Economic.

3. New Goal—Five-Day Week—Regulating the hours of work so that wage earners might have more opportunities for recreation and other healthful pursuits, Labor has made fewer hours of work one of its fundamental goals. During the past century and a quarter both the workday and the workweek have been steadily reduced. In Section 1—Economic, we give a summary of progress in reducing hours of labor during the past century and a quarter.

This is progress of which Labor may well be proud. It has brought benefits to millions and harm to none. Shortening the workday has turned toil into work; has afforded the nation's citizens greater opportunity to participate in national problems, and has made possible better home life.

Last year Labor set for itself a new goal—the five-day week. It is an end toward which some unions may strive directly, while others have still an intermediate goal to reach. Many of the unorganized are still working long hours. For them organization must come first.

4. Constructive Activities of the Trade Union—The establishment of collective bargaining opens the way for sustained cooperative relations between management and workers. The whole spirit of the work relationship is changed by the fact that the workers as a group participate in determining conditions under which they work. This spirit and relationship are the sources from which various types of cooperative undertakings issue. Every joint undertaking helps to promote reciprocal understanding and to show the way to additional mutual benefits. These constructive activities are based upon a conception of the interdependence of all interests. Because interests are interdependent, undertakings to promote them must be the result of joint thinking and activity. Workers can not help themselves by injuring other legitimate interests in industry. It is equally true that every constructive advantage developed by any one element benefits all others more or less directly. Practically every union has some distinctive, constructive undertaking through which they are making the union of greater value to its members and the industry. The nature and the purpose of these undertakings vary widely—some are quite rudimentary while others have comprehensive machinery for union-management cooperation. The important fact is the foundation upon which all such developments must rest and which makes it possible for workers to have the spirit of partnership in doing the day's work.

The nature of the undertaking and the methods of work vary widely with the nature of the industry, the type of craftsmanship involved, and the relations between workers and management. Practically every establishment operating under a collective agreement has developed some kind of continuous cooperation. A few examples of different types are:

An agency for the interpretation of the agreement and for the adjustment of difficulties and new problems arising out of the contract. An agency of this type becomes a controlling factor in the work experience of the industry and enables the workers to participate in decisions of vital importance to them

Arbitration based upon research

Joint determination of production standards

Union control over work opportunities and supply of workers has changed intermittent work to stable employment under good conditions

Joint undertakings for the education of apprentices to assure standards of craftsmanship

Provisions to reward craftsmanship

A union technical school which trains apprentices and furnishes technical

aid to union workers in industry so that craftsmen may get the best possible results from their labor

Care for the health of workers—various general undertakings as well as sick benefits, insurance, and such elaborate services as the Union Health Bureau

Regular presentation of unsatisfactory work conditions and method which unremedied would result in waste and losses

Joint committees of management and unions to consider and recommend economical and improved work methods in railway shops

Joint committees of union and management to improve street railway service

Joint committees in the paper industry to adjust

A union performing the work of foreman in an upholstery shop and many other matters of equal importance

As unions secure more definite opportunities to participate in the discussion and decision of work problems, they can contribute information and experiences gained in using tools, machinery and materials which will greatly help to promote efficiency and technical advance.

5. Union Wage Standards Maintained—The two primary objectives of trade unions are higher wages and shorter hours, for they are the keys to opportunities. For years organized labor has struggled to raise wages. It has been a rare experience to find an employer who voluntarily raised wages. It is a regrettable commentary that the principle of higher wages had to be established largely by force. Our unions have been generally successful in preventing wage reductions in the past year and quite a number have negotiated wage increases. Where collective bargaining is in effect, wages have increased in amount and in purchasing power. However, there has been a decided increase in productivity. Our studies of the relation of productivity to wages have only just begun. However, they warrant us in saying that wage increases for union workers have paralleled increased productivity much more closely than in the case of the unorganized or the less effectively organized. After we have the facts of the share which wage earners contribute to value added by their labor to manufactured articles, union representatives will be able to present even stronger cases. The employer has his production records, his cost accounts, and other sources of information. These, of course, he interprets from his own point of view. The opinions of any one interest may need modification when checked against the facts and understanding of other interests. Organized labor has been able continuously to submit convincing reasons why wages should be sustained or increased. In past periods of depression we have been successful in inducing employers to see the importance of maintaining the purchasing power of wage earners. Industries are based upon the purchasing demands of the masses and, hence, reduction of wages results in industries being unable to dispose of their product—this in turn brings curtailment of markets and the forces of industrial depression are set in motion. In the period of rapidly mounting prices, higher prices constituted an argument for wage increases. The period of expansion and increased production sharply brought out the need for wider groups of consumers and more markets, and furnished additional argument for higher wage standards. By using its experience effectively, the American labor movement has succeeded in raising wage standards for organized workers and thus enabling wage earners to participate in social progress. That our movement has been successful in maintaining and advancing standards is an achievement that benefits not only all wage earners (organized and unorganized), but industry and all society.

Union rates have been the standard that has lifted rates even for the unorganized. The results of organized labor's efforts constitute what is called by outside observers "The American Policy of High Wages." However, there are still thousands of unorganized workers working for wages that are far below wages necessary to maintain American standards of living. We regret the impression carried abroad by some reporters and commissions that high wages prevail generally. There are unskilled and unorganized workers receiving less than is necessary to maintain decent standards

of living. These workers the unions would gladly help and we invite them to join our ranks for higher wages and shorter hours.

The American Federation of Labor has been for years battling for higher wages. With the development of collective bargaining has come greater need for sustaining demands for higher wages by marshalling of facts. This is made markedly apparent by development of accounting methods and resulting availability of statistics. Thus far the statistical field has been developed for the use of employers. Unless workers are to be put at a disadvantage in maintaining and advancing wages, unions must gather their own statistics and make their own interpretations of the statistics compiled by statistical bureaus and employers.

We have been publishing in the *American Federationist* a series of studies on wages, discussing the relations of wages to prices and productivity. These studies indicate that wages have generally increased in amount and with reference to prices. With reference to productivity wage movements are not so regular and it is evident that there is need of data to show the way to wages that will provide a purchasing demand proportionate to increases in production. Our present plan is to utilize statistics of the Manufacturers Census and to make the results available by industries. The studies will be published in the *American Federationist*. This undertaking we feel is a distinct step forward. For the first time Labor is exploring the field of government statistics to ascertain whether its share in national income is equitable and whether wages paid to wage earners will enable them to share in advances in material civilization.

That the idea of higher wages has gained in popular acceptance and that the Federation has begun studies of wages, mark a definite stage in progress toward clearer understanding and discussion of wages.

Wage determination is one of the pivotal issues in industrial relations because it is the foundation for morale in industry and the key to opportunities in the life of the wage earners. Wages must be satisfactorily determined before there can be cooperation in the problems of production. If wages are adequately discussed in collective bargaining, there can be no concealment of industrial records. Full and public accounting by all industries would help to eliminate many non-social practices. Here again the interests of the workers are in harmony with general welfare. Higher wages are an aid to industry and the buying power of workers guarantees active growth of trade.

6. Progress in Educational Work—Since trade unions depend upon voluntary methods for progress, trade unionists must be in a position to decide their problems wisely. This means that trade unions must increasingly look to educational methods as the way to progress. No radical change of policy or method is involved, only the union helps to keep its members aware of the relative importance of tendencies and supplies information that will help them to find constructive methods of dealing with problems.

This educational work is going on through many channels. National and international trade unions conduct educational work through their officials journals and special trade training. Many unions have special study classes and discussion groups. The suggestions and leadership of the Workers Education Bureau have been most useful in stimulating educational undertakings and in helping study groups to have necessary literature and discussion leaders.

Perhaps the outstanding educational achievement of the year was the Conference on the Elimination of Industrial Waste held under the auspices of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union and the Philadelphia Labor College. This was the first conference under union auspices held to consider Labor's interest in its contribution to increased productivity. Trade unionists, engineers and economists participated in the conference. The high merits of the papers read in the conference have aroused widespread interest among trade unionists and employers in this country and abroad. Plans are under way for conferences to be held in other industrial sections in which the constructive services of the union are to be presented and thought turned to the extension of these developments. Such forums are to be commended as opportunities to let wider circles know the achievements possible through cooperation of unions and management as well as for the stimulus to our movement itself.

The Conference on the Elimination of Waste led to consideration of stability of employment and the Philadelphia Labor College organized a conference on unem-

ployment and its prevention which was held in July. The discussion in this conference was concerned chiefly with how to make employment stable. One of the constructive results of the conference was an arrangement by which several Philadelphia unions will cooperate with the Federation in keeping data on hours worked and actual earnings. The Federation will compile and analyze data which the unions furnish and make reports to the unions. The reports will be helpful in wage negotiations as well as in planning to prevent unemployment.

Another important service which the Workers Education Bureau has rendered the American labor movement has been the educational development carried on in Passaic which has served to build up union membership by helping workers to understand the purposes and idealism of unionism. The Workers Education office in Passaic is an organizing center and has also helped to win good will for the trade union. It has helped draw workers to trade unionism and hence to draw them away from communism, a special education work furnishing most gratifying evidence of the value of the educational method as an organizing method.

While the Passaic development is a local matter, yet the implications of the industrial situation concerned have focused attention on that district for a considerable period of time. The possibilities of constructive principles have dramatically been made manifest.

The *American Federationist* is another agency that has played a most important part in educational developments. Not only has it served as a reporting medium to carry to wide groups of readers accounts of constructive labor developments, but it has helped to focus thought on important union developments and tendencies. Our official magazine has followed a deliberate policy of seeking constructive achievements in all lines—union cooperation, apprentice training, trade schools, organizing methods, insurance, etc.—and providing its readers with accounts of these. It has sought also to give Labor a magazine which in its physical form typifies craftsmanship.

During the past year articles have been published in the *American Federationist*—wage studies showing fluctuations in actual wages, real wages and social wages. The studies show that the union makes for stability, for higher real wages, and wages that enable the worker to share progressively in the material comforts of society.

We know that mental capacity and grasp should continue to develop with life experience and that, therefore, educational opportunities should be planned to parallel constructive living. We are fully persuaded that educational opportunities for adult workers are most effective when they develop out of the problems of life and work. These problems may be made the stimulus for acquiring new information and for re-examination of experience and conceptions. These educational projects which are associated with the shop, the union meeting, or community life, have most vital appeal to workers and are of the most potential influence. We believe that adult workers' education undertakings should avoid artificial conditions and environments and should seek to make normal life experiences educational and therefore cultural.

7. Pan-American Congress—The fifth congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor brought evidence that it is an established institution. In its infancy every institution is primarily dependent upon individuals. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has passed that period and has developed a personality of its own.

As was to be expected many matters with which the Pan-American Federation was at first occupied were largely political. Many Central and South American countries do not have stable governments and free speech and free press with their guarantees of freedom. Freedom of action is necessary for the development of a labor movement.

Although the fifth congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor considered many problems of political unfreedom, it expressed in very genuine terms its appreciation of the fact that its main mission is the promotion of trade unionism in Latin America. The congress urged the development of information by which the Federation could check credentials and organizations in order to assure bona fide trade unionists for its work.

The last congress provided an opportunity for the delegation from each country to relate its major international difficulties, so that in effect it heard the voice of the people of those countries. Free from the limitations of official responsibilities, the

envoys of the people gave information most important with regard to our Pan-American policies. The Pan-American Federation of Labor will be a power against imperialism and exploitation.

It seems definitely obvious that regional organizations and federations should bring together peoples in geographic areas representing a definite unity, and that such organizations might constitute units through which world organizations could be built. There are definite cohesive ties that bind together the nations of the American continents, such as similarity in historic experience, geographic influences, interdependence of economic and commercial interests. These facts make important the development of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor in its last congress gave evidence that it had a definite role in promoting peace and good will between the peoples of Pan-America and that it was fitting itself to perform a constructive service.

The report of the delegates who represented the American Federation of Labor in this congress is contained in Section 9—International Relations.

8, No Communistic Control—We have been successful during the past year in defeating plans of communists to get control of trade unions. We believe there can be no compromise with communists because their purpose is the destruction of trade unions and, the inculcation of class war.

Wherever communist propagandists have concentrated their work and there was need to let the trade unionists have information of deception practiced, the Federation has made the necessary information available. In this way we have been able to advise trade unionists so they would not knowingly give either financial or moral support to communist undertakings.

The outstanding efforts of communists to get foothold in the American labor movement were among the textile workers of Passaic, the women's garment industry, and the fur workers' industry; in the first instance, the United Textile Workers got control of the situation; in the second instance, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was able to deal with its own problem; and in the third, at the request of the Fur Workers organization the American Federation of Labor made an investigation and upon its findings reorganized the local unions of New York, arranged for a convention of the workers and thus brought about the purging of the union from communist control.

The American labor movement represents the ideal of constructive development based upon an understanding of the interdependence of the interests of all individuals and groups. That we have made distinct progress in defeating the philosophy and the proponents of communism is in the interest of the general welfare of the workers of our nation as well as of our national institutions.

Organizations of wage earners guided by voluntary principles are the instrumentalities through which workers may expect improvements in conditions of life and work.

A report of the Federation's services to the Fur Workers' Union is contained in the Section 1—Economic.

MATTERS UPON WHICH POLICIES SHOULD BE FORMULATED

1. Income for Old Age—Provision for old age is a problem which presents itself in many relations. Old age brings lessened capacity for work and finally total disability. Either the individual must have provisions that will make him economically independent at such a time or he is dependent upon relatives or others. Every humanitarian instinct demands that persons who have done faithful work should not be allowed to suffer in old age.

Those national and international unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which have made provisions to care for their aged and decrepit members deserve our hearty commendation. We heartily approve such a policy and we express the hope that it may be adopted by all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, we recommend a comprehensive study of all plans of old age pensions, including the insurance plan, in order that suggestions and advice may be made available for the use of the officers and members of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

2. Union Investments—The assets of trade unions are considerable. A very incomplete summary in 1926, which covered reports of national and international organizations but not the funds of many local unions, showed assets amounting to \$35,897,727.36. Some of these assets represent funds kept in cash; some represent real estates; a considerable amount is invested for purposes of revenue. Some unions have invested their funds in labor banks; others in investment companies; and others in stocks and bonds.

When unions embark upon business enterprises, they are entering upon undertakings that require a different type of information from what is required in managing unions and are incurring twofold danger—financial risk and risk of union strength. Union finances are its sinews. If union funds are imperilled the union itself is in danger of disintegration.

The investment of union funds is a serious problem for the labor movement, for what is involved is the strength and future to the union itself. Results of labor banking experiment confirm the warnings that the American Federation of Labor has repeatedly made. These banks should have the advice of banking experts, and should protect themselves by arranging to get the benefit of federal as well as state examinations. Some unions that have financed various undertakings have involved themselves in most embarrassing difficulties. It would be well to study the causes of failure in labor banks and investment undertakings.

Detailed information on Labor Banks is given in Section 1—Economics.

OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS

All of life is at once beginning and fruition. So in the labor movement we have achievement of high purposes and crucial problems that portend dangers and opportunity for constructive endeavor. Among the outstanding problems which confront the labor movement, we would place first the securing of an equitable legal status for the union.

1. Legal Status—There is no question but that the union is a legitimate organization and performs constructive functions. Unions are finding their work seriously handicapped by interpretation of existing law and by procedure in equity courts. Under Section 4—Legal, we list cases which indicate the seriousness of the present situation and which constitute grounds for seeking legislative relief. In order to give the trade unions not only legal existence but the right to exercise their normal functions, two legislative remedies must be enacted: amendment of anti-trust and anti-combination legislation to prevent restriction of normal union activity, as is possible under present law, and definition of the jurisdiction of equity courts.

We believe there should be freedom of association for economic agencies because associated effort is essential for those experiences and economies necessary to most efficient production results, and, on the other hand, associated effort is necessary for most constructive functioning of all groups connected with production.

We hold the right of Labor to organize into trade unions and the exercise of their normal functions should not be questioned. We concede the necessity for safeguards to prevent monopolistic evils on the part of all other forms of associations.

We shall submit to Congress legislative drafts and shall give these measures priority in our legislative efforts. We shall seek the cooperation of other interested groups.

Use of "yellow dog contracts" has not decreased. Employers in many states have been compelling their employees to sign contracts not to belong to unions as a condition of employment. In other instances we find employers requiring their workers to belong to "company unions." We note the efforts in some states to secure legislation declaring yellow dog contracts contrary to public policy and we hope these efforts will be helpful in reducing this evil.

2. How to Organize Highly Machinized Industries—Second among our outstanding problems we list "How to Organize Highly Machinized Industries." The use of mechanical power and machine tools is characteristic of quantity production, and also of the still more highly specialized method called mass production. So great are the changes constituting mass production that the effect is an industrial revolution with transformations comparable to the first industrial

revolution that introduced the factory system. These methods mean for the individual worker highly repetitive jobs and subdivision of the work previously done by craftsmen into repetitive operations performed by a number of workers. For example, in the automobile industry there are 34 job designations given work previously called the work of one craft. This production technique in quantity and mass production industries requires new kinds of skill and new group bases for organization of the workers into unions. In practically none of these industries are the workers organized.

During the past few years has come the development of the automobile industry, aeroplane, mechanical refrigeration, vacuum cleaners, many electrical appliances, radios, etc., in some of which mass production methods are used. Mass production methods have been introduced in other industries. Unless there is definite responsibility for watching for such developments, the industries are organized and operating before the union begins to consider organization plans. It would be much more desirable to have industries initiated with union contracts and under union conditions.

If each central labor union had a special committee to be on the watch for new industries, to make reports both to the local body and to the American Federation of Labor, the movement would be in a much better position to make the necessary organization plans. It is obvious we need to have more systematic observation and study to direct organization activity. We should have a definite responsibility of fields that have been unguarded because falling without the jurisdiction of existing unions. New industries are constantly developing and it would be well if we had agencies on watch for these new opportunities for organization.

It would be well if at least once a year each central labor union reviewed the census of industries for its jurisdiction and checked the number of organized in each industry against the total number of men and women employed. This would be a definite test of progress.

The problem of organizing them presents two aspects: What shall be the basis of union organization and what agency shall be responsible for organizing them.

The work organization in mass production industries is such that there must be a new basis of appeal. The industry or the plant must be studied in order to find a basis which would introduce elements of unity and joint interests. The responsibility must lie with a federated body—locally the central labor union and nationally the Federation. All unions would gain from such planning and foresight.

There is need for study of the mass production industries in order that we may know the probability of industrial development in this direction.

3. How to Maintain Members' Interest in Union Work—The union has its administrative problems which are similar to those of all other co-operative undertakings. First among these problems is that of maintaining a stable, active and efficient membership. To accomplish these purposes, the members must realize that the union is an agency permanently necessary to them as a business agency and as a medium for expressing their needs and wishes as workers. The union must, therefore, do effective publicity. It is not enough just to get results. It is necessary to show union members what the union has accomplished in order that they may appreciate the need of promoting the major agency. The workers should have the evidence to help them realize they need the union just as much as the union needs them. It is the function of the various trade organizations to give their members information of the achievements of their unions and it is the function of the federated labor movement to give to all interpretations and facts of most significant happenings. It also devolves upon the federated movement to help employers and the general public to understand what unions are and do. Good will and understanding provide opportunities for unions to perform their duties to industry and to society.

All people are interested in undertakings that give them an opportunity to do something. It is important that unions maintain active work that will afford each member an opportunity to make a personal contribution of service. When a few people do all the work, the others soon lose interest. This fact leads to the next thing a union must do to maintain its members: Provide the means for educational development.

If all union problems are treated as opportunities to get additional information in order to solve new problems; if each new achievement is regarded as new vantage ground for still further development; if we look upon life as well as industrial progress as constant unfoldment, the union becomes an agency for growth and education and a part of the individual growth of each member.

The union should not overlook the fact that pleasure is also a necessary factor in wholesome living and good health. Some social feature should be a part of each meeting and special meetings should be wholly social or with a social background. The spirit of friendliness is one of the strongest ties the union can foster. Many a union provides its members with the advantages and benefits of a club. In order to hold its membership the union must continually provide service and benefits. The union should be inseparably a part of progress—social and industrial.

In addition to these tangible cohesive forces, the union must consider practical services and benefits—such as insurance, investment advices and opportunities, employment service, old age pensions, unemployment aids, opportunities to improve craftsmanship. The union which provides such services in addition to promoting better working conditions and higher wages will have most genuine loyalty and support.

4. Company Unions—The company union is a development of personnel administrators. For administrative purposes it was necessary to have a medium of communication between management and workers.

Two general purposes have been behind company unions: A hostile move to displace trade unions and an effort to provide a channel through which the company could have collective relations with its employees.

This agency gives the company a channel through which to transmit information and to call attention to the problems of the industry. The scope of matters and problems which the group may discuss is limited to the holdings of the company. The controlling hand of management is seen or felt in all company union deliberations and decisions. Definite restriction of discussion to the company's possessions strengthens the hand of management. *

Because of its limitations and its isolation the company union can not be a standard-making force. To have the authority or capacity to establish standards for a group, necessitates independence of thought and action guided by social vision. These qualities the company union does not possess. It is an agency for administering the affairs of a company and is not an economic and social force.

Company unions do not sponsor great moral or social issues; they do not participate in community or national affairs; they do not participate in fundamental decisions in their own industry affecting workers directly; they do not even participate on an equal footing in the decisions concerning them within their own company; they do not venture to give their management the benefit of their own work experiences which are invaluable in evaluating technical procedure and in knowing when and how changes are necessary.

Some corporations which have organized company unions are spending considerable sums of money on employee representation and welfare work. In addition to these inducements they add group insurance, old age pension and employee stock ownership plans. Obviously, the purpose of these corporations is to control and influence the worker so that he will be bound to his position. In binding him in this way he is compelled to forego the exercise of fundamental rights. This is the price the workers must pay for the paternal care which corporations exercise over them. Through such a process they are called upon to surrender certain fundamental rights such as freedom of decision and action. Such a policy is contrary to the public welfare and to the advancement of individual interest.

The organization of the workers should be that which permits the individual worker the widest opportunity for growth and service. This is unquestionably an organization which workers have created to meet their problems and ideals. It must have a basis broader than the single company if it is to set standards. It must represent the social and spiritual aspirations of workers if it is to express their economic conceptions truly. The universal appeal and the strength of the labor movement are the human causes for which Labor is willing to sacrifice its material welfare. Because the trade union represents something infinitely bigger than an extension of personal administration, it provides securities and assurance of continued progress quite beyond

the possibilities of the company union. On the other hand, there is nothing that the company union can do within the single company that the trade union can not develop the machinery for doing and accomplish more effectively. Union-management co-operation—the joint effort of two equal groups—is much more fundamental and effective than employee representation plans for cooperating with management.

The question at issue here is not one that should be decided by conflict—unless employers force that course. It is a serious problem that must be met by individual unions as well as the labor movement as a whole.

SECTION 1—ECONOMIC

Agreements Reached

It is a great satisfaction to be able to submit to you to be made a permanent part of the official proceedings of this convention, the following agreements reached between organizations covering points of jurisdictional controversy, in some instances extending over long periods of time:

PAINTERS—ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Memorandum of Agreement Reached January 4, 1927, Between the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, pursuant to Action of Detroit Convention, 1926.

It is agreed that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America shall have jurisdiction over all painting of traffic signals, ornamental boulevard light standards and street car poles incased to be used for lighting purposes.

It is further agreed that members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers employed by the Public Utilities or Distributing Companies may do such painting of company equipment as they may be required to do for its proper maintenance.

In case of disputes arising in any locality, the local officials of the two crafts shall make an earnest endeavor to reach an amicable settlement. Where such settlement can not be reached, the dispute shall be referred to the International Presidents of the organizations signatory hereto for final decision.

And be it further agreed that no cessation of work shall occur on account of any such dispute, pending the decision by the International Presidents or their representatives, and the craft designated by the employer to continue the work that may be absolutely necessary to be done pending the receipt of decision by International Presidents or their representatives.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPERHANGERS OF AMERICA:

JOHN M. FINAN
JOS. F. KELLEY
ARTHUR WALLACE
LAWRENCE RAPTORY
F. H. DETRICK
GEO. F. HEDRICK

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS:

CHAS. PAULSEN
ORVILLE JENNINGS
IRWIN KNOTT
CHAS. P. FORD,
Chairman, Executive Council,
J. P. NOONAN,
International President.

Attest:

FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary, American Federation of Labor.*
WM. J. MCSORLEY, *President, Building Trades Department,*
American Federation of Labor.

MACHINISTS—TEAMSTERS

For the Purpose of Promoting Harmonious Relations Between the International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, the Following Agreement Has Been Entered into as of This Date.

1. In all garages housing and making repairs to automobiles, whether commercial or pleasure-seeking, it is expressly understood that only members of the International Association of Machinists and the members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America shall hold jurisdiction.

2. It is further agreed that members of the International Association of Machinists shall have full jurisdiction over assembling, dismantling, adjusting and repairing of all mechanical parts and chassis of automobiles, trucks and buses, this to include changing of solid tires.

3. All work in and around garages not covered in the above paragraph such as washing, polishing, oiling, greasing, changing of tires and cleaning up garages shall come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

4. It is understood and agreed that this Agreement does not in any way bind either party to protect the other in any way against the legitimate claims of any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

5. This Agreement has been entered into this 7th day of October, 1926, and shall continue in full force and effect until either party to this Agreement shall serve thirty days' notice on the other party to this Agreement of a desire for a change.

(Signed) A. O. WHARTON,
International President.

(Signed) CHAS. W. FRY,

(Signed) ROBERT FECHNER,
*For the International
Association of Machinists.*

(Signed) DANIEL J. TOBIN,

(Signed) JOHN M. GILLESPIE,

(Signed) MICHAEL CASEY,
*For the International Brotherhood of
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stable-
men and Helpers of America.*

MACHINISTS—ENGINEERS

Agreement entered into between the International Association of Machinists, Hereinafter Referred to as the I. A. of M., and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, Hereinafter Referred to as the I. U. of S. & O. E.

The intention of the following agreement is to bring about harmonious understanding between the members of these organizations to the end that by cooperating and assisting each other, better conditions as well as control of our respective jurisdictions may be enjoyed by both organizations.

1. It is understood by both parties that members of the I. U. of S. & O. E. are recognized as having jurisdiction, to have charge of and operate engines regardless of their motive power.

2. It is understood by both parties that members of the I. A. of M. are recognized as having jurisdiction over the building, assembling, crating, dismantling and repairing of Engines and Machinery of all descriptions used in any kind of service.

3. It is agreed by both parties and attested to by the A. F. of L. and the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., that when temporary emergency running repairs are necessary the engineer will make such repairs that will keep the plant in operation.

4. Both parties to this agreement shall endeavor to assist each other to draw up, and enter into with all plants, buildings and such other places that have controlled units, an agreement to employ members of both organizations on their respective work.

5. If at any time a dispute arises between the parties to this agreement that can not be adjusted by the Business Representatives of the organizations in their respective localities the matter in dispute shall be referred to the International Presidents of the organizations who shall either personally or by authorized representatives meet and adjust the matter at the earliest opportunity.

6. It is understood that this Agreement does not abridge or trespass the recognized jurisdiction of other organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L.

This agreement shall be in full force and effect as of October 12, 1926.

(Signed) A. O. WHARTON,
International President,

(Signed) ARTHUR M. HUDDALL,
General President,

(Signed) CHAS. W. FRY,

I. U. of S. & O. E.

(Signed) ROBT. FECHNER,
I. A. of M.

HORSE SHOERS

At a Conference Held at the Palmer House, Chicago, on December 18, 1926, by All Parties at Interest, It Was Agreed That an Amalgamation of Old Local No. 4, International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union of the United States and Canada, and Old Local No. 4 Shall Take Place Upon the Following Basis:

1. Members in good standing in Old Local No. 4 to be accepted and admitted into membership in New Local No. 4 free of charge. Members of Old Local No. 4 owing three months or less than three months' dues to be accepted into New Local No. 4 on the payment of one, two or three months' dues, as the case may be, the dues per month being two dollars per member. Members who are steadily employed, owing over three months' dues, to pay \$25.00 each; said amount to be paid on or before December 26, 1926.

2. That an election of Local Officers of the amalgamated local unions shall take place within six months. The new Local Officers thus elected shall be Journeymen Horse Shoers who are members in good standing of the Amalgamated Local Union No. 4.

3. That a conference committee shall be elected by the Amalgamated Local Union as soon as the amalgamation is completed, for the purpose of representing the Local in conference with the Master Horse Shoers' Association. The conference committee thus elected shall be employed Journeymen Horse Shoers.

4. We recommend and urge that all Master Horse Shoers who are now members of New Local No. 4 accept membership in the Master Horse Shoers' Association without the payment of any initiation fee as proposed by Mr. Falconer, the official representative of the Chicago Master Horse Shoers' Association, and as embodied in the following proposal:

The shop owners agreed that in the event of an agreement being reached between the two organizations of Journeymen Horse Shoers, they will employ none but members of Local No. 4.

They agree that all shop owners not having sufficient work to regularly employ a journeyman horse shoer will use the Journeymen's Union Label and pay for its use a sum agreed upon in a conference of shop owners and members of Local No. 4.

They agree to observe the hours and the rules governing the Journeymen's Union Label, and that they will pay the current union wages of Local No. 4 to any journeyman horse shoer whom they may temporarily or permanently employ.

They agree to reinstate, free of cost, all former members of the shop owners' local who were compelled to resign and join Local No. 4 for the protection of their trade.

They agree to accept into the employers' local any employer holding

membership in Local No. 4 whether said member formerly belonged to the employers' local or not.

They further agree that if any misunderstanding or disagreement should arise affecting the interests of the shop owners from Local No. 4 after they have become members of the shop owners' local, that all such misunderstandings and disagreements shall be settled by arbiters selected from men not connected with the shop owners' local or the regular conference committee.

5. All members of Old Local No. 4 who are not steadily employed shall, upon application for membership, pay ten dollars, and the balance of their initiation fee, amounting to fifteen dollars, shall be paid within thirty days.

NEW LOCAL NO. 4:

WM. U. RILEY,

President.

JOHN J. DONOHUE.

OLD LOCAL NO. 4:

ALFRED KASTNER,

President.

DAN J. AHERN,

Financial Secretary.

HUBERT S. MARSHALL,

Secretary-Treasurer, I. U. of J. H.

ROBERT FALCONER,

Corresponding Secretary, Masters' Local.

WM. GREEN,

President, American Federation of Labor.

BRICKLAYERS—PLASTERERS

During our Atlantic City, 1925, Convention an agreement was reached between these two organizations providing the ways and means for the creation of a tribunal of three persons to consider and compose their jurisdictional differences. In our report to the Detroit, 1926, convention we were only able to give the name of one member of the Tribunal, Elihu Root. The two other members finally selected were George T. Thornton and Hugh Frayne.

On January 28, 1927, the Tribunal gave the following decision:

In the Matter of the Arbitration Between the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union and the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association Under an Agreement Made at Atlantic City, October 2, 1925.

Decision by the Arbitrators

The Arbitral Tribunal created under the agreement entered into at Atlantic City, New Jersey, on October 2, 1925, between the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union and the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association, containing the following provision:

3. The following questions shall be submitted to a tribunal created under the terms of this agreement, the decision of which shall be accepted and complied with by all parties to this agreement,

Was the O. P. & C. F. I. A. justified in considering the 1911 agreement abrogated after being notified by the B. M. & P. I. U. that they had abrogated the two agreements governing artificial stone and the plastering of walls to receive tile, and would refer these two questions to the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards?

After being notified by the B. M. & P. I. U. that the agreements governing artificial stone and the plastering of walls to receive tile were

considered abrogated by the B. M. & P. I. U., was the action of the O. P. & C. F. I. A. in establishing locals in the cities and towns in contention in the State of Florida, justified or not?

has received and considered all the evidence and arguments produced by the respective parties upon the questions above stated.

Upon the first question submitted the Tribunal decides:

That the O. P. & C. F. I. A. was not justified in considering the 1911 agreement abrogated after being notified by the B. M. & P. I. U. that they had abrogated the two agreements governing artificial stone and the plastering of walls to receive tile and would refer these two questions to the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards.

Upon the second question submitted the Tribunal decides:

That after being notified by the B. M. & P. I. U. that the agreements governing artificial stone and the plastering of walls to receive tile were considered abrogated and no longer in effect by the B. M. & P. I. U., the action of the O. P. & C. F. I. A. in establishing locals in the cities and towns in contention in the State of Florida was not justified.

Done in a meeting of the Tribunal, in the City of New York, held on the 28th day of January, 1927.

ELIHU ROOT.
GEO. T. THORNTON.
HUGH FRAYNE.

In the meantime, at a conference between representatives of the two organizations at our Washington headquarters, in which President Green participated, the following understanding was reached:

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 21, 1926.

At a Conference between the representatives of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association and the representatives of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union, in which the President of the American Federation of Labor participated, it was agreed that the President of the American Federation of Labor call another conference after the Tribunal created by the Atlantic City agreement has rendered its decision. Said conference will be held for the purpose of establishing permanent peace and understanding between the two organizations and to restore the 1911 agreement in spirit and in purpose. All parties pledge themselves to attend the future conference to be called by the President of the American Federation of Labor for the express purpose of arriving at a complete understanding and establishing peace and harmony between the Officers and members of the two organizations affected.

Signed: EDW. J. MCGIVERN,
President, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers'
International Association.
W. J. BOWEN,
President, Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers'
International Union.

Pursuant to that action President Green called a conference to meet in Atlantic City, March 2, 1927. The minutes of that conference give the following agreements and understandings:

Agreement

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., March 2, 1927.

The representatives of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association pledge themselves to comply with the decision

of the Arbitral Tribunal rendered February 1, 1927.* The ways and means by which the decision of the Tribunal will be carried into effect in the State of Florida shall be first considered by this Conference. The plans and details of a policy to be immediately inaugurated and followed in making the decision of the Tribunal operative and effective shall be worked out and agreed upon. This to include the name or names of the representative or representatives who are to be sent to Florida for the purpose of making the Tribunal's decision effective.

The President of the American Federation of Labor will, if requested, assign such representative of the American Federation of Labor as may be asked to go to Florida for the purpose of assisting the representatives of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association in carrying out the plans and decisions of this Conference.

After this part of the work of this Conference has been completed it is understood that we will then proceed to agree upon a plan providing for the restoration of the 1911 agreement in all the cities and towns where it has been either violated or set aside by either the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association or by the Bricklayers', Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

This plan providing for the restoration of the 1911 Agreement in the cities and towns outside of Florida where it has been violated by either organization to be put into effect as soon as the plan agreed upon by this Conference regarding compliance with the Arbitral Tribunal's decision has been carried out in Florida.

Plan of procedure for carrying out the decision of the Arbitral Tribunal in Florida.

1. Representatives of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association will proceed to Florida immediately for the purpose of informing the membership of the Local Unions affected of the Agreement entered into at Atlantic City on October 2, 1925, providing for the creation of the Arbitral Tribunal and of the decision of that Tribunal. The Locals shall be advised of the determination of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association to carry the decision into effect and shall be instructed to comply with the decision without further delay. The Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' representatives shall take such action as may be necessary to make the decision of the Arbitral Tribunal operative and effective.

2. The Officers of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association designate and appoint General Organizer W. A. O'Keefe and Vice-President M. Riley as their representatives to proceed to Florida for the express purpose of informing the locals of the decision of the Arbitral Tribunal and this Conference and for the purpose of making the decision operative. In conformity with the decision of the Arbitral Tribunal and this Conference the charters of the local unions of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association affected shall be revoked. The membership of these locals shall be informed of this agreed action and the above named representatives of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association shall proceed to revoke the charters of these Local Unions as quickly as possible.

March 3, 1927.

All Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' locals in Florida outside of Jacksonville, Pensacola and Daytona will be withdrawn.

In the event any members of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' locals in Florida whose charters are revoked rebel and refuse to transfer their membership, as required by the decision of the Arbitral Tribunal and the agreement of this Conference, they shall not be permitted to retain

*The decision of the Tribunal was signed January 28, but was not presented until February 1.

their membership in the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association. Such action as may be necessary will be taken in order to compel all members to comply with this understanding.

In transferring members from the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' locals, whose charters are revoked, to the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' locals an interchangeable card from the local from which the member or members transferred was last a member, outside of Florida or from locals in Jacksonville, Daytona or Pensacola, shall be presented and accepted. In order to facilitate this transfer of members the representatives of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association shall certify that the members transferred are entitled to an interchangeable card and shall certify to the interchangeable card presented. The Bricklayers', Masons and Plasterers' locals will accept such interchangeable cards thus certified and presented.

Should any member or members attempt to use any subterfuge such as transferring his membership to another Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' local and returns to work in the localities where charters have been revoked within six months no interchangeable card shall be recognized as coming from the local where the said member or members transferred and he shall be expelled from membership in the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association.

The status of all other members shall be referred to the authorized representatives of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union for consideration and action.

It is agreed that the official representatives of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association, a representative of the Bricklayers', Masons and Plasterers' International Union and a representative of the American Federation of Labor shall meet at Hotel Central, Miami, Florida, on Wednesday March 16th, for the purpose of holding meetings and arranging an itinerary through which the decision of the Arbitral Tribunal and the Agreement of this Conference shall be carried into effect.

As supplementary to the foregoing Understanding it is agreed that in restoring the 1911 Agreement the representatives of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union and the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association shall withdraw all charters of Local Unions organized and established in cities and towns contrary to the provisions of the 1911 Agreement.

Pursuant to this understanding the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association agrees to withdraw locals from the following cities and towns:

<i>Union No.</i>	<i>City and State</i>
683	Bellingham, Washington
684	Nevada, Mo.
687	Lubuck, Texas (Lubbuck).
688	Olympia, Washington.
691	Eugene, Oregon.
700	Columbia, South Carolina.
701	Ashtabula, Ohio.
*250	Emporia, Kansas.
306	Atlantic City, N. J.
*238	Butler, Pa.
287	Elyria, Ohio.
708	Pontiac, Michigan.
542	Murphysboro, Ill.
*709	Fond Du Lac, Wisconsin.
710	White Plains, N. Y., and Westchester Co.
202	Elkhart, Indiana.
324	Calgary, Alberta.
712	Charlottesville, Va.
713	Spartanburg, S. C.

714	Augusta, Ga.
717	Hackensack, N. J., and Bergen Co.
719	Du Quoin, Illinois.
563	Eau Claire, Wisconsin.
419	San Angelo, Texas.
453	Ft. Scott, Kansas.

NOTE—* indicates Charter suspended.

<i>Union No.</i>	<i>City and State</i>
726	Biloxi (Gulfport), Miss.
731	Durham, N. C.
734	Hendersonville, N. C.
737	Hastings, Nebraska.
645	Alexandria, La.
740	High Point, N. C.

The Bricklayers', Masons and Plasterers' International Union agree to withdraw locals from the following cities and towns:

<i>Union No.</i>	<i>City and State</i>
27	San Francisco, Calif.
52	Philadelphia, Pa.
32	New York City.
33	Dearborn, Michigan.
27	Dallas, Texas.

The jurisdiction of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association in Syracuse, New York, and Terre Haute, Indiana, is recognized by the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union.

It is understood that all agreements, rules and regulations bearing on the 1911 Agreement drafted and accepted at all Conferences held subsequent to the adoption of the 1911 Agreement are restored, recognized and re-established.

The Representatives of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union and the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association pledge themselves to cooperate together in bringing about a transfer of members in the cities and towns where charters are withdrawn to the jurisdiction of the organization which is granted jurisdiction and control.

Organizer Paul J. Smith was designated to serve as the representative of the American Federation of Labor in assisting the two organizations in putting the terms of the agreement into effect in Florida. His report of the successful completion of this mission was made on April 8th and is now part of the official records on this case.

Again on August 17th at a conference in New York City the following agreement was reached:

Memorandum

NEW YORK CITY, August 17, 1927.

A meeting of the representatives of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union and the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association was held in Room C, McAlpin Hotel, New York City, at 2.30 p. m., August 17, 1927.

The names of those present, participating in the conference, are as follows:

For the Bricklayers', Masons and Plasterers' International Union:	For the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association:
George T. Thornton	Edward J. McGivern
John J. Gleeson	John Donlin
Harry C. Bates	W. A. O'Keefe
Walter V. Price	T. A. Scully
John Gill	W. A. Brennan
J. T. Cavanaugh	
For the American Federation of Labor, William Green.	

A general discussion took place regarding the terms of the Atlantic City Agreement of March 2 and 3, 1927. For the purpose of clarifying the situation it is agreed that any members of either the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union or the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association who accepts employment upon unfair work in Florida shall be dropped from membership in his respective organization. Any members of either organization charged with working upon an unfair job shall be given a hearing and a trial before being deprived of his membership.

All interchangeable cards must be accepted. If the skill or competency of any member of either organization is questioned by a local union an investigation must be made by the representatives of the two organizations for the purpose of determining his skill and eligibility to membership. If it is found the member whose case is investigated is unskilled and incompetent his membership shall be revoked by the International Executive Board of the organization in which he holds membership.

It is agreed that the Officers of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union and the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association will send an official circular to all local unions coming under their respective jurisdictions instructing them to accept interchangeable cards when presented, without question and without delay.

The representatives of the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union agree that the charters of Locals No. 27, San Francisco, California; No. 52, Philadelphia, Pa.; No. 32, New York; No. 33, Dearborn, Mich., and No. 27, Dallas, Texas, shall, in conformity with the Atlantic City Agreement of March 2nd and 3rd, be revoked. The revocation of the charters of these locals shall take place before September 1, 1927.

The jurisdiction of the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association in the cities of Syracuse, New York, and Terre Haute, Indiana, is recognized by the Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union and its representatives agree that its jurisdiction in these cities shall be completely relinquished by September 1, 1927.

For the Bricklayers', Masons and Plasterers' International Union:

GEORGE T. THORNTON
HARRY C. BATES
WALTER V. PRICE
JAMES T. CAVANAUGH
JOHN GILL

For the Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association:

ED. J. MCGIVERN
JOHN H. DONLIN
W. A. O'KEEFE
T. A. SCULLY
W. A. BRENNAN

For the American Federation of Labor: WILLIAM GREEN.

The 1911 agreement has been restored completely and the officers and members of the two organizations manifest a spirit of determination to adhere strictly to the rules and regulations embodied in the 1911 agreement.

Agreements Pending

ELECTRICAL WORKERS—RAILROAD SIGNALMEN

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, through its delegates to the Portland convention, 1923, entered a resolution calling attention to the fact that when the charter of affiliation was granted to the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen, it was specifically agreed that its jurisdiction would not trespass upon the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations. The resolution then recited various instances in which the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen had violated and was violating this jurisdictional understanding. The resolution requested that the President of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to call a conference of the officers of the two organizations within six months from date "for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment

of existing disputes and basis for harmonious relations in the future." The representatives of both organizations came before the Committee on Adjustment to which this resolution was referred, and agreed to meet in the City of Chicago not later than February 1924. This conference was held February 20-21. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers submitted the following as a basis of adjustment:

The B. R. S. of A. shall hold jurisdiction over the following maintenance work on railroads:

- (a) Manual signals, including all parts thereof.
- (b) Pneumatic signal systems, and all devices pertaining thereto.
- (c) All of the men rated as signalmen employed on exclusively manual signal systems, and exclusively pneumatic signal systems.
- (d) On electrical and semi-electrical signal systems, they shall have jurisdiction over all men rated as signalmen or signal maintainers, who for less than fifty per cent (50%) of their time are engaged on work that is recognized as work coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; in accordance with their jurisdiction on file with the American Federation of Labor, and generally recognized by the labor movement and employers.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall hold jurisdiction over all men in the signal department who for fifty per cent (50%) or more of their time, are engaged at work coming under the jurisdiction of the I. B. E. W. as specified in preceding paragraph.

It is further agreed that each of the organizations signatory hereto shall render every possible assistance, each to the other, in organizing all of the men engaged in signal work on the railroads, and shall insist upon their holding membership in the organization properly holding jurisdiction, in accordance with this agreement.

It is further agreed that instructions shall be issued by the I. B. E. W. to locals of the I. B. E. W., and instructions shall be issued by the B. R. S. of A. to locals of the B. R. S. and A., to transfer any men that may now hold membership in such locals, to the organization properly holding jurisdiction over the work being performed by these men, as herein set forth, instructing that such transfer shall be made by July 1, 1924. It is further agreed that in any case where it can be shown that such transfer has not been made by that time, that the organizations signatory hereto agree that they will notify the men affected and subject to transfer under this agreement, that they must transfer immediately, the penalty for failure to transfer being the refusal by the organization of which the man is then a member, of further per capita tax on the said man.

It is further agreed that any men who are transferred by reason of this agreement, and under the provisions thereof, who desire to maintain their property rights and standing in the organization of which they are now members, may do so through the form of withdrawal or transfer card, provided for by the laws of their present respective organization; and, while withdrawing from membership in the local union where they now hold membership, they may retain their affiliation with the B. R. S. of A., or the I. B. E. W., as the case may be, through payment of per capita tax direct to the national or international office of their present organization.

The Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America laid before the conference the following:

The Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America claim jurisdiction over the following:

All signalmen who are actively engaged in the construction or maintaining of mechanical and automatic block signals, locking and interlocking plants, mechanical, pneumatic electric or otherwise, while employed in the signal department of a railroad company.

Again at the El Paso, 1924, convention, the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers introduced a resolution of protest against the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen. The hearing on this resolution developed that in 1919 the presidents of the two contending organizations entered into the following agreement:

Jurisdictional Claims

All work pertaining to the maintenance and repair of electric, electro-pneumatic, electro-gas, electrical mechanical, or mechanical signals, interlockings, interlocked switches, derails or railroad crossing gates, train staffs, automatic train stops or controls, highway crossing alarms or signals, and all other signal appliances maintained and repaired by the regular signal department forces, coming under the supervision of the signal engineer.

This shall include all composite mechanics, their helpers and apprentices, who hold regularly assigned positions in the signal department, and shall not be construed to include electricians, linemen, machinists, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers and carpenters or signalmen, who for fifty per cent (50%) or more of their time perform work as defined in Articles 140 and 141 of shop crafts national agreement, under date of September 20, 1919, or other craftsmen who for the performance of their craft work may be recruited from other departments or outside industries, for the purpose of constructing new sections of signal appliances.

(Signed) JAS. P. NOONAN,
I. B. of E. W.

(Signed) D. W. HRLT,
B. of R. S. of A.

Inasmuch as both organizations made this agreement in 1919, the 1924 convention went on record as approving the 1919 agreement as a fair settlement of the 1924 jurisdictional controversy.

At our meeting in August, 1926, representatives of both organizations were accorded a hearing and both sides afforded the fullest opportunity to present data in support of their respective contentions. We gave the most careful consideration to the matters thus presented and then directed President Green to call a conference within ninety days of the representatives of the two organizations, and to appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor to take part therein. It was not possible to hold the conference prior to the Detroit, 1926, convention and both sides were so notified. Thereafter, on the morning of December 7, by arrangement of President Green, the conference was held in Chicago, T. J. Conboy acting as the Federation representative. At that conference the Railroad Signalmen submitted the following:

All work pertaining to the installation, maintenance and repair of electric, electro-pneumatic, electro-gas, electrical mechanical or mechanical signals, interlockings, interlocked switches, derails or railroad crossing gates, train staffs, automatic train stops or controls, highway crossing alarms or signals and all other signal appliances maintained or repaired by the regular signal department forces.

This shall include all composite mechanics, their helpers and apprentices, who hold regularly assigned positions at signal work, and shall not be construed to include electricians or linemen, or other craftsmen who for the performance of their craft work may be recruited from other departments or outside industries, for the purpose of constructing new sections of signal appliances.

The Electrical Workers proposed:

Inasmuch as this meeting, held December 7, 1926, is in conformity with the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the action of the Executive Council being to the effect that:—

A conference be held between the officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the officers of the Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen of America, for the purpose of putting into effect the decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in El Paso in 1924.

(The decision of the El Paso convention was to the effect that the agreement reached by both organizations with the Railroad Administration during federal control, was an equitable settlement of the differences existing between the organizations and that this stands, also that the agreement reached with the Railroad Administration on the matter of jurisdiction stand as the proper jurisdiction of each of the contesting organizations.)

Now then, since this agreement provided that the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen was to have jurisdiction over signal maintainers in the signal department of the railroads, who were engaged at work properly recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, for less than fifty per cent (50%) of their time, and that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers should represent and have jurisdiction over and control all men in the signal department of railroads who for fifty per cent (50%) or more of their time were engaged in work recognized as properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

THEREFORE—It is hereby proposed by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, that all linemen, line repair men, trouble men and other men who for fifty per cent (50%) or more of their time (working) are engaged at work recognized as coming under the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, be transferred to locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and all men now members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the signal department of the railroads, not engaged for fifty per cent (50%) or more of their time on work coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, be transferred by the locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, to the locals of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

It is agreed that the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall, from their general offices, send out letters repeating these instructions to all the Railroad local unions under their respective jurisdiction and embody in such letter the instructions to the local unions that this transfer should take effect within sixty (60) days from the date of this meeting, and that the men so transferred from one organization to the other shall not be required to pay any initiation fee except such insurance premium as may be charged regularly to the members of the organization to which the men are transferred, with the dues for the current month or quarter in which the transfer is made.

Mr. Conboy expressed the following belief:

It is my opinion that the Brotherhood of Signalmen are in constant fear of the disintegration of their organization if the jurisdictional claims of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers are granted, and with this suspicious feeling of uncertainty they are determined not to concede to their demands. I further believe that the priority claim of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers must be sustained—that electrical work comes under the jurisdiction of the Electrical Workers. The proposition of the Electrical Workers that where these men are employed at electrical work more than 50% of the time—they belong to the Electrical Workers. Where they are doing Signalmen work and are employed at electrical work less than 50% of the time, they belong to the Signalmen. I believe this to be an equitable, fair and just proposal.

The case again came before us at our meeting in January, 1927. Action was deferred until our May meeting. The Railroad Signalmen were notified of the postponement but failed to have a representative at the May meeting. President Noonan of the Electrical Workers was in attendance. He narrated in full the unsuccessful efforts he had made to have a conference with President Helt.

We thereupon directed President Green to take the matter up with President Helt and advise him that the decision of the El Paso convention must be carried out.

President Green met with Mr. Helt in conference in Chicago on June 11. He submitted to Mr. Helt the following as a means of settlement of the jurisdictional controversy:

Jurisdiction Claims

All work pertaining to the maintenance and repair of electric, electro-pneumatic, electro-gas, electrical mechanical or mechanical signals, interlockings, interlocked switches, derails or railroad crossing gates, train staffs, automatic train stops or controls, highway crossing alarms or signals and all other signal appliances maintained or repaired by the regular signal department forces, coming under the supervision of the signal engineer.

This shall include all composite mechanics, their helpers and apprentices, who hold regularly assigned positions in the signal department, and shall not be construed to include electricians, linemen, machinists, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers and carpenters or signalmen, who for fifty per cent (50%) or more of their time perform work as defined in Articles 140 and 141 of shop crafts national agreement, under date of September 20, 1919, or other craftsmen who for the performance of their craft work may be recruited from other departments or outside industries, for the purpose of constructing new sections of signal appliances.

(Signed) JAS. P. NOONAN,
I. B. of E. W.
(Signed) D. W. HELT,
B. of R. S. of A.

In the event a dispute arises as to whether an employe is doing fifty per cent (50%) or less of electrical work as set forth in the agreement of 1919, said dispute shall be referred to an impartial tribunal to be created by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for final decision.

In response, Mr. Helt stated that inasmuch as his convention had approved the proposal he had made, he could not accept any proposal which deviated from his convention action. President Helt referred all the correspondence and the proposed plans of agreement to the officers of his organization. They were unanimous in stating that nothing could be done that would in any way depart from the action of their convention. The next convention of the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen will be held in September, 1928.

The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has been ready at all times to comply with the decision of the El Paso convention.

We have been unable to secure an adjustment in accordance with the decision of the El Paso convention.

MACHINISTS—STREET & ELECTRIC RAILWAY EMPLOYES

In 1924 complaint was made to the Executive Council by President O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway employes was encroaching upon the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers. By our direction a conference was called on August 21, of the representatives of the several contending organizations. At this conference the Street Railway Men stated that they had no authority to meet the representatives of the Electrical Workers or the Blacksmiths, but that they were only authorized to meet in conference with the representatives of the Machinists. Thereupon the representatives of the Electrical

Workers and the Blacksmiths withdrew from the conference. It was agreed at this conference that the representatives of the Machinists and the representatives of the Street and Electric Railway Employees should meet in Boston in September, 1924, for the purpose of making an investigation of the jurisdictional dispute in that city, and that the representatives be authorized to endeavor to reach an agreement upon the points in dispute, submit their findings to the executive officers of the two organizations and recommend the adoption of any agreement that might be reached between the conferees in Boston.

This conference was held on September 3, 1924, but no agreement was reached.

We made report of the matter to the El Paso convention, 1924. The delegate from the Metal Trades Department to that convention introduced a resolution (No. 7) which asked that the Street and Electric Railway Employees organization be instructed to discontinue its efforts to induce or to accept for membership employees coming under the jurisdiction of other affiliated organizations and that the Street and Electric Railway Employees organization be instructed to "transfer all metal trades mechanics now holding membership in that organization to their proper metal trades organizations." The convention referred the resolution to the Executive Council with instructions to call a conference of all interested parties to meet within ninety days from the adjournment of the convention.

This conference was held at headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on March 12, 1925, between the representatives of the Machinists, Blacksmiths and the Street and Electric Railway Employees, with President Green and Secretary Morrison for the American Federation of Labor participating therein. Again the conference failed to reach an understanding or agreement. The representatives of the Machinists expressed the belief that the Executive Council should assume jurisdiction. They requested a hearing at our May, 1925, meeting. All parties were notified to that effect and requested to have representatives in attendance. Unfortunately the representatives of the Street and Electric Railway Employees could not be present at our meeting. The representatives of the Machinists and the Blacksmiths were in attendance. They again presented their respective claims of jurisdiction. We again requested further conference between those whose interests were involved. This further conference was held at headquarters on July 29, 1925. As the result of this conference the following recommendation was made to us:

That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor undertake through President Green to call into being a Conference and adjustment committee; this committee to consist of three members, two of which are to be selected by the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, respectively, and the third to be selected by the American Federation of Labor through its President and if possible one who will be agreeable to both organizations; this committee to visit such places as may be selected by the two organizations concerned or by the President of the American Federation of Labor; that this committee shall be authorized to negotiate an understanding and agreement between the organizations referred to herein, but that it shall not be authorized and shall not be empowered to make any decisions; and that in the event no understanding or agreement is reached all representatives shall present their respective findings of facts and reports to the President of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of having the Executive Council give the matter further consideration.

We accepted the recommendation and communicated it to the officers of the Machinists and the Street and Electric Railway Employees.

We made report upon this matter to the Atlantic City, 1925, convention and at the same time reported that all questions in controversy between the Blacksmiths and the Street and Electric Railway Employees had been satisfactorily adjusted. We also reported to that convention that both the Machinists and the Street and Electric Railway Employees had accepted our recommendation for the creation of a conference and adjustment committee.

The conference and adjustment committee authorized by the Atlantic City, 1925, convention was duly appointed and held several meetings. The committee and the officers of the two organizations met with the Executive Council when the whole subject was fully considered. We then decided:

After giving all the facts submitted careful consideration and after weighing all the arguments offered, it is the opinion of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees does not claim jurisdiction over machinists and machinists' helpers employed in machine shops devoted to machine and machine-repair work. The Executive Council suggests that in car barns or terminal points not regarded as machine shops devoted to machine work and machine-repair work if there arises a dispute over the classification of machinists or machinists' helpers, such dispute to be taken up for adjustment by the representatives of all parties at interest.

This decision was reported to the Detroit, 1926, convention. That convention declared:

Your committee is of the opinion that the Street and Electric Railway Employees' Association should be made to understand that they should no longer undertake to exercise jurisdiction or control over the work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the I. A. M. and that they be instructed to proceed without delay to dissociate from their organization all men who are doing machinist work exclusively, whether employed in machine shops or car barns; that the executive officers of the Street and Electric Railway Employees' Association should immediately move to apprise all their local organizations of this decision, and to instruct their subordinate officers to take steps at once to put this decision into effect.

Immediately after the adjournment of the convention President Green formally notified President Mahon of the convention action. At the same time he expressed the belief that the letter and spirit of the convention action required Mr. Mahon to address a letter to his affiliated local unions wherever this jurisdictional controversy had become acute urging in the interest of their organization as well as the labor movement as a whole that all subordinate branches comply with the convention action. Much correspondence passed between the two organizations through President Green's office.

On March 26, in reply to a letter from President Wharton of the International Association of Machinists, President Green addressed a letter to President Wharton in which he stated:

Your favor of March 24th has been received. In this communication your request "That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor put into practical effect the report of the Committee on Executive Council's report at the 1926 Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor, found on page 332 of the proceedings of the 46th annual convention.

In reply to this request which you have officially transmitted permit me to call your attention to a communication which I sent to President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America on November 5, 1926, soon after the adjournment of the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor. In this communication I called the attention of the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America to the decision of the Detroit convention and to the fact that the Detroit convention decided—

that the executive officers of the Street and Electric Railway Employees' Association should immediately move to apprise all of their local unions of this decision and instruct their subordinate officers to take steps at once to put this decision into effect.

The decision of the Detroit convention herein referred to reads as follows:

Your committee is of the opinion that the Street and Electric Railway Employees' Association should be made to understand that they should no longer undertake to exercise jurisdiction or control over the work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists and that they be instructed to proceed without delay to dissociate from their organization all men who are doing machinist work exclusively whether employed in machine shops or car bars.

A reading of this correspondence and a consideration of all the facts in connection therewith must inevitably lead to the conclusion that the officers of the American Federation of Labor have complied with the instructions of the Detroit convention relative to the jurisdictional controversy existing between the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and the International Association of Machinists.

It does not appear from a careful reading of the report of the committee herein referred to and the action of the Detroit convention that the Executive Council is clothed with authority to take any forcible action in order to compel compliance with the decision of the Detroit convention.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is willing and anxious to be helpful and to serve in every practicable way possible in trying to bring about a settlement of this regrettable controversy which exists between the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and the International Association of Machinists. The Executive Council will continue to use its influence in trying to bring about an understanding between the two organizations affected.

Be assured that I will submit your communication to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting which will be held beginning May 4th. Your request for action on the part of the Executive Council, and your suggestions regarding a preliminary step will be given very serious and careful consideration by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I will promptly advise you of whatever decision may be reached.

Both organizations were requested to have their representatives attend our May meeting. President Mahon stated in reply that it would be useless for his organization to comply as the entire subject matter would be considered by the organization at their next convention which would meet in September, 1927, and that their Executive Board felt that it would be a waste of time of the Executive Council to come before it for the purpose of discussing the matter.

At the time this report is being prepared the convention of the Street and Electric Railway Employees' organization is in session. We hope to be in a position to present a supplementary report dealing with this case.

TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS—HOD CARRIERS AND BUILDING LABORERS

Conforming to the directions of the last convention upon Resolution No. 1, President Green arranged for a representative of the American Federation of Labor to meet in conference with representatives of the contending organizations.

A number of conferences were thus held. We regret to report that all efforts to compose the jurisdictional differences were without avail.

Reorganization of the International Fur Workers' Union

In the early part of 1926 the fur workers of New York City became involved in a strike. The tactics employed in the strike were not in harmony with trade union practice or policy. Through a system prevailing in that international union the affairs of the organization were in control of a Joint Board. This Board had gradually wrested control of the organization from the international officers elected by the

convention. The officers of the international union appealed to the American Federation of Labor to make an investigation of the strike, how it originated, how it was controlled and directed by the Joint Board. The Joint Board also agreed to have this investigation made. Later the International Fur Workers' Union requested the American Federation of Labor to assist the international officers in placing the international union upon a sound working, practical trade union basis and to rid the international union for all time of communistic leadership and destructive influences.

For this purpose we approved the request made and authorized President Green to make such an investigation and report to the Executive Council. He thereupon appointed Matthew Woll, Hugh Frayne, Edward F. McGrady, Joseph P. Ryan and John Sullivan as the investigating committee.

The work of the committee has been arduous and extended. Its report is necessarily voluminous and can not therefore be incorporated in this report. It is part of the official records of the Federation and can be read at any time by any accredited trade union official or representative.

Thereafter President Green was authorized to appoint a special committee to assist the international union to enforce the recommendations made by the Executive Council. This committee consisted of Matthew Woll, Hugh Frayne, and Edward F. McGrady. The committee proceeded at once in the task of reorganizing the local furriers' unions of New York City and succeeded in this work to a most remarkable degree in view of the stubborn communistic opposition that was met with.

On June 13, 1927, the regular convention of the International Fur Workers' Union was held in the Council chamber of the American Federation of Labor headquarters.

The international was reorganized. New officers were elected. The men elected, like the former international officers, are in full sympathy with the American Federation of Labor and will support its policies. The control of the organization has been taken from the former communistic officers of the New York Joint Board of Furriers' Unions of Greater New York. To go into the details of this case would necessitate a lengthy report. However, all documents, data and material relating thereto will be at the command of the committee to which this subject may be referred.

Organizing the Unorganized

There were several resolutions of the Detroit Convention proposing district organizing campaigns. These were referred to us for "advice, encouragement and co-operation" in these various organizing activities. We have given assistance to the best of our ability through sending out literature to organizers and central bodies, by cooperating with state and city central bodies in organizing drives and through the work and help of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, both salaried and volunteer.

By Resolution No. 35, the President of the American Federation of Labor was directed to "call a conference of all national and international organizations interested in the automobile industry for the purpose of working out details to inaugurate a general organizing campaign among the workers of that industry, and that the question of jurisdiction be suspended for the time being so that the desired result sought for in the resolution may be accomplished."

Pursuant to the convention action two conferences have been held at headquarters, the first December 2, 1926, and the other March 24, 1927. We are not in a position to report in detail upon this campaign, yet we can say that the matter is being given the best possible attention in cooperation with the organizations directly interested.

Volunteer Organizers

The records of the American Federation of Labor show how well this group of workers perform their work. These workers are our main dependence in securing new unions. They have given impersonal service. That means sacrifice of time and other opportunities and the quality of service they have given renews our faith in human idealism. The spirit of the volunteer is a priceless thing.

On behalf of the American labor movement we express to them our deep appreciation of the services they have rendered and our hope that the coming year will bring even greater returns from their work.

History of Hours of Labor.

1776-1835 Early factories worked the same hours as agricultural labor, from sunrise to sunset, which was in summer, 14 to 16 hours a day with two hours or less off for meals, in winter 9 to 12 hours with one hour or less for meals.

1833 to 1835 *The Ten-Hour Movement*—Early workers' organizations agitating for the ten-hour day met strong adverse public opinion because "industrious habits" were thought to mean toil from sun to sun. In 1833 concerted action began, led by the building tradesmen and followed by blacksmiths, mechanics, tailors, ship workers and other craftsmen. The strike of the Boston carpenters started strikes of workers generally in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and seven smaller towns, and by the fall of 1835 the ten-hour day was won for most craftsmen in cities.

1840-1870 *Legislative Action*—Longer hours were still the rule in many industries, especially cotton and woolen mills. President Van Buren declared the ten-hour day for federal employes in 1840. Workers' organizations agitated for legislation, and many of the states passed laws making ten hours the legal day except where contracts specified otherwise. In 1865 agitation began for eight-hour laws. Six states passed such laws, but they were poorly enforced. By 1870 the ten-hour day was the rule in the crafts, but bakeries, transportation, cotton mills and others worked 11-14 hours. As unions were growing in strength they decided to abandon the legislative method and try to regulate hours by trade union action.

1884-1890 *The Eight Hour Movement*—The American Federation of Labor convention in 1884 fixed upon May 1, 1886, as the time for establishing the eight-hour day. This was the rallying point for organization, and unions grew rapidly in strength. On May 1, 1886, 190,000 workers struck, 42,000 successfully, and 150,000 others won shorter hours without striking. These gains were not all lasting. The Federation called for continuing action, by one union after another. The carpenters led the movement on May 1, 1890, and won the eight-hour day in 137 cities, and nine hours in most other places.

1918-1919 *The Coming of the Eight-Hour Day*—In 1909 76 per cent of the workers in manufacturing industry worked 54 to 60 hours a week and 8 per cent over 60. During the war labor organizations grew in strength and the War Labor Boards favored shorter hours. In the post-war boom the workers were in a strategic position. Gains in hours are shown in the following table:

Per Cent of Wage Earners Employed in Establishments Where
Prevailing Hours of Labor Are:

Per Week	1909	1914	1919	1921	1923
48 and under.....	7.2	11.8	48.7	51.5	46.1
Over 48, under 54.....	7.3	13.5	16.5	18.2	21.9
54 to 60.....	76.1	68.9	31.8	27.8	30.1
Over 60.....	8.7	5.8	3.0	2.5	1.9

Continuous Industries—As early as 20 years ago some continuous industries changed from two 12-hour to three 8-hour shifts, but the most important changes came during or after the war. Steel changed in 1922 to 1924, in the largest plants, and is now predominantly on the three-shift system except for a very few unskilled workers. The following continuous industries are now predominantly on the three-shift system: Rubber, electric power plants (except factory power plants), gas works, heavy chemicals, ceramic industries except glass, oil refineries (except oil well workers), railroads, street railroads, telephone and telegraph, seamen. Others are still partly or wholly on the 12-hour shift. The following report is of 1923:

Glass—Twelve-hour shift came with introduction of machinery. A number of plants changed in the last few years.

Cement—Twelve-hour shift still common, but the largest company and a number of others have changed.

Lime Burning—Still on 12 hours except in Illinois.

Sugar Refineries—North and west beet sugar and Louisiana cane sugar still on 12-hour shift for short season of 45-90 days.

Manufactured Ice—In the south 2 shifts prevail.

Oil Well Diggers—Usually on 12-hour shifts.

Watchmen—On 12 hours nearly everywhere.

1925-1926 *The Present Situation*—Data are not available for all industries.

The following from the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate conditions:

Per Cent of Wage Earners Whose Full Time Weekly Hours Were:

INDUSTRY	Year	Under 44	44	Over 44 Inc. 48	Over 48 Inc. 54	Over 54
Men's Clothing.....	1926	2.7	85.7	9.1	2.3	.2
Slaughtering and Meat Packing	1925	(*)	(*)	*68.	23.0	8.0
Machine shops.....	1925		3.5	34.2	49.0	13.4
Foundries.....	1925	1.5	1.9	28.3	53.6	14.7
Automobiles.....	1925		2.1	24.9	62.6	10.3
Cotton goods.....	1926	(*)	(*)	*30.1	11.7	59.2
		48 and under		Over 48 under 60		60 and over
Iron and Steel.....	1926	32.6		40.4		27.0
Lumber.....	1925	21.		8.		71.

(*)Not recorded separately.

*48 and under."

The clothing industry, a highly organized industry, works short hours; while in cotton goods over half the wage earners still work over 54 hours a week; 7.9% of these work 60 hours or more. In iron and steel more than one-fourth of the workers and in lumber nearly three-fourths work over 60 hours a week. In some branches of the iron and steel industry the 7-day week is worked; 23.3% of all wage earners work 7 days.

The Five-Day Week—A survey made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1926 shows 40,596 trade union members in 66 cities having the 5-day, 40-hour week. In the clothing industry 10,872 persons have a 5-day week, but usually of 44 hours. Most of the fur workers (14,000) also have it. Other organized workers who have the 40-hour five-day week are as follows:

New York: Cloth hat and cap industry, (44 hours); waterproof garment workers, cutters, pressers and buttonhole makers, cloak, skirt, dress and reefer makers, ladies' tailors and custom dressmakers, all ladies' garment makers employed by the Dress Manufacturers' Association.

Philadelphia: Cloth hat and cap makers (44 hours).

Boston: Cloak skirt and dress makers.

Baltimore: Cloth hat and cap workers employed by Dorf and Co.

Report of the survey shows the following percentage of organized workers in 66 cities have the five-day week:

Trade	Per Cent of Workers
Bakers.....	1.4
Building trades (chiefly painters).....	6.6
Granite and stone trades.....	1.0
Laundry workers (over 40 hours).....	7.8
Printing and publishing—newspaper.....	1.0
Printing and publishing—newspaper (40 hrs., 6 day)....	4.9

Unorganized workers:

<i>Trade</i>	<i>Per Cent of Workers</i>	<i>Number of Workers</i>
Paper box board.....	66.6	6,721
Foundries and machine shops (usually over 40 hours).....	3.5	4,417
Iron and Steel.....	2.1	1,579

This makes a total of 64,011 wage earners who were working the five-day week when the survey was made in 1926 15,289 of these working more than 40 hours. This is, however, a very conservative figure since the survey did not cover all workers, and since a number of other unions have recently made agreements establishing the 40-hour 5-day week. The number now working the 5-day, 40-hour week has been estimated at 90,000 or more by an industrial expert, not including Ford factories where conditions are now changing.

Labor and Banking

Since the report on this subject made to the last convention there has been a decrease in the number of labor banks.

There are three labor banks now in the process of organization and situated in Columbus, Ohio; Buffalo, New York, and Atlantic City, N. J. It is understood that the application for the Columbus, Ohio, bank has remained dormant in the State Department of Banking because of inaction on the part of the applicants.

Attention has repeatedly been called to the great care which should be exercised by Labor in considering entrance into the banking field. Experience in this field has now sufficiently cumulated to make a solemn warning imperative. Great care and sound judgment should be exercised before labor unions and members of labor unions put their money into new labor bank promotions, or into investment companies stocks organized for the purpose of erecting and conducting such an enterprise. Where holding companies are organized for the purpose of organizing and controlling a bank the promoters of such holding companies usually exact a large commission for their services. Where holding companies are organized the ownership of stock of the bank becomes secondary to the stock of the holding company. Subsidiary organizations have been used to make possible financial policies prohibited by sound banking rules.

Since the recent development in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers financial activities, more and more attention is being directed to the manner in which labor banks are financed and conducted. Each failure, indeed each difficulty in which a labor bank is placed, subjects all of the remaining labor banks to a careful scrutiny of their policies and activities.

In order to avoid unfavorable comment and criticism our labor banks should exercise the greatest amount of judgment possible in their policies and personnel. Every possible effort should be undertaken to make the bank financially sound and its policies and undertakings eminently correct and ethical.

Men who are qualified by training, education and experience and whose integrity and honesty are unquestioned should be employed to manage and administer the affairs of these financial institutions. Every precaution should be taken to safeguard and advance these business and financial institutions. This should be done not for the sole reason they are banks but for the special and stronger reason that they are known as labor banks.

In our judgment the time has come to stop expansion in the field of labor banking until experience with those labor banks already organized shall have been critically studied and evaluated. It is unwise to experiment further until we know exactly which policies are safe and dependable.

Change in Fraternal Delegates

The Detroit Convention elected A. J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor as one of the Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. Some time thereafter Mr. Berres,

entering upon other duties not officially connected with the American Federation of Labor, thereupon tendered his resignation.

We selected Michael Casey, Vice-President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, to fill the vacancy.

SECTION 2—EDUCATION

Report of Committee on Education

The Committee on Education consists of Matthew Woll, Chairman; George W. Perkins, John P. Frey, C. L. Baine and Thomas Kennedy.

Though it was not practicable for this committee to meet during the past year, there was so much to do in connection with its permanent program and special undertakings that considerable progress can be reported.

Sustained effort has been given to increasing the number of local committees on education which serve jointly the Workers Education Bureau and the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education as local educational agencies. Suggestions of things to be done were sent to these committees from time to time and central labor unions were urged to create such committees where they did not already exist. There are now 254 local committees on education.

The year's work was initiated by sending to our local committee on education the regular work program together with minimum standards by which to measure their progress. Our committees were asked to begin their work on Education Week by making contacts with their public schools.

The undertakings for the year included the following: model provisions for compulsory school attendance laws, present methods of apprenticeship training, and a study of how textbooks are selected.

1. Chairman Woll secured the consent of a number of educationalists and others interested in the field of child welfare to serve as an advisory committee for the development of model provisions for compulsory school attendance laws. This committee has had one meeting and will be called together again as soon as the sub-committee has finished a draft of tentative provisions. Compulsory school attendance is closely connected with child labor regulation.

Compulsory School Attendance—Child labor increased from 1924 to 1925. This is the conclusion drawn in the report of the chief of the Children's Bureau for 1926. A large majority of the states and cities reporting showed an increase, over 25 per cent in a number of cases, in the number of employment certificates issued. While no exact figures on child labor will be available until the next census, this increase in employment certificates indicates a clear trend.

There have been very few advances during the last two years in legislation to strengthen child labor and compulsory school laws. A few states have made progress in improving their laws. Reports up to date show two states in 1926 and five in 1927 which strengthened provisions for length of schooling required, or protection of minors at work. Nine states failed to pass bills or parts of bills submitted to them.

These facts reemphasize the need of labor action to protect children. Child labor is the direct concern of the labor union. Children of working men and women are the ones affected. Their employment besides lowering the vitality of the children themselves, and limiting their opportunities for advancement, tends to lower wage levels for all employees in the plant; employers who can get cheap help base their operations on low wage standards. Father and mothers who can depend on their children for support are willing to work at lower wages than they could otherwise afford. It is the task of the labor union to set higher standards. Also organized labor is in a peculiar position of power to prevent child labor. An influential group in the community, it can take action to promote needed legislation and urge improvements in the school system. Its members, who are in contact through their work with the factory conditions in their localities, and through their children with the schools, have a peculiar opportunity to discover the needs of their communities.

2. Our local committees on education were asked to make report on vocational training done in their local public schools. Mr. Woll also arranged with the Federal

Board for Vocational Education for a survey of vocational education work being done in various localities, so that the committee might have a basis upon which to recommend to local committees how to improve local opportunities. This study has not yet been completed.

A summary of the provisions regulating apprenticeship contained in the constitution of each trade union organization, has been made and will be ready for the committee when the other material is before it.

The committee has yet to consider a third type of vocational training—that done by corporations and controlled by management.

The committee feels that the problem of getting better training for apprentices is one of fundamental importance to organized labor and that some way should be found to give this problem the necessary study.

3. The committee published in pamphlet form a summary of a study of the circulation of textbooks. The study shows what school authorities participated in the selection of the books, by whom the final decision was made, and how frequently decisions are revised. Copies of the report were sent to local committees on education with the request that the committee find out the text books used in the teaching of social sciences and make report back to the committee. The committee is then to advise the local group how their texts were rated in the investigation of social text books made by the committee in the recent past. If the books used are unsatisfactory then the local committee will be in possession of the necessary information to begin a campaign to have other books approved.

The work which the committee has done in calling attention to omission of important social developments from school texts for the teaching of history, civics, and economics, has met with constructive cooperation on the part of publishers as well as authors. It would be difficult to over-emphasize the importance of having a fair statement of the development and functions of the labor movement in what necessarily will contribute to the informational background of the millions who attend public schools. The investment of time and money necessary to carry on this work would be a small outlay to cover part-time services of an expert. As new school texts are being written constantly, the reason for continuous attention to this field is apparent. In addition new opportunities are constantly developing, as for example, the American Historical Society is about to review the field of school texts and make recommendations. It is most important that their attention be called to the significance of the economic and social elements in history and to the historical role of organized labor.

It is furthermore important that the Federation keep its contacts with educational groups and undertakings. It is equally necessary to keep these groups informed on labor developments as it is for Labor to know what they are doing. As organized labor was concerned for the establishment of our public school policy, it must continue its interest in order to help schools to do that for which they were established.

We recommend that city central bodies and state federations of labor use their best efforts to have boards of education establish night schools in cities, towns and communities so that working men and women may enjoy wider opportunities to secure a broader and more complete education.

Publications

The following is a list of our standard and recent publications:

Proceedings, 1881-1926, bound and unbound
 American Federationist, bound, 1894-1926
 A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book, 2 vols
 Legal Information Bulletins, January, 1924-August, 1927
 American Federationist (monthly) official magazine of A. F. of L.
 A. F. of L. Weekly News Service (weekly sheet for labor editors)
 Legal Information Bulletin (monthly)

Charts—

Trade Union Benefits, 1926
 Vacations with Pay, 1925
 Compulsory School Attendance Laws, 1926

Poster, American Federationist

Recent Pamphlets:

The American Federation of Labor, Its Laws, Character, Strength and Manner of Working, Woll
 The Voluntary Nature of the Labor Movement, Gompers
 Modern Trade Unionism, Green
 From Politics to Industry, Gompers
 The Fundamental Issues, Gompers
 Industry's Manifest Duty
 Superiority of Trade Unions Over Company Unions, Green
 Unions Reduce Industrial Waste, Green
 Union-Management Cooperation, Jewell and Beyer
 Trade Union Benefits, Woll and Perkins
 Union Insurance
 Wage Negotiations and Practices, Woll
 Labor and Education
 Education for All
 Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor
 Standards for Compensation Legislation, Green, Duffy, Woll
 Workmen's Compensation, Duffy
 Child Labor, Green
 Labor Seeks Life More Abundantly, Green
 Wage Theories, Green
 Sixteen Rules of Health
 World Court, Jessup
 Five-Day Week, Green
 Labor and Injunctions, Green
 Trade Union Conference on Elimination of Waste in Industry
 Who Selects Text Books in Public Schools

Research Series—

No. 1.—Organized Labor's Modern Wage Theory
 No. 2.—Wages

Organizing Leaflets—

Why We Unite
 How to Form a Trade Union
 Trade Unionism Is Workers' Need

(Women Specially)—

What Can I Get Out of It?
 A Great Army of Fine Women
 What America Means
 Wisdom or Vanity? Wise or Foolish?
 Women Wage Earners
 Are You Married or Going to be Married?

Reprints from American Federationist—

What Unions Do for the Community, Green
 How As Well As What, Beyer
 Fewer and Better Meetings, Hunt
 Toward a New Organizing Technique, Troxwell
 The Use of the Direct Primary, Boots
 The Direct Primary, Merriam
 The Direct Primary Again, Helen Rocca
 Provisions for a Model Primary Law, Ray
 Company Unions, Green
 Cooperation As We Practice It, Kohn
 Craftsmanship in Building, Haber
 Union Cooperation in the Clay Industry, Kasten
 A Cooperative Committee in Action, Jewell
 Apprentice Training, Odell

The Savings of Women Workers, Hewes
 Union-Management Cooperation at Stratford, Cullum
 Productivity and Wages in the United States, Clague
 Getting Good Discussion in Union Meetings, Sheffield
 The Library and Workers' Education, Tompkins
 Workers Participation in Job Study, Brown
 Employment Statistics and Trade Unions, van Kleeck
 Installment Buying (A. F. of L. Research Report)
 Index Numbers (A. F. of L. Research Report)
 Coal and the I. C. C.
 The Ideals of Labor, Spencer Miller, Jr.
 Wages in the Automobile Industry, Scattergood
 Apprentice Training on the Baltimore & Ohio, Fullerton

Drawings—

The Divinity of Toil
 Sky-Scraper

Labor Press

The press is a medium for getting a public hearing, and the labor press is the bed-rock dependence of the labor movement. Scattered through our industrial districts are labor papers that perform a service for Labor that is of highest value. We urge local support of these faithful aids and urge the labor press to take advantage of all opportunities to render additional service to the labor movement.

Workers Education Bureau of America

The workers' education movement as directed by the Workers Education Bureau of America has during the past year given constructive service to the American Federation of Labor in dealing with some of the complex problems of modern industry. It has not only helped in bringing about thoughtful consideration of industrial problems but it has also been the effective medium for bringing together in conference eminent engineers, economists, and representatives of management for the discussion with Labor of some of the leading problems which face the industrial worker. It has won commendation both at home and abroad for the far-seeing character of its efforts.

The cooperative relations between the Workers Education Bureau and the American Federation of Labor convince us that workers educational undertakings should increasingly become an integral part of union activity. We suggest therefore the advisability to provide a more definitely responsible executive committee for the Workers Education Bureau by amending its constitution to limit membership in the executive committee to representatives of supporting national and international organizations and the American Federation of Labor.

The Week-End Conference—Foremost among these workers' educational agencies for promoting a cooperative approach to the study of industrial problems have been the week-end conferences. The first of these conferences was held in April, 1927, under the auspices of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union Labor College. This conference brought together a group of the foremost engineering experts on the subject of industrial waste, some of the most eminent American economists, the President of the American Federation of Labor and other leading officials of the Federation. Delegates were present from about 150 local labor organizations and as many more students of the problem. This conference thus was not only the first of its kind to be held in this country under the auspices of Labor, but, by common consent, it was one of the most constructive conferences ever held dealing with this complex industrial problem.

The second of these week-end conferences was held in July, to afford an opportunity for a more detailed discussion of the question of unemployment which developed as one of the major concerns in the discussion of the elimination of waste at the first conference. This conference method will be continued in the cities of Boston and Chicago this fall, and in Denver and New York next spring with a probable final conference at Washington after these five regional meetings have been held.

Passaic W. E. Program—When the United Textile Workers of America assumed direction in Passaic and negotiated settlements with the employers, the union was confronted with the problem of building up the morale among these workers and educating them in the aims and purposes of the American labor movement. The officials of the United Textile Workers turned to the Workers Education Bureau for assistance in dealing with this major educational job. The Bureau made a survey of the educational needs of the textile workers in Passaic and made general recommendations which were accepted by the United Textile Workers. The Bureau put an educational director in Passaic who started study classes and arranged mass meetings and educational hours of local union meetings. In July he conducted a Workers' Education Week or Labor Chautauqua which proved to be a success. As the result of this intensive work a new impetus was given organization. A new recognition was given to labor in the community.

Labor Institutes Summer Schools—Another phase of Workers' Education is the development of special institutes for the consideration by a single union or group of related unions of the problems that most intimately concern them during the last twelve months. The first institute for the Women's Auxiliary to Trade Unions was held during the past summer with helpful results.

In addition the establishment of three new summer schools for industrial workers, one in New York, another in Wyoming and the third in the south testify to the substantial growth of the whole movement.

Research—During the past year the Workers Education Bureau established at its headquarters a Research Department. The creation of this department represents the realization of a plan which was conceived several years ago of bringing to the development of the workers' educational movement, whether in its teaching methods, its texts, its courses or its related problem the discipline of careful fact-finding, and analysis. The reports thus far issued by this department indicate how important to workers' education, as to industrial progress, is a continual appraisal of purpose and method. In at least two specific instances the new department has been of definite assistance to Labor.

The Fifth National Convention—In April, 1927, the Workers Education Bureau held its Fifth National Convention in Boston. The major meetings were held in the Boston Public Library which marks the first time that a public library in this country has been used by American workmen for a convention of this kind. Delegates were present from over one hundred affiliated national and international unions, state federations and local unions and workers' educational enterprises. An experiment in convention method was tried with good success; a much greater measure of group discussion was secured by alternative section and general meetings. Among the more important actions taken by the convention were the following:

1. Reaffirmation of the strictly educational and research function of the Bureau. All matters of labor policy to be the legitimate function of the American Federation of Labor.
2. An unqualified acceptance of the general research program as developed by the Bureau.
3. A definite endorsement of the Bureau's policy of accepting an unconditioned gift from the Carnegie Corporation for the development of textbooks for the workers' education movement.
4. The adoption of a general program for the extension of Workers' Education throughout the United States.
5. Ratification of the increase in the per capita tax and local union dues as established by the Detroit Convention of the American Federation of Labor.
6. The creation of the office of Honorary President to be held at all times by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Affiliations—There are at present the following number of unions in active affiliation:

- 52 National and International Unions
- 23 State Federations of Labor
- 68 Central Labor Unions
- 360 Local Unions.

The Workers Education Bureau has given clear evidence of its great actual and potential service to the American Federation of Labor. The Bureau can function at its maximum when it enjoys the cooperation of all the unions affiliated with the Federation. In such complete cooperation there is not only an increased measure of support but what is more important an increased opportunity for educational service.

Memorials

Samuel Gompers' Memorial—The Executive Council has continued to give attention to plans for the erection of a suitable memorial to commemorate the life work of Samuel Gompers.

The Executive Council has approved as the site of the memorial the triangle public park reservation located on Massachusetts Avenue between Tenth and Eleventh Streets N. W., in Washington, D. C. This location is on one of the principal thoroughfares of Washington and is an attractive and commanding site.

The consent of the Congress of the United States is required for the use of this site for the erection of the memorial. The Executive Council has authorized the Samuel Gompers Memorial Committee, consisting of William Green, Frank Morrison, Frank Duffy, Daniel J. Tobin, Matthew Woll and James Wilson, to request Congress at its next session to give this consent.

The Executive Council recommends the adoption of the following course to raise the necessary means for the erection of the memorial:

1. That an appeal be issued to all affiliated national and international unions, central bodies, state federations of labor and local unions, requesting contributions.
2. That friends and sympathizers wishing to contribute should do so by making their contributions either through the central labor unions or through the American Federation of Labor.
3. That a week during the month of February, 1928, should be set aside and known as Gompers Memorial Week, and the central bodies through committees call upon local unions and members for contributions.

Woodrow Wilson Foundation—The Woodrow Wilson Foundation was created by public subscription in recognition of the national and international services of Woodrow Wilson, twice President of the United States, who furthered the cause of human freedom and was instrumental in pointing out effective methods for the co-operation of the liberal forces of mankind throughout the world.

It was provided that the award or awards from the income of the Foundation will be made from time to time by a nationally constituted committee to the individual or group that has rendered within a specified period, meritorious service to democracy, public welfare, liberal thought or peace through justice.

During the past year the Foundation announced a special donation by which it offered two awards of Twenty-Five Thousand Dollars each for the best essay written by any young man or woman between the age of twenty and thirty-five years, upon the subject of "What Woodrow Wilson Means to Me." The purpose of the Foundation in offering this award was to bring to the young people of the United States a closer knowledge of the ideals and purposes of Woodrow Wilson. Like Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson in his own way was the embodiment of the spirit which has given to this country its pre-eminent greatness. Of all our presidents he gave concrete evidence of his sympathy with and understanding of the hopes, aims and aspirations of Labor.

This prize contest was brought to the attention of the labor organizations through-

out the United States through the office of the American Federation of Labor, and the young men and women of Labor were urged to take part therein. The contest closed the first of October. We hope that many of our young men and women honored the memory of Woodrow Wilson and honored themselves by competing for the award.

Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation—On December 1, 1923, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation took legal title to and actual possession of the home of Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, near Charlottesville, Virginia. President Green is honorary Vice-Chairman of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation. He has co-operated in every way within his power in the Foundation's work. Desirous of not only aiding the Foundation in its most laudable undertaking but also believing that the American Federation of Labor, the recognized and official spokesman for the labor movement of the American continent, should express publicly in some appropriate manner its full approval of cooperation with the undertaking of the Foundation, your Executive Council adopted and transmitted to the Foundation the following:

WHEREAS, The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation has acquired Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, with the view to its preservation as a National Shrine dedicated to the fundamental principles of the Republic; and

WHEREAS, This beautiful home designed and built by Thomas Jefferson upon the mountain-top overlooking Charlottesville, Va., including the mansion, outbuildings, his law office and over six hundred and fifty acres of land where Jefferson lived for over fifty years and where he died and now lies buried, are now the property of all the people of the United States for whose benefit and inspiration it is being preserved by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, which patriotic association is now seeking the Million Dollar Fund to clear the property of debt and endow it so it may be preserved for future generations; and

WHEREAS, It is urged that this fund be completed by popular donations as made to the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation with national headquarters at 115 Broadway, New York, N. Y., as a pledge of our faith in the fundamental ideals of our country; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor is in hearty sympathy with the purpose and recommends it to the consideration of the workers for the following reasons:

Thomas Jefferson was the first and foremost champion of the rights and liberties of the masses of the people. He dedicated his consummate genius for twelve years to the successful fight against the forces of aristocracy and reaction to make this country a democracy, based upon the theory of equal rights to all and special privileges to none. He crystalized in the Declaration of Independence the philosophy of liberty. He gave man the precedence of the dollar in government theory. He wrote the dignity of Labor into law and was the first of American statesmen to deny that Labor is a commodity. He directed and won the fight for the incorporation into the Constitution of the Bill of Rights which makes it impossible to shackle the freedom of expression or suppress free speech without doing violence to the fundamental law; which gives the laborer the right peaceably to assemble to petition for redress of grievances; which makes toleration a national policy, and gives to the ordinary man a protection against the tyranny of power. The leader and philosopher of democracy, the champion of liberty, the friend of the masses of mankind, he has richly earned the gratitude and appreciation of the working classes. The home in which he thought and wrought for human kind is therefore sacred to the cause with which the vital interests of the American toiler are forever interwoven.

We trust that our action meets with the approval of the convention.

Special Days

No human movement can exist long without idealism. Yet the day's work compels us to focus our thoughts and purposes on the things we are doing and we are apt to forget the ideal by which we would shape our living and doing. It is because of this human tendency that we have the custom of setting aside special days—holidays we call them—and have somewhat disguised their real purpose by altering the original term which was holy days.

They are days on which we turn from material things to their meaning or their spiritual purposes. The labor movement is fundamentally an effort to realize spiritual purposes—to enable men and women to free themselves from situations and hardships that restrict their development.

These days are: Labor's Memorial Sunday, the fourth Sunday in May; Labor Sunday, that day precedes the first Monday in September; and the following day or Labor Day.

We urge fitting observance of these days so that the power of the labor movement may be continually revered.

SECTION 3—LEGISLATION

National Legislative Activities

The Sixty-ninth Congress held the shortest sessions of any in many years. Its activities extended over only about ten months out of the twenty-four. During the ten months 24,729 bills and resolutions were introduced but only 1,423 became laws. Of these 542 were private bills and resolutions. It can be said, however, that the committees handling bills worked continuously during the sessions. The obstacle to the passage of much of the legislation favored by Labor came from the small number of men who control the proceedings in the house.

A full report of the proceedings of the first session was made by the Executive Council to the 1926 convention.

Two bills of outstanding importance to Labor were enacted into law in the second session, while several measures inimical to Labor and the people were defeated through the activities of the labor movement. The favorable laws enacted are:

Workmen's compensation for longshoremen (Public No. 803).

Liberalization of rates in the federal workmen's compensation act (Public No. 603).

Enactment of the longshoremen's compensation law was a great victory for the longshoremen. The Supreme Court had declared previous laws enacted by the Federal Congress unconstitutional. This question had to be met as well as opposition of the shipowners who contended that the seamen should be included. After the bill had passed the Senate it was amended in the House by the Committee on Judiciary to include masters and seamen. As masters and seamen are covered by the employers' liability act of 1908 the seamen protested. The House Committee on Judiciary finally agreed to eliminate the masters and seamen and this made it possible for the bill to pass the Senate. Unless they had been stricken out the Senate would not have approved of the bill.

The act providing compensation for the employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties was approved September 7, 1916. It provided that the monthly compensation shall be not more than \$66.67 nor less than \$33.33. The law was changed to increase the monthly compensation for total disability to not more than \$116.16 nor less than \$58.33. The agitation for the longshoremen's compensation act called attention to the small benefits provided by the federal compensation act and this proved a convincing argument in favor of increasing the rates for federal employes injured during the course of their employment.

Among the hostile bills defeated were:

- Conscription.
- Registration of Aliens.
- Blue laws for the District of Columbia.
- Fixing prices during suspension of mining.
- Wadsworth-Garrett amendment to the constitution, making it practically impossible to amend that document.

The clause in the appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce and Labor providing that none of the funds shall be used to prosecute labor and farm organizations was ruled out in the House on points of order. The clause was restored in conference and it was approved by both Houses.

Immigration—More than 100 bills, most of them having for their purpose the breaking down of the immigration law, were introduced in both houses of Congress. Those who seek to increase the number of aliens coming into this country under the non-quota class openly admit that they are opposed to any restriction at all of immigration. It is therefore natural to presume that they believe by appealing to the sentiment of the people of the United States for impractical legislation in the interest of the wives and children of aliens that it will be a stepping stone to changing the whole policy of the United States regarding immigration.

An amendment to S. J. Res. 82 providing for the admission of 35,000 wives or unmarried children under eighteen years of age of aliens legally admitted to the United States prior to July 1, 1924, for permanent residence and who have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, was adopted in the Senate. When the amendment reached the Immigration Committee of the House it was stricken out and a new clause inserted which provided that preference up to sixty per cent should be given in the quotas to the wives and unmarried children under twenty-one years of age of aliens lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence. It also provided that the President might declare ineffective by proclamation the section of the immigration law giving preference in any year to skilled agriculturists and their wives and children, thus permitting 90 per cent of the quota for any nationality to be used by the wives and unmarried children under twenty-one years of age of such aliens. The amended bill passed the House, March 26, 1926, and was considered by the Senate, March 4, 1927. The Senate refused to accept the amendments and the bill went to conference where it died by the adjournment of Congress the same day.

S. J. Res. 152, to postpone for one year the enforcement of the national origin provision of the immigration law, became a law (Public Res. No. 69). Much criticism has developed toward the national origin proposal and it is doubtful it will ever be enforced. It provides that the annual quota of any nationality shall be a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 having that national origin bears to the number of inhabitants in the continental United States in 1920.

S. J. Res. 128, restoring to citizenship 69 Hindus whom the Supreme Court has decided were not eligible, failed to pass. This bill was opposed on the ground that if enacted into law it would be a recognition of the claims of other Asiatics who had been deprived of citizenship. The California State Federation of Labor contended that if the Hindus were restored to citizenship the same privilege would have to be extended to 400 other Asiatics in that state.

March 4, 1927, Representative Johnson of Washington, Chairman of the Immigration Committee of the House, introduced a bill having for its object almost complete restriction of immigration. It provides that after July 1, 1928, until June 30, 1933, the immigration quota shall be reduced 10 per cent per annum, and that after that period the annual quota of any nationality shall be 1 per cent instead of 2 per cent as at present of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in the continental United States as determined by the United States census of 1890. The minimum quota of any nationality would be reduced from 100 to 50. During the fiscal years of 1929 and 1930 quota numbers equal to one-half of the reduction authorized for such fiscal years would be set aside for the unmarried children under 21 years of age and wives of aliens lawfully admitted to the United States, married prior

to July 1, 1924; that after July 1, 1928, the maximum quota for any country shall be 25,000. Chairman Johnson in statements on the floor of the House and in public addresses declared that he will press this bill for passage. The Executive Council believes the American Federation of Labor should approve the bill as it is a long step in advance in restricting immigration and at the same time would solve the problem of reuniting families.

Forty-Four-Hour Week—In an effort to broaden observance of the forty-four-hour week the Joint Committee on Printing was urged to adopt the shorter workweek in the Government Printing Office. No definite action was taken but it is believed that a favorable report will be made at the next session.

Public Health—Support was given to a bill to coordinate the activities of the Public Health Service with other activities of the government in order that more complete investigations could be made in the various industries as to occupational diseases. At the hearings representatives of the American Federation of Labor directed attention to the effects of pneumatic or air hammers upon the health of the workers as directed by the 1926 convention. Other occupational diseases were referred to and the claim made that the Public Health Service would be helpful through its investigations in bringing to light all causes for diseases in industry. It was also contended that not sufficient appropriation was made to permit the Public Health Service to function as it was intended. The Executive Council believes that the President of the American Federation of Labor should bring to the attention of the President of the United States this failure of the Budget Bureau to provide necessary funds for the Public Health Service.

Miners—H. R. 14684 by Representative Parker, of New York, Chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, "to protect the government and the public from shortage of coal," failed of passage. It directed the Bureau of Mines to gather statistics as to the number of mines, the number of employees, rates of wages, the time worked, the tonnage produced, the methods of marketing and distribution, the consumption, the stocks and selling prices of coal, and make them public from time to time. The Secretary of Commerce was authorized to require that all reports made to the Bureau of Mines should be under oath and a penalty would be imposed on any person who refused to file a report. The bureaus of the government having information regarding the coal industry were instructed to furnish the Bureau of Mines such statistics in its possession. All records and correspondence of the United States Coal Commission, the Federal Fuel Distributor and the United States Fuel Administration were to be transferred to the Bureau of Mines. In case of a threatened strike which would interfere with interstate or foreign commerce the President could order the Secretary of Labor to act as mediator and establish temporary Boards of Mediation. If mediation failed he could declare a national emergency to exist in the production, transportation and distribution of coal and other fuel. The bill would grant additional powers to the Interstate Commerce Commission, provide for the appointment of a Federal Fuel Distributor, for the declaration of car service priorities, and for the fixing of prices. This bill and others of similar import were successfully opposed because of their impracticability.

Night Work—Bills for the elimination of night work were introduced, but the committees to which they were referred decided to report a measure providing that night workers be paid 10 per cent more than day workers. This was accepted by the postal employees but the bill failed of passage.

Postal Rates—The House passed a bill decreasing the rate on private mailing cards from 2 cents to 1 cent. The Senate amended the bill by reducing the postage on second-class matter and zoning rates. The Conference Committee came to an agreement on the bill but it failed of passage owing to the filibuster in the Senate.

Navy Yards and Arsenals—At a conference held December 2, 1926, of representatives of international unions called by President Green, it was decided to present a bill in Congress to provide that American citizens shall be employed exclusively on government work whether done by the government or private contract. It was impossible to secure the legislation but another attempt will be made in the seventieth Congress.

Registration of Aliens—The agitation for the registration of aliens continued in the second session. The aliens now in this country and all who may come hereafter would be required to register if the bills had become laws. It will require close watchfulness, however, to prevent a measure of such a serious nature receiving necessary support.

Post Office Laborers—Every effort was made to secure an increase in compensation for watchmen, messengers and laborers in the Post Office Department. The death of the sponsor of the bill in the first session and the opposition to any legislation that will increase expenses tended to defeat the measure in the second session. It will be re-introduced in the seventieth Congress.

Bread Trust—Hearings were held before a sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate to learn in what manner the bread trust was permitted to escape punishment for its repeated violations of the federal statutes. The sub-committee first made oral request of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission as to what had been done by them in this case. The object was first to determine whether there should be an investigation. The fact that the investigation was started gives credence to the report that the sub-committee found there was sufficient reason for a thorough investigation and developments since corroborated this belief.

Porto Rico—Bills providing for the transfer of the official government of Porto Rico from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department and for an investigation of conditions in Porto Rico both failed of passage. A number of members of the Insular Affairs Committee, however, visited Porto Rico after the adjournment of Congress to learn of the real conditions in that Island. One of the congressmen took with him copies of the correspondence of the Department of Labor with the Cotton Growers' Association of Arizona and the contracts signed by Porto Ricans who had been induced to come to this country to work in the cotton fields. The United States Employment Service had made an investigation of the importation of Porto Ricans and the information gained was also given to the congressman.

S. 4247, providing that no export duties shall be levied or collected from exports from Porto Rico but that taxes and assessments on property, income taxes, internal revenue and license fees, and royalties for franchises, privileges and concessions may be imposed for the purpose of the insular and municipal governments, respectively, as may be provided and defined by the legislature of Porto Rico, became a law. When necessary to anticipate taxes and revenues, bonds and other obligations may be issued by Porto Rico or any municipal government therein. The law also provides that no public indebtedness of Porto Rico and the municipalities of San Juan and Ponce shall be allowed in excess of 10 per cent of the aggregate tax valuation of its property, and no public indebtedness of any other subdivision or municipality of Porto Rico shall hereafter be allowed in excess of 5 per cent.

This was opposed by the American Federation of Labor as it was detrimental to the interests of the people of Porto Rico. The representative in Congress from Porto Rico, however, favored the bill and it passed despite the objections made.

Seamen—S. 3574, which required all vessels coming into ports of the United States to take away with them the same number of seamen they brought into the country passed the Senate but failed in the House Immigration Committee. This was a constructive measure and would prevent the smuggling of immigrants into this country as seamen. It would remedy a great evil. The Executive Council will continue its efforts to have this legislation enacted.

Pensions—Bills for the pensioning of veterans of the Civil War and widows of deceased veterans were supported by the American Federation of Labor. Both Houses passed a bill for this purpose but for some unexplained reason it failed to reach the President for his signature before twelve o'clock, March 4, 1927.

Muscle Shoals—The Joint Committee appointed by Congress to investigate the best terms on which Muscle Shoals could be leased made a report in the first session of the sixty-ninth Congress which authorized the Secretary of War to enter into a lease with the Muscle Shoals Fertilizer Company and the Muscle Shoals Power Distributing Company. Shortly after the second session opened a new bill was introduced to lease

to the Farmers' Federated Fertilizer Corporation. It soon became evident that no legislation on Muscle Shoals would be attempted during the session. Several interests injected themselves into the leasing proposition for the purpose, it was said, of delaying any action. It was the desire of the opponents of any legislation to refer the bills back to the Senate Committee on Agriculture and postpone all consideration until the next Congress. This was done. In the meantime friends of public ownership insisted that no lease should be entered into.

Retirement—Important changes were made in the retirement act. Section 2 of the old act provided that the head of a department, branch or independent office of the government should notify the Civil Service Commission "not less than thirty days before the arrival of an employee at the age of retirement." The quoted words were stricken out. If an employee subject to retirement is continued in service after arriving at the age of retirement the new law provides that such continuation of his services shall for all purposes be deemed valid. A joint resolution introduced in the last session to appoint a commission to investigate the retirement law failed of passage but will be introduced in the next Congress. The new resolution will provide for the appointment of a joint congressional committee composed exclusively of members of Congress.

Lame Ducks—The blocking of legislation in the House and the filibustering in the Senate have called particular attention to the proposed amendment to the constitution introduced by Senator Norris of Nebraska. It proposes that the terms of the President and Vice-President shall end on the third Monday in January and the terms of members of Congress on the first Monday in January, Congress would assemble on the first Monday in January unless it shall by law appoint a different day. This resolution has passed the Senate in three different Congresses but has not been allowed to come before the House. If it did it would undoubtedly carry by a practically unanimous vote. The sentiment in its favor is growing and the Executive Council hopes that the next Congress will act favorably on this necessary amendment to the constitution.

Conscription—The Johnson-Capper bill which provides that in the event of war or when the President shall judge the same to be imminent he is authorized "to determine and proclaim the material resources, industrial organizations and services over which government control is necessary to the successful termination of such emergency" and "to take such steps as may be necessary to stabilize prices of services and of all commodities declared to be essential, whether such services and commodities are required by the government or by the civilian population." The bill also provides that "all persons drafted into service between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, or such other limits as the President may fix, shall be drafted without exemption on account of industrial occupation."

While no action was taken by this Congress influential individuals and organizations are supporting this measure and it is essential that this convention repeat its opposition to this legislation.

Military Training—Compulsory military training in any educational institution other than a military school would be prohibited in a bill introduced by Representative Welsh of Pennsylvania. This bill was supported by the American Federation of Labor, but it failed of passage.

Farmers—Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before committees that were considering measures for the relief of the farming population of our country. The farmers had agreed upon the McNary-Haugen bill which they believed would remedy their principal economic grievances. Labor supported the bill but after its passage by Congress it was vetoed by the President.

Radio—The radio law enacted does not meet the wishes of the American Federation of Labor as expressed by the 1926 convention. The Executive Council insisted that control of broadcasting should be placed in the hands of a permanent commission. This was provided for in the bill introduced by Senator Dill of Washington while the House bill introduced by Representative White of Maine placed the power in the hands of the Secretary of Commerce. Congress was deluged with appeals for the passage of the White bill. After many meetings of the conferees they finally reached a

compromise to appoint a commission of five members who would serve one year under a salary of \$10,000, but after that they would be paid \$30 a day for each day's attendance upon sessions of the commission or while engaged upon work of the commission.

The commission is authorized to classify radio stations; prescribe the nature of service to be rendered by each class of licensed stations; assign bands of frequencies or wave lengths of the various stations; determine the location or classes of stations or individual stations; regulate the kind of apparatus to be used and make such regulations as it deems necessary to prevent interference between stations and to carry out the provisions of the act.

One year after the first meeting of the commission all the powers and authority vested in the commission except as to revocation of licenses shall be vested in and exercised by the Secretary of Commerce. Any person, firm, company, or corporation, or any state or political division thereof, which becomes aggrieved at any decision of the Secretary of Commerce may appeal therefrom to the commission. Decisions of the commission as to matters so appealed and as to all other matters over which it has jurisdiction shall be final, subject to the right of appeal to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia in case of a refusal for a construction permit, for a station license by the licensing authority, or for the renewal or modification of an existing station license.

Section 29 provides:

Nothing in this act shall be understood or construed to give the licensing authority the power of censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station, and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the licensing authority which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communications. No person within the jurisdiction of the United States shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio communication.

All applicants for licenses shall sign "a waiver of any claim to the use of any particular frequency or wave length or of the ether as against the regulatory power of the United States because of the previous use of the same, whether by license or otherwise."

During hearings of the commission it was admitted that radio was in the process of development and that the future was so uncertain that it undoubtedly would be found necessary to make frequent changes in the regulations or of the law itself.

Workmen's Compensation—The Fitzgerald compensation bill for the District of Columbia, which provided a federal fund, again failed of passage after having been favorably reported to the House. The insurance interests through the influence of certain representatives in the House succeeded in bringing about its defeat. Probably no legislation has been attacked with greater vigor. The Citizen's Advisory Committee to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia endorsed the provisions of the Fitzgerald bill. The Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association protested this action of the Advisory Committee and demanded a rehearing. This was held and representatives of the American Federation of Labor with a number of local labor officials supported the action of the Advisory Committee. The latter did not rescind its former action, but the matter became a political issue in the selection of the members of the committee at an election April 2, 1927. The only labor representative on the Advisory Committee was defeated and representatives of the business interests elected. Nevertheless the sentiment of the people of Washington is in favor of the Fitzgerald bill, which will be reintroduced in the next Congress.

Vacations—An unsuccessful attempt was made to change the wording of the clause providing for the payment during vacations of employees of the Government Printing Office. Those who work nights during the months Congress is in session would receive only the day rate paid during vacations if the change had been made. Labor opposed the change.

Convict Labor—H. R. 8653, by Representative Cooper of Ohio, and S. 3601 by Senator Walsh of Montana, companion bills, prepared by the American Federation of Labor, sought "to divest goods, wares and merchandise manufactured, produced, or

mined by convicts or prisoners of their interstate character in certain cases." It would subject all convict made goods sent into a state or territory to the laws of such state or territory to the same extent and in the same manner as though they had been manufactured therein.

The opposition came from officials of penal institutions of more than twenty states. They defended the present contract system. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor insisted at the hearings that in states where the state-use system prevails all convicts are employed but the products of convict labor did not come in competition in the markets with the products of free labor.

The bill was reported favorably to the House. The Senate bill was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, of which Senator Phipps of Colorado was chairman. He opposed the bill. Every effort was made to have a rule granted to permit the bill to be considered by the House. This was refused on the ground that the legislative situation in the Senate did not warrant taking up the time of the House on a bill that would not pass in the other branch. Senator Couzens of Michigan has been appointed Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor and it is believed there will be no serious trouble in securing a favorable report in the Seventieth Congress both from the Senate Committee and again from the Committee on Labor of the House.

Virgin Islands—A law providing for the naturalization of the people of the Virgin Islands was enacted. Congress failed to pass legislation granting civil government to the people of the islands.

Trade Marks—A bill to protect trade marks used in commerce and which contained a provision for the registration of union labels passed the House but failed in the Senate. During the closing days of Congress when the bill came up for action by unanimous consent Senator Dill of Washington objected.

Steel Cars—While a practically unanimous vote would have been obtained in the House on the bill providing that steel cars should be used exclusively in the postal railway service an objection from Representative Bankhead of Alabama prevented it being voted upon.

Copyrights—H. R. 10774 became a law (Public No. 464). It adds to the present copyright law these words: "—or to works printed or produced in the United States by any other process than those above specified in this section." This refers to mimeographed matter.

A bill to double the fees passed the House but failed in the Senate. No other copyright legislation was enacted.

Legislation in States

Although the officials of the various state federations of labor and other labor organizations in the various states were exceedingly active during the sessions of the legislatures this year few outstanding labor laws were enacted. On the other hand, most pernicious legislation was defeated.

It has been difficult to prepare a full report as to the work in the various legislatures because some of them are still in session while this is being written and no report has been made by some of the other states.

The Executive Council desires to impress upon the officials of the various state federations of labor that it is to the interest of all Labor that they make concise reports of their activities and successes before their respective legislatures. President Green has kept in close touch with the legislative activities in all states and whenever requested he has given aid for the passage of remedial legislation or for the defeat of measures objectionable not only to labor but to all the people. One cause for great satisfaction is the fact that so many objectionable bills were defeated. A brief summary of the laws enacted and defeated is given herewith.

Alaska—Bills to tax non-resident fishermen failed of passage. President Green sent telegrams of protest against the proposed legislation to the Governor of Alaska.

Arizona—Enacted eight-hour law for women, with a forty-eight-hour week; women working six hours a day may work forty-two hours a week; also a small claims court law.

California—Fixing working hours on public works; regulating advertising during strikes; strengthening payment of wages law; amending minimum wage law for women and minors; requiring sanitary facilities for motion picture houses; licensing of barbers.

Colorado—Primary law strengthened; amendment made to election law benefitting absent voters.

Florida—Beneficial amendments to the mechanics' lien and child labor laws were secured. No attempt was made to pass a state constabulary bill.

Illinois—Sixteen laws beneficial to Labor were enacted, the most important of which are: All barbers must have passed the eighth grade and be examined as to their knowledge of the trade before becoming journeymen; substantial improvement in the qualifications for electrical workers; mothers' pensions were increased; pension laws for policemen, library employes, teachers and other county employes were amended beneficially; providing additional mine rescue stations; creating new state free employment office. Nothing injurious to Labor became a law.

Indiana—Providing for safety lights in coal mines and for regular inspection of mines; placing employment agencies under supervision of state industrial board; increasing license fee from \$25 to \$50 per year and prohibiting charge of advance fees for registration. Many objectionable bills were defeated.

Maine—Amended child labor law by providing that children must have passed the eighth grade before being employed; made it illegal to employ minors under 16 as operators of elevators in hotels and as attendants in theatres; made appropriation for administration of maternity act.

Maryland—Enacted old age pension law, and submitted to referendum proposal to increase salaries of members of the legislature from \$5 to \$15 a day so that wage earners could contest for the positions.

Massachusetts—Attempt to take state aid away from schools whose teachers join the union was defeated.

Michigan—Barbers' licensing law; fixing registration fee of \$1 for public employment bureaus; insuring payment of wages in work on public buildings and public works.

Minnesota—Barbers' licensing law; determining conditions under which teachers in the public schools may hold their positions, be discharged or demoted; providing for the appointment of boiler inspectors in the various senatorial districts; prohibiting employment of children under 16 years of age in certain hazardous employments. An objectionable state police department was defeated, which among other functions could have taken over the police powers of local communities and have authority to remove elected or appointed peace officers who did not conform to the rules of the state police department.

Missouri—Providing for the protection of persons engaged in construction, repairing or removal of buildings, bridges, etc.; for organization of credit unions; regulating the business of making small loans; consolidating the Industrial Inspection Department and the Department of Labor.

Montana—Providing for the manufacture of automobile license plates in the state penitentiary. A clause providing for the manufacture for exchange of the surplus plates with other states was defeated by labor.

Nevada—Out of labor's twenty-two proposed "bills of rights" only one became a law. This was the "collar to collar" miners' eight-hour law, which was objectionably amended so that it became practically a mine operators' law.

New Hampshire—Changing date of primary and strengthening corrupt practices act; providing that State Board of Education shall make additional allowances to dependent mothers in exceptional cases. Bills providing for state police, allowing absentee voting, limiting the working hours of women and minors to forty-eight in any one week were defeated.

New Jersey—All bills hostile to Labor were defeated, but no measures which benefited labor to any degree became laws.

New Mexico—Several bills favorable to Labor were defeated.

New York—Perfecting eight-hour and prevailing wage law; enacted compromise forty-eight-hour bill for employed women; increasing state aid for local public schools; extending child welfare benefits; continuing fair rent law in New York City and Buffalo; providing for \$350,000 increase in pay for state hospital employees.

North Carolina—Providing that children under 16 years of age shall not work more than eight hours per day or forty-eight hours per week. Bills providing for state constabulary and for barbers' examination died in committee.

Texas—Abolished Board of Prison Commissioners and created Texas Prison Board, which will select a prison manager. All bills hostile to Labor were defeated.

Washington—Providing for placarding shelves, counters or windows upon which prison-made goods are being sold; law for the protection of barbers. A credit union bill passed both houses but was vetoed by the governor. Vocational rehabilitation and old age pension bills passed the senate over the governor's veto but both were defeated in the house. Bill providing for one day off in eight for street carmen and other labor measures were not permitted to come to a vote.

West Virginia—Bills having for their purpose protection of life and limb of workers in building trades and to regulate employment agencies were killed by dilatory tactics of members of the senate. Many other constructive measures were also defeated.

Wyoming—Changing procedure of justices of peace courts in so far as claims under \$25 are concerned. A bill providing for the licensing of barbers was defeated. A bill providing that the State Board of Prison Management enter into contracts with other states in the interest of the objectionable "states-use" system of marketing prison-made goods was defeated by labor.

State Workmen's Compensation Legislation

Labor's efforts to amend workmen's compensation acts of the various states met with much success in the last year. It is admitted that the nation has paid too high a price in deaths and injuries to obtain increases in industrial productivity. During the year 1926, 25,000 wage earners lost their lives while engaged in their employments, and 3,000,000 lost time because of accidents. These figures are startling, and should appeal to the members of the various legislatures who have opposed this most needful legislation.

Forty-four state legislatures met in 1927. In many of them important amendments were made in workmen's compensation laws. In a few failures were reported. Five states are without compensation laws. They are: Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina. The constitution of Arkansas provides: "No action of the General Assembly shall limit the amount to be recovered for injuries resulting in death, or for injuries to persons or property." While it is necessary to amend the constitution of Arkansas before securing a compensation act a bill was prepared by certain corporations but was not introduced. Bills introduced in the Florida and North Carolina legislatures failed of passage. The bill in the latter state was unacceptable to labor. There was agitation for such laws in Mississippi and South Carolina but nothing was accomplished. Amendments were made to the Illinois law which will mean increases of about \$2,500,000 a year for the injured or the families of those killed. In Indiana the minimum compensation was raised from \$5.50 to \$8.80 and the maximum from \$13.20 to \$16.50. The Kansas law was amended, but it applies only to hazardous employment and provides for insurance by insurance companies. Many meetings were held in Massachusetts to overcome objections to a state fund but nothing was done by the legislature. In Michigan the maximum compensation in case of death was increased to \$18 from \$14 a week. Minnesota improved its compensation law.

A law enacted by the legislature of Missouri and signed by the Governor was submitted to the referendum in November, 1926. After the Detroit Convention in October, President Green visited Missouri and made a number of addresses in favor of the measure. It was approved by a large majority.

In Montana an amendment to increase the compensation to \$18 a week was defeated. In New Hampshire a number of amendments were submitted but failed

of passage. The New Jersey law was amended to limit counsel fees; volunteer firemen were given protection of the law, but an increase of the maximum compensation payable to injured workmen was defeated. New Mexico included highway employees in its law.

New York increased the weekly maximum to \$25, secured a reclassification of injuries within one year, increased total compensation for disability, compelled uninsured employers to pay death assessments, and made other amendments which strengthened the law. Two amendments were made to the North Dakota law. One of them permitted competitive insurance for workmen's compensation and the other decreased the compensation rates. President Green telegraphed Governor Sorlie urging him to veto both bills. He vetoed the competitive insurance bill, but signed the other. In Tennessee the weekly maximum was increased from \$12 to \$16. In Texas the law was changed to provide that where incapacity continues for more than one week compensation shall start from the day of injury. Several other amendments failed of passage. In Virginia bills were presented to amend the act but no report of the result has been received. In Washington an attempt to equalize widows' pensions under the compensation act was defeated. In Wisconsin the weekly minimum was increased from \$18.20 to \$19.50 and the death benefit raised from \$5,600 to \$6,000. Provision for a state fund was lost by one vote. All amendments to the compensation law of Wyoming were defeated.

The convention can not take too strong a stand in urging state labor movements to insist aggressively upon amendments to compensation acts that will meet the standards approved by the American Federation of Labor. A number of states have not made reports on what was done and others only made partial reports. Sufficient information has been received, however, to show that important progress was made.

SECTION 4—LEGAL

Legal Information Bureau

During the past year the Legal Information Bureau has continued the service for which organized, that is, of supplying our affiliated trade unions and sympathizers with decisions of courts affecting Labor and the trade union movement. The Bureau is responsible for two kinds of work: One concerned with legal decisions and the other with principles of legislation. In the first field, since our last convention, there have been six bulletins issued. Each one contains cases of fundamental interest to our labor movement.

In the second field, the Bureau has concerned itself with continuing the formulation of plans relative to the anti-injunction proposals to be submitted to Congress and the several states. It has also a survey now in progress on the subject of "City Manager" form of government and when completed the results will be published and distributed to our affiliated organizations.

A summary of some of the more important labor cases which have come up during the past year follows. The complete decisions in these cases have been published in the Legal Information Bulletin. With the limited resources which can be used for the Bureau, it is impossible for it of its own initiative to have information of all cases of interest to Labor. However, the work of collecting briefs and decisions can be done much more effectively if the union concerned would assume responsibility for keeping the Federation supplied with complete data on each legal step. This information would then be available for the information of other unions and for the formulation of policies and legislative drafting.

Every international office is urged to comply with the suggestion and to urge the same course upon all their local unions.

Court Decisions

We report here important injunction cases which define in a very definite way limitations that have been placed on union activities. There have been a number of other decisions rendered of great interest to labor unions. Reference is here made to only a few of the more outstanding decisions rendered during the past year. This summary of these decisions indicate the legal status of Labor and labor organizations.

Injunctions—The extremes to which the courts have gone are well demonstrated by the injunction issued against the Journeymen Stonecutters' Union of North America at the instigation of several stone companies with quarries in and around Bedford, Indiana.

In 1921, the employers and the union failed to reach an agreement covering wages and working conditions. As a result the employers engaged nonunion stonecutters and formed them into an association, membership in which was necessary to obtain employment. The union thereafter ordered that none of its members should further cut stone which had been partly cut by nonunion labor, and stonecutters in different states declined to cut such stone. There was no interference with the quarrying, sawing or transportation of this nonunion cut stone, and there was no picketing, boycotting, or actual or threatened violence. The employers applied for a temporary injunction in the District Court, which was refused.

Specifically the employers sought to have the union enjoined from:

Combining and conspiring to interfere with the sale, transportation, delivery, fabrication, installation or use of stone products, quarried or fabricated by complainants or any one of them.

Combining and conspiring together not to handle or work upon stone quarried or fabricated by complainants or any one of them, or causing or inducing others so to do.

From enforcing or attempting to enforce any rule, regulation or penalty against any person who handles, uses or works upon stone quarried or fabricated by the complainants or any one of them, or who works upon any building where said stone is being installed or about to be installed.

From inducing or attempting to induce any person or persons whomsoever to decline employment or cease employment or not to seek employment under any person, firm or corporation because said person, firm or corporation may have purchased or purposes to purchase materials from the complainants or any one of them or because the materials furnished by the complainants or any of them were being used on or in connection with some building where said persons are working and from in any way wilfully inducing or attempting to induce any person or persons to refuse to install, handle or work upon materials manufactured by the complainants or any of them, or to refuse to work upon or in connection with any building where such materials were being used or were about to be used.

From making, communicating, or circulating any statement, orally or in writing, that the defendants or members of any union of working men will refuse to work upon materials produced by the complainants or any one of them, or upon buildings where such materials are used or are about to be used.

From giving notice verbally or in writing to any person, firm or corporation to refrain from purchasing or using or from carrying out contracts for the purchase or use of materials produced by complainants or any of them under threats or suggestions that if such merchandise is purchased or used or said contracts are carried out, they will cause the person so notified loss or trouble or inconvenience or that they will cause persons employed by those notified to withdraw from their employment or to discontinue services on buildings where persons so notified are doing work.

From publishing, circulating or otherwise communicating directly or indirectly, orally or in writing, to each other or to any other person, firm or corporation, any statement or notice of any kind or character whatsoever calling attention to the fact that the complainants or any of them or their products or the products of any of them were, are, or have been declared unfair or are in any way unfair or that said products should not be patronized, dealt in or worked upon because made in an open shop or made by employees working in opposition to the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America.

From conspiring, agreeing or combining together to restrain or destroy the interstate business or trade of the complainants or any of them, in order to compel them to breach their contracts with the Stone Cutters' and Carvers' Union of Lawrence and Monroe Counties, and the Planermen's

Union of Lawrence and Monroe Counties, or for the purpose of compelling the complainants to employ only members of the defendants' unions in certain specified departments, and from doing any and all acts to interfere with or discourage the sale or use of the products of the complainants or any of them.

From inducing or attempting to induce any employees, contractors or carvers to violate agreements or contracts to perform work on stone produced by complainants.

From attempting to do any of said acts and from using any and all ways, means and methods of doing any of the aforesaid forbidden acts and from doing any of said acts either directly or indirectly or through by-laws, orders, directions or suggestions to committees, associations, officers, agents or otherwise.

Upon appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals, the opinion of the District Court was upheld; the court holding that the union was within its rights in undertaking to induce members of its craft to refrain from further cutting upon stone which had been partly cut before by nonunion labor, notwithstanding such refusal might have tended in some degree to discourage builders from specifying the stone of the employers concerned, and thus to reduce the quantity of their product which would enter interstate commerce.

On a writ of certiorari, the case was brought to the Supreme Court of the United States, which reversed the decisions of the two lower courts. It was here held that it was immaterial that the means adopted to bring about the contemplated restraint of commerce operated after physical transportation had ended. Since these actions were directed against the use of this product in other states, with the design of narrowing the interstate market, the court said it was no answer to say that the ultimate object to be accomplished was to bring about a change of employment policy on the part of the companies. The following language was used: "A restraint of commerce can not be justified by the fact that the ultimate object of the participants was to secure an ulterior benefit which they might have been at liberty to pursue by means not involving such restraint."

It was stated that this combination deliberately adopted a course of conduct which directly curtailed, or threatened to curtail, the natural flow in interstate commerce of a very large proportion of the building limestone production of the entire country and that it must be held a combination in undue and unreasonable restraint, within the meaning of the Anti-Trust Act, and that accordingly the stone companies were entitled to relief by injunction.

A vigorous dissenting opinion was rendered by Justice Brandeis and in which Justice Holmes concurred. Speaking through Justice Brandeis, they said: "If, on the undisputed facts of this case, refusal to work can be enjoined, Congress created by the Sherman Law and the Clayton Act an instrument for imposing restraints upon labor which reminds one of involuntary servitude." They also held that any restraint imposed was reasonable.

Labor can not accept the point of view of the majority opinion. It can not agree with any rule which permits a firm to discharge some union employees and then to be able through injunctive processes to force brother members of the same union, residing in other localities, to accept service of them, either directly or indirectly. A remedy for this condition must be sought and found.

Similar injunctions have been issued by other courts restraining the right to strike. Another outstanding case was that of the Columbus Heating and Ventilating Company *vs.* Pittsburgh Building Trades Council. The heating company was an Ohio corporation with its plant in Columbus, manufacturing heating and ventilating apparatus and operated as an open shop. In Pittsburgh the company installed its apparatus by its own erection force, the members of which were members of Sheet Metal Workers' Union, Local No. 12. The international union had attempted unsuccessfully to organize the company's employees at Columbus, and, in an effort to accomplish this, ordered the Pittsburgh Local to cease work on buildings in which the company was installing heating and ventilating systems.

The company brought suit and asked for a preliminary injunction, which was

granted. It was held that where there was no controversy between the company and its employees over conditions of employment, such conduct on the part of the union was illegal under the Anti-Trust Act and that the company was entitled to the injunction for which it asked.

A similar injunction was asked for by the same company in Dayton, Ohio. The injunction was issued which restrained the Sheet Metal Workers' Union—

From calling, causing, conducting, instituting or maintaining strikes of sheet metal workers, carpenters or journeymen in any other craft or crafts working for plaintiff or for any contractor, contractors, or sub-contractors, on the erection, construction, renovation or alteration of the Cleveland School Building, the Washington School Building, the Leota Clark School Building and the Anderson Theatre Building in the City of Dayton, Ohio, or on any other building or buildings for which said plaintiff has contracts for the installation of its heating and ventilating appliances and apparatus, or from calling, causing, conducting, instituting or maintaining strikes, sympathetic strikes or secondary boycotts against plaintiff or its operations and business, or from aiding, abetting or assisting in any manner in the same.

From interfering with any of plaintiff's employees or coercing or threatening them or any of them to leave plaintiff's employment on any of said operations, or from coercing, threatening or compelling any prospective employee or employees of plaintiff to refuse employment by plaintiff on any of its said operations

From issuing orders or requests to all or any of the members of the respective unions or voluntary associations to refuse or cease to work upon any of the said buildings in which plaintiff is engaged in the erection and installation of its heating or ventilating apparatus or systems that are now in the course of erection or upon which it may hereafter be engaged, and especially from using any force, threats, commands, directions or even persuasion with the object of having the effect of causing any person or persons to decline employment, cease employment or not seek employment or to refrain from working or cease working under any person, firm or corporation engaged upon or in the building operations or connected with the same on any of said buildings in said City of Dayton hereinbefore referred to, or from aiding or abetting or assisting or procuring any of the members of said respective unions or voluntary associations from so working.

Similarly, the Building Trades Council of Westchester County, New York, and the unions composing it, were deemed to be an illegal combination in restraint of interstate commerce for refusing to permit the members of the affiliated unions to work upon cast stone unless such cast stone was manufactured in plants employing members of the union. The Decorative Stone Company, incorporated in Connecticut, brought this action, praying for an injunction and asking for damages. Granted.

In the case of *United States vs. Brims*, decided by the Supreme Court, November 23, 1926, a combination of manufacturers, contractors and carpenters, whereby the first two agreed to employ only union carpenters and the latter agreed not to install nonunion made millwork, was held to be an illegal combination in restraint of trade and the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, which had decided that there was no evidence tending to show that the combination was directed against the shipment of millwork into Illinois but was only directed against nonunion made millwork wherever produced, was overruled.

The above decisions have been directed chiefly against the rights of the workers to determine for themselves when, under what conditions, and upon which material they shall lend their efforts. Besides these decisions affecting the rights of workers to work when and where they please, the courts have also been instrumental in forbidding men to organize into labor unions and restraining officers of labor unions from attempting in any way to organize workers into their respective organizations.

The local union of Milk Wagon Drivers and Creamery Workers' Union, No. 380, of Boston, Massachusetts, was the victim of a most vicious injunction. The local had gone on strike and had attempted to exercise its rights in making known the at-

titude of the three milk concerns involved. As a result, an injunction was issued by the terms of which the members of the local were prohibited from interfering with the complainant's business by obstructing, annoying, intimidating or interfering with any person or persons who now are, or hereafter may be in its employ or desirous of entering the same, or by intimidating, annoying, threatening, hindering or obstructing any person or persons transacting business with the complainants, or desirous of entering into contracts or other business relations with the complainants from transacting such business, or from entering into such contracts, or other business relations, or by intimidating or inducing any person or persons to abstain from doing business with the complainants or performing contracts which such person or persons may have with the complainants.

The local was also forbidden from entering into or carrying out any scheme or design among themselves, or with others for the purpose of annoying, etc., in any manner, any persons in the employ of the complainants or desirous of entering their employ, or from hindering in any manner any persons who were or may be transacting business with them.

Picketing the premises was forbidden, as was the following of any persons either in the employ or who may hereafter be in their employ. Impeding, hindering or soliciting in any way the trade or customers for the purpose of inducing or persuading them not to patronize, trade with, or deal with the complainants was also forbidden by the terms of the injunction which was issued by the court.

In addition the local union was assessed damages in the amount of over \$62,000.00. This assessment ran against the union, its officers, members, agents or servants.

Only very recently there was issued by Federal Judge Hough, in Steubenville, Ohio, an injunction which by its terms can only be interpreted as a direct aid to the mine operators of six eastern counties in Ohio, the area covered by the injunction. Upon the application of several mining companies the judge issued an order forbidding picketing, except by American citizens and then only when speaking the English language. That the injunction is intended to foster the interests of the mine operators will be seen when one is reminded that the judge has threatened with deportation any alien found guilty of violating the terms of this most unjust and vicious restraining order. In fact, the spokesman for the Ohio coal operators is quoted as saying that the effect of the injunction will be that there will be several hundred applications for employment as a result. The injunction order is so recent that its complete terms are not now available, but the above is indicative of the extreme severity of it.

In New York efforts had been made covering a period of years to organize the employees of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, where the management had organized a company union which it dominated. Impelled by a spirit of resentment against this domination a group of workers organized the Consolidated Railway Workers of Greater New York and entered into a strike against the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. It was clear that an opportunity existed for the organization of the Consolidated Railway Workers and accordingly the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Workers of America once more attempted to organize the road. An injunction was secured by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, directed against the officers of the Consolidated Railway Workers of Greater New York and each of their agents, servants, attorneys, confederates and any other person acting in aid or in concert with them. By the terms of this injunction the officers of the Amalgamated Association were forbidden to organize these workers into their International Union, and the officers of the Consolidated Railway Workers were forbidden to belong to any union other than the Brotherhood of Interborough Rapid Transit Company Employees, the company union. Specifically, the injunction restrained them—

From advising, enticing, inducing or persuading the employees of the plaintiff or any of them to absent themselves from their places of duty, or to abandon or quit the service of the plaintiff, or to strike.

From advising, enticing, inducing or persuading the said employees or any of them to become members of any union or association of railroad employees other than the said Brotherhood of Interborough Rapid Transit Company Employees or the Voluntary Relief Department of the plaintiff.

From advising, enticing, inducing or persuading the employees of the plaintiff or any of them to breach their contracts of employment with the plaintiff.

From holding or causing to be held meetings of the employees of the plaintiff for the purpose of inducing, persuading or exhorting them to absent themselves from their places of duty or leave the service of the plaintiff to join any organization of employees other than said Brotherhood, to make demands upon the plaintiff for increased wages, or otherwise take action in violation of their contracts of employment with the plaintiff.

From circulating notices, letters, hand-bills or other written or printed communications among the employees of the plaintiff, or displaying the same in the cars or upon the stations, structures or property of the plaintiff, or in public places, advising or urging said employees to join any union or association of employees other than the said Brotherhood, or to leave the service of the plaintiff, or to strike, or to commit any other acts in violation of their contracts of employment with the plaintiff.

From unlawfully, willfully and maliciously committing acts with the purpose of producing a strike of the employees of the plaintiff and paralyzing the service to the public.

From committing acts calculated or intended to injure, deplete or destroy plaintiff's working organization of skilled and trained employees, or the contracts or business of the plaintiff.

From willfully and maliciously, by the use of threats, intimidation or otherwise, compelling or seeking to compel the employees of the plaintiff, or any of them, to abandon the service of the plaintiff and breach their several contracts of employment for the purpose of causing a strike among the employees of the plaintiff, or compelling or seeking to compel the employees of the plaintiff, or any of them, to become members of any union or association of railroad employees, other than the said Brotherhood of Interborough Rapid Transit Company Employees or the Voluntary Relief Department of the plaintiff.

From congregating, picketing or loitering upon or in the neighborhood of the plaintiff's cars, stations, structures or other premises for the purpose of inducing or persuading plaintiff's employees to desist from the performance of their duties and leave the service of the plaintiff, or otherwise interfering with the employees, business, or working organization of the plaintiff.

A similar case arose in Indianapolis concerning the Indianapolis Street Railway Company and the Amalgamated Association. The bill for an injunction alleged that the company had a written contract with its employees setting out terms of employment and an agreement not to strike. It further alleged that the officers of the Amalgamated Association were not in the employ of the company and that they were wrongfully and unlawfully soliciting and persuading its employees to violate their contracts by going upon strike and quitting their employment in a body. The prayer for an injunction asked that the officers of the Amalgamated Association be enjoined from such soliciting and persuading.

The injunction was granted and thereafter the United States attorney filed an information for contempt, charging some of the officers of the union with violation of the injunction. The matter was heard without a jury and the court found that each of the defendants was guilty of contempt and judgment was granted against them. Upon appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals the decision of the lower court was affirmed. An application for a writ of certiorari has been made to the Supreme Court of the United States in an effort to reverse the decisions of the lower courts in this matter.

In connection with this case it is well to point out that there seems to be a general misunderstanding regarding the provisions of the Clayton Act, especially as it applies to trial by jury in contempt cases. In the Indianapolis case the acts held to be in contempt of the injunction were the mere solicitation of workers to organize and, if necessary, to strike in order to secure what they deemed to be their rights.

The Clayton Act in Sections 21 to 26 deals with the subject of contempt, and jury trials are one of the details considered there. Section 24 contains the exceptions and is quoted here in full:

That nothing herein (in the whole act) contained shall be construed to relate to contempts committed in the presence of the court, or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice, nor to contempts committed in disobedience of any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command entered in any suit or action brought or prosecuted in the name of, or on behalf of the United States, but the same, and all other cases of contempt not specifically embraced within section 21 of this act, may be punished in conformity to the usages at law and in equity now prevailing.

No jury trials are granted where the conduct constituting the contempt is committed in the presence of the court, or so near as to obstruct the administration of justice, and, of course, the provisions of the Clayton Act have no application to cases arising in state courts. The question as to what constitutes an act which will obstruct the administration of justice is one which the court decides for itself in each given case. A very large class of cases is hereby taken out of the provisions for a jury trial.

To be entitled to a trial by jury for contempt the case must arise between private parties. This excludes all actions in which the United States is a party and thus another broad field is taken from provisions for a jury trial. In the third case, the act constituting a contempt must be of such a character as to constitute a criminal offense under any statute of the United States or under the laws of any State in which the act was committed.

No Federal statute and practically no state statute forbids boycotting, picketing, persuading, threatening or paying strike benefits. Accordingly, under the terms of the Clayton Act, anyone accused of contempt for violating an injunction embracing any of the foregoing activities will not be entitled to a trial by jury.

It was the intention of the propounders of the Clayton Act that all persons tried for contempt for violating the terms of an injunction issued in an industrial dispute should be entitled to a trial by jury. Some method must be found to remedy this situation and to amend the Clayton Act in such a manner as to give effect to the reasons and motives underlying its enactment.

The above cases are but illustrative of many others which have been decided during the past year.

Your Executive Council has seriously considered the terms of the various injunction orders listed herein. It has resolved to urge our membership to protest them in every conceivable manner and to insist that the rights lawfully theirs be permitted to them and not destroyed or curtailed in any such manner. Your Executive Council is deeply concerned with finding a solution to the intolerable burdens which have been placed upon us by such un-American procedure. It has resolved to find such solution. To this end the best thought and judgment of the entire labor movement are directed.

Picketing—In *Daitch & Co., Inc., vs. Cohen et al.*, decided by the Supreme Court of New York County, sitting in special term, it was held that picketing a store by a labor union will be enjoined as without legal justification in the absence of a strike.

The Supreme Court of Indiana, in the case of *Scofes vs. Helmar*, ruled that an injunction might issue restraining a union from picketing or in any way interfering with the employees and patrons of a restaurant. The restaurant owned by Scofes was picketed because of his refusal to sign a union wage scale. The picketing consisted of moving back and forward on the sidewalk in front of the place of business.

The Clark Lunch Co. of Cleveland refused to enter into an agreement with the Cleveland Waiters' Union and the union thereupon employed persons to distribute printed cards informing the restaurant's patrons and prospective patrons of the attitude of the Lunch Company. The Court of Appeals of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in upholding the decision of the lower court held that a restaurant had no vested right to the patronage of persons who, knowing of the union's actions, refused to patronize it. It was also held that the union had a right in a lawful way to influence and control the patronage of its members and sympathizers in favor of themselves and those with whom

it had contracts. The case appears under the title of *S. A. Clark Company vs. Cleveland Waiters' and Beverage Dispensers' Local*.

In the case of *Jefferson & Indiana Coal Company vs. Marks*, a Pennsylvania decision, it was held that marching and parading intended to intimidate workmen was as unlawful as violence, and that the spirit of the demonstrations is the thing to be looked for, not the mere marching on the highway. It was also held that in entering a decree awarding an injunction the Court should not use the word "peaceful" in connection with the word "picketing."

In *Ferguson vs. Peake*, a District of Columbia case, the court held that the provisions of Section 20 of the Clayton Act did not apply where there was no evidence of a dispute between a union and a store in question, and no evidence that questions of wages and terms of employment were involved. Here, Ferguson was tried for a violation of the police regulations forbidding persons from remaining in front of a retail store for the purpose of enticing or interfering with prospective purchasers. It was contended that the Clayton Act was applicable to this case.

In *Manker vs. Bakers*, the Supreme Court of Westchester County, New York, sitting in special term, it was held that labor unions may strike and may carry on picketing in conjunction with and in furtherance of strike. It declared that picketing in front of a place of business by members carrying placards declaring the firm to be unfair did not entitle the baker to a temporary injunction.

In *Exchange Bakery and Restaurant, Inc., vs. Rifkin*, another New York case, it was held that labor unions may call a strike and picket the premises of an employer for the purpose of inducing him to employ only union labor, and the resulting injury is incidental and must be endured. An agreement not to join a union was held to be without consideration and but a mere promise and not a contract. Peaceful picketing was held not to authorize an injunction.

Boycott—The Kirby Lumber Co., located in Louisiana, operated a general merchandise store in connection with its sawmill plant. A competitor opened a similar store on ground close to the plant owned by the lumber company, which notified its employees not to deal or trade with its competitor, or to visit its store or family, under penalty of discharge. The competitor sued and alleged that these acts amounted to a conspiracy and a boycott and were in restraint of trade. In the case of *Deon vs. Kirby Lumber Company*, the Supreme Court of Louisiana held that the parties were competitors and that the company's acts were not malicious. It was declared that everyone has a right to enjoy the fruits of his own enterprise but such rights can not be extended to protect him against lawful competition, and since there is no law to compel one to part with his property the company could induce its employees to discontinue their patronage of Deon through persuasion and fear of discharge, without making it civilly liable to him.

Strikes—The United States Supreme Court, in deciding the case of *Dorsey vs. Kansas*, held that the right to carry on business has value and to interfere with that right without just cause is unlawful. Dorsey was convicted of calling a strike in violation of the Kansas Industrial Relations Act, the strike being called to collect a claim for back pay. According to the court, this strike was unlawful because of its purpose, and to attempt to enforce such a claim was held to be clearly coercion. The court also held that the Kansas Legislature may make such action punishable criminally and that neither the common law nor the fourteenth amendment conferred the absolute right to strike.

The Open Port Law of Texas was enacted for the purpose of outlawing strikes. Under its provisions it was made a felony for one to assault another or threaten another who was engaged in the work of loading or unloading or transporting any commerce within the state. Written communications to such a person, or the members of his family, for the purpose of having such employee desist from this work would constitute intimidation. The act wholly omitted any reference to the purpose, intent or knowledge of the person penalized for making the assault. The law of Texas formerly made the use of physical violence without circumstances of aggravation, merely simple assault, punishable only by fine. By the Open Port Law such actions were made felonies and punishable by imprisonment. The Supreme Court of Texas, in the case of *Ratcliffe vs. Texas*, held that the general law was not changed by the passage of the Open Port

Act and that the latter was a violation of the fourteenth amendment, was class legislation and, in some necessary parts, was unintelligible.

In Cleveland, contracts were in existence between all the crafts in the building trades industry except that of the painters. The parties to the contracts agreed that they would be governed and bound by the contract. The contract provided that there would be no strikes or lockouts pending a decision of arbitrators, but it was understood that union men should not be compelled to work with nonunion men in the same trade or on the same building. Later, nonunion glaziers were employed and the workmen in the other crafts quit their employment, whereupon the company having the general contract obtained an order requiring the officers of the unions to rescind the strike order and these officers were also enjoined from doing anything to influence the men not to go back to work. In *Lundoff-Bicknell Company vs. Smith*, the Court of Appeals of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, held that the men had a right to strike but for their contracts and that the only wrongful act done by them was to violate their contracts by collectively quitting. It further held that the contracts to which the Bicknell Company was not a party can not be enforced by it nor can it maintain a suit against those who induced the men to violate their contracts.

Interstate Commerce—Where an association comprises all the merchant vessels of American registry engaged in interstate and foreign commerce among the ports of the Pacific Coast and of foreign countries, entered into a combination to control the employment of all seamen upon such vessels, the Supreme Court, in the case of *Anderson vs. Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast*, has held that ships and those who operate them are instrumentalities of commerce and within the commerce laws, and the actions complained of in this case constitute a violation of the Anti-Trust Act.

In *Lewis et al. vs. Red Jacket Coal and Coke Company*, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, said that when trade unions turn aside from their normal and legitimate objects and purposes and engaged in an actual combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade, they are accountable therefore in the same manner as other organizations. A conspiracy was held to violate the statute where there exists an intent to restrain interstate trade and commerce and a scheme appropriate for that purpose, even though it did not act directly upon the instrumentalities of commerce. Referring to the case of the *U. S. vs. Brims*, and quoting it with approval, the court held that the conspiracy established by the testimony in this case was one in restraint of interstate trade and commerce in violation of the Sherman Act. It did express the opinion, however, that the United Mine Workers of America did not constitute, of itself, an unlawful conspiracy in restraint of interstate trade and commerce because it embraced a large percentage of the mine workers of this country or because its purpose is to extend its membership so as to embrace all of the workers in the mines of the continent.

Trade Unions—In *Hall vs. Morrin et al.*, the St. Louis Court of Appeals held that a general executive board was not disqualified to try a member who had made charges against the personnel of the board, because under the laws of the union it was the only body to weigh and determine the charges, and if the board was incompetent to try him it must be manifest that he could not have been tried at all. It was also held that a suit is prematurely brought before all the remedies within the union are exhausted.

The Supreme Court of Nebraska, in *Crisler vs. Crum*, has also held that a member of a trade union is bound by and required to observe the law of the association which requires that he shall exhaust his remedies within the association before appealing to the courts. According to the decision, a labor union may lawfully adopt rules for the government of its members and provide tribunals within the association for determining controversies within the organization, provided such rules are reasonable and uniform.

While the courts uniformly hold that a member of a trade union must first exhaust his remedies within the organization before appealing to the courts, this rule does not hold good where one has been wrongfully expelled. This rule of law was expressed in the case of *Mullens vs. Seegers*, decided by the St. Louis Court of Appeals.

Wages—The Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia, in the case of *Holliday vs. Elkhorn Piney Mining Company*, held that the issuance of script to employees for labor

performed, redeemable in cash on pay days, otherwise in merchandise only, and non-transferable, was a violation of the statute relating to the issuance of script as amended by the West Virginia Legislature in 1925. Holliday, a merchant, had accepted at face value from employees of the company script issued by it and had presented this script to the company for redemption after same became due on a regular pay day. The company refused to redeem the script, whereupon this action was brought, with judgment for Holliday.

An action was brought in New York to restrain the award and execution of sub-way contracts because the contracts provided for the payment of "the prevailing rate of wages" which was claimed to be unconstitutional for uncertainty. The motion for an injunction was denied and a motion to dismiss the complaint was granted. The court held that such a provision was constitutional and under the labor law it was the duty and right of the public authorities to ascertain the prevailing rate of wages and to determine wages to be paid to persons employed on public work accordingly. It was held that any objection to the unfairness of making "locality" coterminous with the City of New York because the locality of the work was confined to 53d Street between 2nd and 8th Avenues was without merit. The court held that the expression "locality" means a political subdivision and it was entirely within the spirit of the statute to set these limits as the bounds of the City of New York in connection with the contract in question. This decision was rendered by the Supreme Court of New York County in the case of *Morse vs. Delaney*.

Workmen's Compensation—Where a longshoreman employed in stowing freight was injured through the negligence of a hatch tender, the Supreme Court of the United States held that the term "seaman" as used in the Act of June 5, 1920, is flexible to cover stevedores engaged as the plaintiff in this case was, and that this statute had done away with the fellow servant rule. *International Stevedore Company vs. Haverty*.

Where one is convicted of a felony and sentenced to prison, and thereafter granted permission to perform work on the public highways of California, under the direction of the State Highway Commission, and becomes injured, he is entitled to the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act. This rule was adopted by the Supreme Court of California in the State of California Highway Commission *vs.* Industrial Accident Commission.

By a decision of the Court of Civil Appeals of Texas, in deciding the case of *Gordon vs. Travellers' Insurance Company*, compensation is refused to those suffering from occupational diseases. Here, Gordon was employed by an oil company and was required to stand in crude oil while performing his work and as a result was taken with a severe case of nephritis, totally and permanently incapacitating him.

Conspiracy—The Carpenters' District Council of Boston made changes in its trade rules as to working hours, wages, and the handling of trim not made under union conditions. Circular letters were sent out to contractors and builders and a copy of the newly adopted trade rules enclosed. Thereafter, the carpenters refused to work on material which was not made by members of the union. The court held that an otherwise lawful act may be the subject of conspiracy when done in concert to injure another and it is sufficient to prove that the conspirators intended to use unlawful means to accomplish a lawful purpose. If the acts of a trade union interfere with rights of trim manufacturers or of nonunion workers, specific intent is immaterial. A strike against an employer because he refuses to handle only union made materials, in the absence of a voluntary agreement by him so to do, is illegal. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts also held in this case (*Stearns Lumber Company vs. Howlett Irving & Casson*) that the placing of the name of a manufacturer on a list of unfair mills and distributing the lists generally to contractors and builders was unlawful.

Trade Union Agreements—In Des Moines the Street Railway Company and the members of the Amalgamated Association entered into a union agreement covering regulations between the company and the union. The agreement provided for the check-off, the employment of union members only, and the suspension without pay of any employees becoming suspended from the union. Some members of the union demanded they be paid in full not deducting the check-off and complaint was made on the part of the union that the company had failed to discharge one of its employees upon proper request

from the union. A suit was brought and the company alleged that the contract was illegal and void and it attempted to enjoin the union from attempting to enforce the contract. In this case, *Des Moines Railway Company vs. Amalgamated Association*, the Supreme Court decided that it would not decide whether the contract between the company and the union was against public policy because it unionized an entire industry, where no person complained that he was deprived of his right freely to dispose of his labor. The other claims of the company were also dismissed.

Contempt—Van Bittner was convicted of contempt for disobeying an injunction issued on behalf of the Continental Coal Company, operating a nonunion mine in West Virginia. Bittner admitted that he had made a public address but denied that he advised anyone to disobey injunctions in general or this one in particular. The court held that the evidence in trials for contempt for violating an injunction must be sufficient to establish guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. It accordingly reversed the judgment of the lower court and remanded the case. The decision is reported as *State ex rel. Continental Coal Co. vs. Bittner*, and was decided by the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia.

Criminal Syndicalism—In *Whitney vs. People of State of California*, the United States Supreme Court upheld the Criminal Syndicalism Act of California and held that the law was not so vague and uncertain as to deny due process of law; and that it did not deny equal protection of the laws and was not class legislation, since it affected all alike regardless of business associations or qualifications. The right of free speech and assemblage is not an absolute right to speech without responsibility, as under the police power a state may punish utterances inimical to the public welfare.

SECTION 5—POLITICAL

Non-Partisan Political Policy

In November, 1928, a President and Vice-President of the United States, one-third of the members of the United States Senate and 435 members of the House of Representatives will be elected. Besides, many governors and other public officials will be elected in the several states. The wage earners, as well as all other forward-looking citizens, have a duty to perform the result of which will determine whether our country is to continue still further toward reaction or advance along progressive lines.

While the American Federation of Labor may regard one or more candidates for the presidency as acceptable it does not advocate the nomination of any particular person. Its first concern is in the adoption of platforms that will pledge the parties to enact legislation that will be of benefit to Labor and the people. It is then the duty of the wage earners and their friends to support the candidate on the most acceptable platform.

The experiences of 1924 should be a warning to both parties. Neither platform that year appealed to Labor. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the Resolutions Committees of both conventions and urged that certain declarations be made in their platforms. Both parties ignored the plea of labor. The platform of neither party was acceptable to those who were looking forward as was evidenced by the fact that nearly 5,000,000 protest votes were cast for a third candidate.

As in the past the Executive Council will prepare a list of principles which will be submitted to both political party conventions and an earnest appeal made that they be approved. We repeat what we have said many times heretofore, that Labor never asks for any special privileges but advances economic principles that will be of benefit to all the people except those who favor reaction.

It is believed that the people of the nation are alarmed at the growing influence of reactionaries and will aggressively support the political party which adopts a platform that honestly reflects the progressive ideas of the great majority.

Not only should every effort be made to have the national political parties adopt progressive platforms but in every state the labor movements should make the same appeal to the state political party conventions.

Early in 1928 every local union, city central body and state federation of labor should arrange that their respective legislative committees become non-partisan political

campaign committees which will prepare for a most intensive agitation for the election of outstanding candidates who, by their records, have shown they will be true to the people. The non-partisan committees of local unions should work in conjunction with the non-partisan campaign committees of the central bodies for the election of congressmen and other officials in their respective districts and with the state federations of labor for the election of state officers and United States Senators. All of these organizations and their committees should join with the American Federation of Labor in urging the national political parties to adopt progressive platforms and then aid in supporting the party whose declarations are the most progressive. They should impress upon delegates elected to the city, county, state and national political conventions that in order to secure the support of working men and women they must demand that the platforms adopted shall contain planks which will be approved by Labor. These delegates must be informed that Labor was never more determined to elect its friends than it will be in the 1928 elections.

Forty-four legislatures held sessions beginning in January this year and in more than thirty of them bills were introduced to repeal or weaken the primary laws. This was attempted in face of the fact that in many states in 1926 the primary vote was larger than in the presidential election in 1924.

Forty-four states have direct primary laws. Connecticut, Rhode Island, Utah and New Mexico have not enacted such legislation. From reports received up to date no state repealed its primary law, although the Maine legislature left the question to a vote of the people. In some of them primary laws were strengthened.

The opponents of the primary laws contend that it imposes greater costs upon the candidates and their friends than the old "boss"-controlled convention system. Friends of the primary law admit that purchasing the political "bosses" who control conventions would not be as costly as would securing voters in a direct primary. But they contend that the primary laws could be strengthened by each state enacting a corrupt practices act which would limit the purposes for which money could be spent.

As we have said before, if the people are competent to elect candidates to office they surely are competent to nominate them in a direct primary. No greater scheme to place the nomination of candidates in the hands of a few men can be imagined than in the convention system. Labor must continue active in opposing every move in any state to repeal the direct primary laws.

A most important feature of the primaries and elections is getting out the vote. There is not a wrong that can not be righted if all those entitled to vote cast their ballots. Less than fifty per cent of the voters in the United States went to the polls in the November, 1924, election. Undoubtedly, millions of those who did not vote have sadly repented.

It is therefore the duty of every national and international union to urge members of their local unions to agitate for a full vote of the membership. State federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions should join in carrying out this necessary policy. The Executive Council believes that the great majority of those who failed to vote are wage earners. Agitation for getting out the vote should not be confined to organized wage earners but should be extended to the unorganized and also those in sympathy with the aims and objects of the labor movement. The campaign should not be for a week or a month; it should begin early in the year 1928 and continue until the primaries and elections are held.

The official and weekly labor press could be helpful by printing in a prominent place in their publications shortly before the primaries and elections some attractive slogan that will appeal to the voters and impress upon them the obligations they owe not only to themselves but to their fellow citizens.

The Executive Council will begin an early campaign and national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions are requested to give careful attention to all information furnished them in order that the elections of 1928 can be made most effective. The successes of the non-partisan political campaign of the American Federation of Labor have been gradually becoming greater. A larger number of wage earners every year sees the benefit of non-partisan action and

this, it is believed, will make them a greater factor in the coming election than they ever have been heretofore.

Successes can not be gained without hard work. Active trade unionists should be appointed on all non-partisan committees and they should understand that much depends upon their activities. If the plans of the Executive Council are carried out in an aggressive manner we have reason to hope and believe that the greatest successes of Labor will be the outcome of Labor's activities in 1928.

SECTION 6—PUBLIC RELATIONS

Relations With Other Organizations

Personnel Research Federation—The personnel Research Federation of which the American Federation of Labor is a member has been most helpful during the past year in assisting us to get technical and research information. The Research Federation is in touch with all research undertakings in fields which are of especial value to unions and renders us service which would be most expensive if we had to maintain informational facilities of our own. In addition it is important that Labor's needs and points of view should be considered in the formulation of research policies and plans.

American Bar Association—In continuation of cordial and helpful conferences between representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Committee on Commerce of the American Bar Association, the president of the American Federation of Labor sent a letter to the Denver meeting of the American Bar Association, expressing Labor's desire to establish cooperative relationships.

The president of the American Bar Association sent the following telegram to the Detroit convention of the Federation:

HON. WILLIAM GREEN, *President,*
American Federation of Labor Convention, Detroit, Michigan.

Permit me as president of the American Bar Association to express appreciation of your cordial message to our convention at Denver. Will not your convention authorize the appointment of an appropriate committee to cooperate with our Committee on Commerce in drafting legislation on lines laid down in that committee's report.

CHARLES S. WHITMAN,
President, The American Bar Association.

The following committee was appointed to meet with the committee of the Bar Association: Matthew Woll, chairman; John P. Frey and Victor Olander. Mr. Woll attended the first committee meeting held in New York on March 23. A sub-committee of the Bar Association Commerce Committee was appointed to confer with the Federation committee and to develop a legislative program. The sub-committee consisted of Julius Henry Cohen, Hollis R. Bailey, and Thomas W. Davis. The first conference was held in New York, April 25 and 26.

The Federation's committee found an attitude of genuine desire to consider facts and find a constructive plan for adjusting the difficulties that arise in industrial relations. The discussions of the joint committee have thus resulted in agreement on procedure.

The report of the Standing Committee on Commerce to the American Bar Association meeting held in Buffalo, beginning August 31, 1927, contained the following:

... The sub-committee reports that it believes that progress has been made in a better understanding of the difficulties of the problems involved, but that it will take some time to give full consideration to all the questions that will have to be discussed, both of law and of policy, before a full report can be made. It feels very much encouraged and believes that the time is now opportune for arriving at an understanding. It believes that, in addition to the representatives of Labor, it will be necessary to confer with em-

players throughout the country, and it hopes, if the committee is permitted to continue its work during the coming year, to have a more definite report to make next year.

We recommend that the Federation's committee continue this most important work.

SECTION 7—PUBLIC WELFARE

Mississippi Flood Catastrophe

The Mississippi flood, the greatest nature catastrophe in the history of the United States, demands that Congress provide the ways and means that will forever prevent a recurrence of such suffering, misery and financial loss.

Of the 20,000,000 acres in the flood zone over 11,000,000 were covered with the flood waters from 2 to 20 feet deep. Three-fourths of a million men, women and children were affected by the flood and 600,000 of them were driven from their homes. The loss is estimated to be more than \$400,000,000.

Thousands of houses were wrecked, many of them being lifted from their foundations by the rush of water and swept away in the torrent. Hundreds of thousands of people were forced to find safety on high spots of ground and for months were prevented from returning to their homes.

Live stock was drowned, the fields laid waste and disease became rampant. Business was at a standstill. The loss was tremendous and affected the economic conditions of the entire country.

Year after year appeals have been made to Congress to aid in protecting the people of this wonderfully fruitful valley from floods. Money has been appropriated but in meager sums. States have appropriated money for that purpose and private citizens for self-protection have endeavored to build levees to withstand high floods. But the great flood of this year proved that superhuman efforts must be used to prevent in the future such a catastrophe.

The work will require the greatest engineering minds in the country. It will require large sums of money. It is believed by the Executive Council that only the United States government can cope with this great problem and there should be no haggling over the amount of money needed.

It is estimated that some day 10,000,000 people will live on the 20,000,000 acres in the flood zone where 1,500,000 resided when the raging waters began flowing down the Mississippi.

The river and its tributaries drain every state from the Rockies to the Appalachians and on the north to the Canadian border. It therefore becomes a national issue, an issue that the people of our country can not ignore.

The Executive Council recommends that the convention adopt a strong declaration to be presented to Congress, and that every aid be given in supporting such a measure as will effectually protect the people of the Mississippi valley from another such flood, no matter what the cost.

The Mississippi flood is also a warning to Congress to be receptive to all demands for protection from floods in any river valley where the danger is known to exist.

Modification of the Volstead Act

The American Federation of Labor at its conventions in 1919, 1921 and 1923 pointed out the deplorable conditions that would come and had come from the enforcement of the Volstead Act. It was contended that the manufacture, sale and distribution of wholesome beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight would bring about true temperance.

December 22, 1925, President Green in behalf of the Executive Council addressed a communication to President Coolidge requesting him to recommend to Congress that the Volstead Act be amended so as to meet the suggestions proposed by the three conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

April 9, 1926, by direction of President Green, the various declarations of the

American Federation of Labor and his letter to President Coolidge were submitted to the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, which was holding hearings on a number of bills. Some of the bills proposed to increase the alcoholic content of beer, which is now one-half of one per cent.

The 1919 convention, before the Volstead Act became a law, declared that in the interest of morality and good citizenship it should provide for the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

In 1921 after a trial of the Volstead Act it was found that conditions were more deplorable than the 1919 convention believed could be possible.

During the next two years the Executive Council made an extensive investigation of the effects of the Volstead Act and submitted its findings to the 1923 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Since then the Executive Council has persistently continued its investigations and because conditions are continually growing worse believes that this convention of the American Federation of Labor should reaffirm its former declarations in favor of a modification of the Volstead Act so as to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

In submitting this demand for a modification of the Volstead Act the Executive Council wishes to emphasize that no protest is being made against the Eighteenth Amendment itself. We said in our declaration in 1923, which was endorsed by the delegates by a practically unanimous vote, that "it is our contention that the Eighteenth Amendment under a reasonable and proper legislative interpretation would be beneficial to our country and would have the support of the great majority of our people."

Those who, either by propaganda or coercive tactics, seek to enforce the Volstead Act do not refer to it. They charge every violation of the act to be a violation of the Eighteenth Amendment. This is not true. The Volstead Act could be amended without in any way violating the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Therefore, the Executive Council recommends that this convention emphatically reaffirm its declarations of the past and insist upon Congress amending the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

Child Labor

Forty-four state legislatures met in 1927. Only one (Montana) approved of the proposed child labor amendment to the United States Constitution.

In January, 1927, President Green sent an individual appeal to all members of the legislatures in session urging them to vote favorably on the proposed amendment. Accompanying the letters were two pamphlets on child labor explaining the reasons why the amendment should be approved and answering the charges made by opponents.

In February, President Green issued an appeal to all organized labor to urge their respective legislatures to approve of the amendment. Many letters were received from members of legislatures stating that they were anxious to vote for the amendment providing it would be reported from the committees which had it in charge.

The propaganda which had been prevalent in previous years was just as active in the legislatures this year. An amazing fact developed when it was found that governors and other public officials who had demanded the right of the states to legislate on child labor just as actively opposed amendments to state child labor laws as they did to the proposed constitutional amendment. Not only did they oppose the constitutional amendment but also any remedial legislation for children in their respective states. This is evidence that they are not only opposed to the amendment but to all state laws that will save children from industrial exploitation.

Most pernicious propaganda was sent to the various states against the amendment. This followed a report made by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, which stated that child labor had increased in twenty-four out of twenty-nine large industrial cities. Twelve states and twenty-nine cities having a population of 100,000 or more reported to the Bureau on the number of work permits issued to 14 and 15 year old children. Eight states reported increases. They were: Alabama, Connecticut, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Tennessee. The District of Columbia reported decreases, which the Bureau

credited to the compulsory school attendance law enacted by Congress for the District of Columbia. This requires a child to remain in school up to the age of 16 unless he has completed the eighth grade. This law resulted in a decrease of 67.5 per cent in the District of Columbia. In other cities where compulsory school attendance was enforced there was also a decrease. According to the Bureau the cities in which child labor had increased and the percentages are:

Baltimore.....	12.0	New Haven.....	14.4
Birmingham.....	20.1	New Orleans.....	9.5
Bridgeport.....	29.8	New York City.....	2.0
Detroit.....	13.6	Pittsburgh.....	8.8
Fall River.....	43.7	Philadelphia.....	24.9
Hartford.....	18.2	Reading.....	27.9
Jersey City.....	1.2	Rochester.....	16.0
Milwaukee.....	28.8	St. Louis.....	4.8
Minneapolis.....	18.8	San Francisco.....	9.9
Newark.....	2.0	Trenton.....	17.3
New Bedford.....	33.8	Waterbury.....	17.4
New Britain.....	37.4	Yonkers.....	35.2

These alarming statistics should awaken the people of our country to a realization of the future effects of such a condition.

The Executive Council believes that those who contend for "states rights" in regulating the labor of children do so for ulterior purposes, for in practically all such cases it has been found that they hamper every effort to enact state laws that will really protect children from exploitation. It can not be possible that this subterfuge can be long maintained. Justice may be long delayed, but there always comes a time when justice prevails. The history of legislation shows that benevolent measures require many years to be accepted. Malevolent legislation is forced through in short order.

We therefore believe that the American Federation of Labor can look forward to a time when the proposed child labor amendment will be a part of the constitution of the United States, notwithstanding the great opposition of those who would exploit the children of our nation.

SECTION 8—HEALTH

Child Health Day

One of the prominent activities of the American Federation of Labor has been to create conditions that would conserve the physical and mental health of the children of our nation.

Labor made the first organized attempt for compulsory education laws and the enactment of laws that would prohibit the labor of children in gainful occupations. The object of this was to protect them from exploitation and at the same time permit them to obtain an education.

For a number of years child-loving citizens have formed organizations to stimulate sentiment that would awaken our people to the necessity for a year-round crusade for the physical and mental advancement of children. In order to attract nation-wide attention to this worthy crusade it has been suggested that May 1 be declared Child Health Day.

The Executive Council is in hearty sympathy with this movement and urges this convention to take appropriate action for the establishment of Child Health Day.

To this end a joint resolution should be presented in Congress similar to that which created Mother's Day. The state legislatures should also be asked to approve of May 1 as Child Health Day.

Health Menace in Pneumatic Hammer

The Detroit Convention directed the Executive Council to "secure through some satisfactory agency an investigation of the harmfulness of the pneumatic or so-called air hammer in its effects upon the workers in the cutting and carving of stone."

With this purpose in view, President Green had several conferences with officials of the United States Public Health Service, and corresponded with other groups and individuals who might throw some light upon the subject. He found that health conditions resulting from the use of the pneumatic or air hammer have already been thoroughly investigated and are well known, and that what is really now the problem in the industry is to develop adequate protection against dust, and mechanical improvement in tools.

It also came to light that the United States Public Health Service is greatly hampered in undertaking any further industrial hygiene research because of insufficient congressional appropriation with which to carry on the work. The Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor was instructed to cooperate with the United States Public Health Service to secure sufficient congressional appropriation for industrial hygiene research so that the service might be able to maintain adequate research.

During the spring, the Harvard School of Public Health held a most important conference to consider "the prevention of dust inhalation in the use of pneumatic rock drills and stone cutting tools." The Harvard School there mapped out a program which will take probably two years to complete, at an estimated cost of \$38,000.00.

The Granite Cutters' organization, whose members are so greatly and continuously subjected to dust hazards, is particularly desirous that the Harvard School program may be carried out. Whether the means will be provided for that work remains to be seen.

SECTION 9—INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Mexican—American Labor Immigration Conference

The convention of the American Federation of Labor authorized the creation of an American-Mexican Labor Immigration and Emigration Conference. The representatives of the American Federation of Labor on that conference were Matthew Woll and James Wilson. Mexican Labor was represented by Emilio Mugica and Canuto A. Vargas. In addition to the foregoing, Santiago Iglesias attended as Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The conference met at American Federation of Labor headquarters, August 5 and 6.

The purpose of the conference was to draft recommendations to be presented to the government of Mexico for the regulation of immigration upon the basis that the number of immigrants coming from Mexico be restricted by Mexico itself so that they will not exceed the number that would be allowed if the quota provisions of the immigration law of the United States would apply; that Mexicans before coming into the United States must secure a passport; that the Mexican government will agree not to issue passports in excess of the number allowed if the quota provisions would apply; that the American government will not admit any immigrants who can not present a passport.

The conference also considered methods that the Mexican Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor might apply in regulating immigration into the United States on a basis that would promote the best interests of the workers of both Mexico and the United States and Canada.

The conference was unanimous in its findings and recommendations. We submit herewith the report of the conference with the recommendation that it be approved by the convention.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

Entered into by and between the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor, at Washington, D. C., *August sixth, 1927.*

Based upon the declaration of principles agreed to at the conference of representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor, held in Washington, D. C., August 27, 1925, relating to the subjects of immigration and emigration, the undersigned representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor,

at this conference, held in pursuance and as a result of the former conference, agree upon the following procedure:

The methods by which the principles of self-restraint and mutual cooperation on the subjects of immigration and emigration between Mexico and the United States can best be effected and by which the moral, physical, political and economic integrity of the peoples of each of these countries may best be advanced are twofold. These methods are political and economic; the former being exercised by the government; the latter through the trade union movements of the respective countries.

Insofar as political methods are concerned, the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor agree to recommend to the General Committee of the Mexican Federation of Labor the following program for favorable consideration and action:

1. That the Mexican government be petitioned to adopt a restrictive policy and, if necessary, to enact legislation to that end, excluding all peoples of oriental birth or extraction.
2. That consideration be given to the exclusion or restriction of other classes of immigrants deemed unsuitable to the moral, physical, political and economic integrity.
3. That the Mexican government be petitioned to consider and to enact a restrictive emigration policy, which, in substance, shall conform to the Immigration Law requirements of the United States.
4. That the Mexican government be petitioned to adopt a method of regulating emigration so as to give full and complete enforcement to the immigration policy herein recommended.

Based upon these considerations the representatives of the American Federation of Labor agree to recommend to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

Continuance of the policy heretofore assumed toward Mexico, viz., the adherence of the present immigration policy of the United States insofar as non-quota basis is concerned toward Mexico.

It is agreed by representatives of both the Mexican Federation of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor to recommend to their respective organizations that they petition their respective governments to give early and complete enforcement to the following resolutions adopted at the congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor held in Washington beginning July 18, 1927, insofar as it relates to government action:

WHEREAS, Employers of labor of the several Pan-American countries have resorted to the practice of recruiting workers in other countries than their own upon promises and assurances of profitable employment without guarantee of permanency of employment and without thought or consideration for the well being of such workers or the harm done to workers of the countries for which they have been recruited; and

WHEREAS, This practice tends to create strife and friction amongst the workers of the several Pan-American countries, besides misleading and doing irreparable harm to workers so recruited; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Pan-American Federation of Labor calls upon the several Pan-American governments and labor movements to give immediate consideration and to take whatever action may be necessary so to regulate the employment of workers of one country to another as will prevent the exploitation of workers herein referred to, that will require proper and adequate guarantee for all promises made and agreements of employment thus entered into, and as will avoid such recruited workers serving the purpose of lowering the standards of workers in the countries to which they may go where the standards are of a higher order; be it further

Resolved, That the Pan-American labor movements be urged to cooperate with one another and through the Pan-American Federation of Labor to keep the respective labor movements continually informed of economic and industrial conditions prevailing in their respective countries, to the end that trade union effort may contribute its full share in preventing a condition of international employment of labor that is of great harm to all workers and that tends to divide instead of unite the workers of all Pan-America.

Insofar as the foregoing relates to economic action it is agreed that an early and complete fulfillment of the trade union cooperative undertaking between the Mexican Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, provided in the foregoing resolution, will be helpful to the workers of both countries. It is agreed to recommend immediate consideration and action be given this subject by both the Mexican Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor.

NOTE: The representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor report that the Department of Interior of Mexico has already perfected plans to discourage Mexicans from emigrating to the United States and Canada and that it is the purpose of the Mexican Federation of Labor to encourage still further such a policy of restricting Mexican emigration.

Insofar as economic methods through the respective trade unions of both countries are concerned, it is agreed by the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor that they will recommend to their General Committee for approval and adoption the following:

1. That every possible effort be made to discourage Mexican workers from coming to the United States and Canada.
2. That wherever and whenever Mexican workers do come to the United States or Canada, they be urged to join the unions of their trades, in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and that failure to do so will subject such workers to discipline by the Mexican Federation of Labor to the possible extent of expulsion from the Mexican trade unions upon their return to Mexico.

Based upon these considerations it is agreed by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor to recommend to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that every facility, opportunity and encouragement be given such Mexican workers as enter the United States and Canada under the foregoing arrangement and understanding, to join and to be admitted to membership in the American trade unions upon an equal footing with all other workers and that like consideration be given such Mexican workers in their right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness and in their effort for economic and social advancement as is accorded to all other members of American trade unions.

It is agreed by the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor to recommend to their respective organizations the establishment of an emigration and immigration bureau, or selection of some one charged with such duties in their respective home offices, to which workers and trade unions of the respective countries may apply for information on all subjects and developments relating to the economic social and industrial conditions of each country and on all other related subjects to immigration and emigration—each organization to bear the expense of such a bureau or office. It is further agreed that such a bureau or office might well develop into an institution in the respective organizations for the development of greater trade knowledge and serve as a useful organizing medium for the workers of both countries.

NOTE: The representatives of the Mexican Federation have advised that the Mexican Federation of Labor is ready and prepared to send

representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor to the United States and Canada to impress upon Mexican workers in the United States and Canada the necessity of joining the trade union of their calling in the United States and Canada, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor at the expense of the Mexican Federation of Labor and under the direction of the American Federation of Labor.

We believe the foregoing methods, if and when put into operation will do much to strengthen the ties of friendship and of fraternal trade unionism between the workers of Mexico and the workers of the United States and Canada:

First, by eliminating the elements of exploitation of workers of both countries thus avoiding consequent friction which so readily serves the purpose of opponents to organize labor in developing ill will and promoting disorder and strife between the peoples of Mexico and of the United States and Canada.

Secondly, by securing the early and full attainment of the lofty purposes and principles agreed to in the conference of 1925.

Signed this sixth day of August, Nineteen Hundred and Twenty-seven, at Washington, D. C.

MATTHEW WOLL,
JAMES WILSON,

Representing the American Federation of Labor.

E. MUJICA,
C. A. VARGAS,

Representing the Mexican Federation of Labor.

SANTIAGO IGLESIAS,

Representing the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention

Conforming to custom we appointed delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; delegates thus appointed were William Green, Matthew Woll, Frank Morrison, James Wilson and James P. Noonan. The convention met in the Executive Council Room in the American Federation of Labor Building, July 18-23, 1927. We submit herewith the report of our delegates, which we trust will receive the full approval of this convention.

Report of A. F. of L. Delegates—The Fifth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was called to order by Chairman William Green on Monday, July 18, 1927, at 11 a. m., in the Executive Council room of the American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C., and adjourned Saturday, July 23, 1927.

Mr. Santiago Iglesias, President of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico, and Spanish speaking Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, acted as Spanish interpreter and Clemente N. Idar, Organizer of the American Federation of Labor of San Antonio, Texas, acted as English interpreter.

The following delegates were seated:

American Federation of Labor—William Green, Frank Morrison, Matthew Woll, James Wilson and James P. Noonan.

Mexican Federation of Labor—Luis M. Morones, Eduardo Moneda, Samuel O. Yudico, Canuto A. Vargas, Emilio Barragan.

Panama Federation of Labor—Leopoldo Cordero Ayala and Carlos Alfredo de la Guardia.

Venezuelan Labor Union—N. Flores Gabrera, B. Suarez, George Pigeon, Ricardo A. Martinez and Luis Munoz Marin.

Guatemala Federation of Labor—Andres H. Morales, Jose Felix Quintana and Manuel Tribouiller representing Confederation of Labor Unions of the West Coast of Guatemala.

Nicaragua Labor Federation—Solomon de la Selva, Victor M. Mercado Rogelio de la Selva, Adan Torres Guerrero and Tranquilino Saenz.

Peru Federation of Artisans—Luis Roberto Rios Castell, and from Assembly of United Societies of Peru—Amador Benavides.

Dominican Federation of Labor—W. Medrano, Jr., Moises Ruiz and Manuel Pazos.

Cuba Railroad Brotherhood—Oscar Diaz Perez, Enrique Ferrer Perez and Miguel Andres Delgado Alonso and Juan Arevalo Viettes representing the Association of the Sugar Industry Workers.

Republica de Colombia—Eduardo Illera, Directorio Obrero de Bolivar, Porto Rican Federation of Labor—Santiago Iglesias Pantin, Pedro San Miguel and J. M. Vialdi.

Honduras Federation of Labor—Zoroastro Montes de Oca.

San Salvador Federation of Labor—David Ruiz.

The Republics of Costa Rica, Bolivia, Ecuador and Argentina elected delegates who failed to attend because of financial reasons and difficulties of transportation.

The Haiti Republic elected delegates who started but were prevented from making the trip.

Only three republics failed to elect delegates—Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil.

President Green, in welcoming the delegates said, in part:

To me your presence conveys a very lasting and deep impression, that within the short period of time since the Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized we have made substantial progress, not only in service rendered the working people on the American continent, but in the interest that is manifested by many people in the deliberations and in the work of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

We are interested in raising the standard of life and living among working people. We wish to encourage the workers represented in the Pan-American Federation of Labor to mobilize and develop their economic strength so that it may be intelligently and constructively used in furthering their general common welfare in the interest of the men, women and children dependent upon the working people of all these countries. In this respect we differ from most Pan-American organizations. Most of them are formed for the purpose of promoting commercial enterprises, for the purpose of exercising financial and corporate power in an attempt to exploit the resources of not only the Latin-American nations but the United States as well.

We proceed from an unselfish and altruistic point of view. We are interested in the human element in every nation and in every country upon the American continent. We want to serve in such a way as to promote the intellectual, the spiritual and the moral well-being of men and women. We seek to exploit no one. We seek only an opportunity to serve humanity and to help men and women to live a fuller, freer, and better life. We ask for nothing. We only seek to serve, and in that way we expect to advance the common interests of all the peoples in all the countries, and in that way we are contributing toward the welfare of society.

Organization is a primary requirement if working men and women are to contend successfully with the forces of opposition. Individually, workers are helpless. They can not make their voice heard in the councils of the nations or in the council of employers; they can only make an impression when they speak collectively. The welfare, the improvement in social and economic conditions of the workers can only be brought about through organization properly and constructively formed, officered and directed.

I can not conclude this address of welcome without referring to the passing of our great leader, my distinguished predecessor, he who presided for a short time over the deliberations of the Fourth Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention, held in Mexico City. I imagine that you miss him more than words can express and that it seems but yesterday since you

met him at the Mexico City Convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. I think I can truthfully say that the Pan-American Federation of Labor is really the child of President Gompers. He firmly believed that it would serve as an instrumentality to the furtherance of the economic welfare of the workers and in the preservation of peace among the nations on the American continent.

Luis Morones, Vice-President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor, in replying to President Green's address of welcome said, in part:

Agitators, communists, and others of like ilk, have constantly charged the American Federation of Labor with being an ally of American capitalism, and I assume the responsibility for my words in stating to you that the American Federation of Labor has never been allied with American capital but on the other hand it has been a true and loyal representative of the wage earning masses of the people of the United States.

I believe the American Federation of Labor is the truest expression of the greatest ideals, the sentiment and the aspirations of the people of the United States.

Thirty-six resolutions were introduced and only a brief mention can be made of those acted upon favorably.

The following resolution introduced by the American Federation of Labor delegation was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized for the purpose of establishing liberty and justice for those who toil in industry, and to cement the bonds of fraternity which should unite the trade union movements of the Western Hemisphere, and as the experience of the organizations composing this Federation has taught their respective members that the application of certain principles and policies is essential both to their welfare and that of this Federation; therefore be it

Resolved, That in the establishing of those conditions for which we are united and in the application of our purposes and ideals, that we now declare and place upon our records those principles and policies which we consider fundamental.

Political freedom and equality are the first step in giving liberty to those who toil, but this freedom and equality when achieved have not and can not save the toiler from injustice and exploitation. Political institutions which enable free men to make the laws of the state which govern them, can not serve all purposes or solve all human problems.

So long as free men work for their daily bread, whether as employees in private industry or employees of the state, their status as workers will be determined by the strength, intelligence and activity of their economic organizations, more than by any other factor.

The law may declare that men are free, but the existence of freedom will be found only among those who are determined to protect and to exercise this basic human right. The law may declare that industrial wrongs shall not exist, but the printed page is not sufficient. Those who toil must have within themselves the power to declare and decide that injustice shall cease. They have this power in the principles, policies and methods of the trade unions which compose the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

We hold that the principle of self-government by free people and the principle of self-government in industry are one and identical, the first functioning through political institutions and the second through those industrial institutions which trade union movements have established. Through these two institutions each acting within their proper sphere, civil, and industrial democracy is made to function continuously, so that in civil life

and in industry there shall be no rule, regulation, law or authority except by the consent of the governed.

Men are not and can not be truly free, regardless of their full measure of political liberty, unless industry presents an equal opportunity for self-expression and self-government.

In the same manner that men established free political institutions so that tyrants could not longer exploit them, the trade union movement established an institution of industrial freedom which enables the men and women of labor to overcome and destroy tyranny in industry and establish in its place liberty, justice, equality and fair dealing between all those who participate in the production of wealth.

We urge upon the affiliated organizations and upon the labor movement everywhere the importance of encouraging education and of insisting upon a full opportunity for education to every child and every adult worker. We are convinced that education can not reach its fullest development until the representatives of our trade union movement participate in the development and administration of education. It is a fundamental fact that democratic civilization can not fully express itself where there is ignorance. The more highly our civilization is developed, the greater the inventive genius of our people, the more highly developed our industrial processes become, the necessity for greater knowledge and understanding on the part of the workers becomes more essential. Our movement can not succeed in its great purpose without well organized militant strength.

It can not hope for success unless this militant strength is guided by a sound knowledge of the facts and the principles which must govern men, if equality of rights and justice is to prevail. We, therefore, declare it to be our solemn obligation to do all that lies within our power to foster and develop education through every legitimate channel available and to participate in the administration of public education and foster within our respective movements, in cooperation with this Pan-American Federation of Labor educational services which will enable the toiler to understand his problems more thoroughly.

We regard as essential the extension of democracy in industry. We declare our unalterable opposition to interference in the problems of industry by forces outside of the industrial field and therefore incompetent to deal with its problems. We urge upon the labor movement everywhere the extension of the practice of negotiation between the workers and employers, and the entering into of collective agreements regulating the terms of employment. We hold this to be fundamental in the development of democracy in industry. We hold that in no other way can such democracy be established and developed.

We declare our sincere desire to assist the trade union movements of all the countries and to maintain thorough-going, practical, fraternal relations with them.

We hold it as a fundamental principle that the organized wage earners of each country are better qualified to determine the methods and policies most advantageous to them in extending the beneficial influences of their organization. We hold that there exists no right upon our part to interfere with the policies of the labor movement of any country. We hold it equally true in principle and in practice that the labor movement of no other country has a right to interfere or attempt to interfere with the methods and the policies which we shall adopt for the strengthening and development of our trade union movement.

Those from other countries who have endeavored to force their policies, programs and principles upon us have worked greater injury than the most powerful combinations of anti-trade union employers in their efforts to rouse suspicion and division. Hiding behind the hypocritical mask of friendly interest they have striven to divide and discourage. To establish doctrinaire policies they have sought to destroy the trade union movement. They

have sought to destroy institutions which they lacked the constructive ability to create.

In defense of our rights, in defense of the trade union movement which we have established, we pledge ourselves severally and jointly to resist with all of the vigor and the resources at our command any and every attempt on the part of some other labor movement to interfere openly or covertly with our affiliated organizations, or attempt to dictate or determine the policies which shall govern us.

We now declare that it is essential to the success of this Pan-American Federation of Labor that its policies and program should be established only through mutual agreement.

This Federation has a right to existence only because it will be of practical service to the workers. The aim of this Federation must be to define and establish those principles, programs, procedures and tactics upon which full and cordial agreement can be secured. Nothing could be more destructive of our purposes and our ideals than to permit the spirit of coercion and compulsion to enter into our deliberations and our conclusions. The great strength which this Federation can develop must exist wholly through the free consent of those who participate. There may be matters regarded as essential by some but not by all, and where such conditions arise, the final decision should be held in abeyance until understanding and experience have developed agreement among us. We are convinced that any attempt to force principles, policies or tactics upon minorities in an international federation of labor such as this must lead to the destruction of those fraternal bonds which now unite us. In like manner every attempt by minorities, through strategy or otherwise, to force their decisions upon majorities must be equally fatal.

We do not base our hope upon theoretical doctrines or the doctrinaire.

Our hope for today and the future is based upon the application of the principles and the methods of democracy, to the solution of all of the problems with which we are compelled to deal.

These principles and policies can only be of practical value to the toilers when their trade union organizations have the strength to give them practical application. The success of this Federation will depend upon its ability to place these principles and policies into full effect. To accomplish this we must extend the influence of this Federation until it includes in its membership all those who toil. In the interests of human liberty and justice we call upon all wage earners of Pan-American countries to rally to the standards of trade unionism, to organize in unions of their trade and calling, to unite and solidify the forces of all wage earners, and under the banner of the Pan-American Federation of Labor advance the aspirations and enlarge the participation of Labor in all lands in the movement to establish industrial justice. With this object of extending the beneficial influence of this Federation we pledge ourselves to do all within our power to set into action a vigorous campaign of organization, and to give encouragement and be mutually helpful in carrying into effect this fixed determination.

The congress extended its moral support to the workers of Venezuela in their effort to reestablish constitutional rights in that country.

Ultimate control of the National Bank of Nicaragua by the people of that country was favored.

A resolution on the Nicaragua situation, which was approved, declares, in part:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor address the government of the United States, expressing regret for the events having occurred recently in Nicaragua; that it likewise address a respectful but emphatic petition to withdraw immediately the United States forces on land and sea and air in Nicaragua, and to terminate its intervention in the interest of that nation so that the people of Nicaragua may fully and

freely work out their own problems, both for the present as well as in the coming election for a President of Nicaragua, and without any interference on the part of any foreign nation, it being the opinion of this congress interference on the part of a foreign nation will only make more difficult the solution of Nicaragua's problems; and, be it further

Resolved, That we deplore the tragic events as related in the daily press referring to the loss of lives said to have occurred on account of the intervention decreed against that free country, and in order to be helpful to the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor, and the people of Nicaragua, the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor be authorized to lend all possible cooperation and assistance to the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor for the fulfillment of this resolution.

The President of the Dominican Republic was requested to favor the eight-hour day on public works, a minimum salary, abolition of payment in script paper in industry, establishment of vocational and educational courses, compulsory attendance of illiterate adults at night schools, trade and art schools, workmen's compensation, free hospitals for the indigent, and a revision of the land laws so that land ownership by the few will be checked.

Respect for the sovereign rights of the Republic of Panama in the new treaty to be concluded with the United States was favored.

Numerous social legislative proposals that would be beneficial to the people of the Dominican Republic, Panama, Peru, Porto Rico, Guatamala and other countries were approved.

On the question of immigration between Pan-American countries the congress declared:

Resolved, That the Pan-American Federation of Labor calls upon the several Pan-American governments and labor movements to give immediate consideration and to take whatever action may be necessary to so regulate the employment of workers of one country to another as will prevent the exploitation of the workers herein referred to, that will require proper and adequate guarantee of all promises made and arrangements of employment thus entered into, and as will avoid such recruited workers serving the purpose of lowering the standards of workers in the countries to which they may go and where the standards are of a higher order.

Resolutions were approved dealing with:

- Regulation of investors of capital in the Pan-American countries;
- The appointment by the respective governments of labor attaches in Embassies and Legations of all countries;
- For securing justice for Sacco and Vanzetti;
- Interchange of communications between the labor centers of Pan-America;
- Distribution of labor literature;
- The building of Columbus lighthouse in the Dominican Republic;
- For the creation of a Pan-American Labor Bank;
- In favor of peace between nations;
- Regarding interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine;
- That the Pan-American Congress reaffirm its declaration that a commission be sent to the Latin-American countries for the purpose of helping the organization of the workers, and furthermore proposed that the expenses for such a mission be shared through contributions by the labor organizations affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor in such proportions and amounts as the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor may determine.

Chairman Green, calling attention to the passing of Samuel Gompers, former President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Congress, requested delegates to stand in silence for one minute as a tribute to his memory, to his worth, to his character,

and in appreciation of the valuable service he rendered to the membership of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The delegates acted upon the suggestion of Chairman Green.

The report of the Committee on the Pan-American Commercial Conference recommended that delegates urge their labor movements to demand from their governments representation in future Pan-American Commercial Conferences. The Committee called attention to the fact that President Coolidge, upon the recommendation of President Green of the American Federation of Labor, appointed Matthew Woll, a member of the Pan-American Commercial Conference. The Convention commended Matthew Woll for having introduced a resolution in the Pan-American Commercial Conference, under which the human and economic welfare of the workers will hereafter have a place on the agenda of all future Pan-American Commercial Conferences.

The financial statement of the Pan-American Federation of Labor from August 1, 1925, to June 30, 1927—twenty-three months—shows that receipts from all sources amounted to \$14,412.42. Of this amount \$9,639.41 was received from the American Federation of Labor; \$4,180.39 from the Mexican Federation of Labor, and the balance from the other affiliated Republics. The expenses for salaries, office rent, postage, etc., were \$14,355.79, leaving a balance on hand, July 1, 1927, of \$56.63.

English-Secretary Chester M. Wright tendered his resignation. The offices of English-Secretary and Spanish-Secretary were merged. The following officers were elected:

Chairman, William Green.
Vice-Chairman, Luis N. Morones.
Treasurer, Matthew Woll.
Secretary, Santiago Iglesias.

By virtue of his office, William Green acted as chairman of the Congress. Your other delegates were assigned the following duties:

Frank Morrison, Chairman, Committee on Credentials.
Matthew Woll, Chairman, Committee on Resolutions.
James P. Noonan, Member, Committee on Resolutions.
James Wilson, Chairman, Committee on Rules.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
MATTHEW WOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
JAMES P. NOONAN,

Delegates to Pan-American Federation of Labor.

International Federation of Trade Unions

Our Detroit Convention expressed the hope that eventually a mutually satisfactory basis for re-affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions would be developed. We regret that as yet we can not report any progress toward that desired point. Correspondence with the Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions has continued. The question of affiliation absorbed the major part of that correspondence. To quote from a letter by President Green to Secretary Oudegeest:

You will recall that you were advised some time ago that the amount of tax required from the members of the American Federation of Labor in order to become affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the voting rules of the International Federation of Trade Unions which enabled a minority of the membership affiliated to develop and declare the policies of your organization, prevented the American Federation of Labor from becoming affiliated.

These obstacles still remain. It is my opinion that favorable consideration on the part of the American Federation of Labor to affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions will not be given until these obstacles are overcome.

In answer Mr. Oudegeest stated:

I am exceedingly sorry that your reply on the subject of affiliation with our International is not of a kind which will help to bring us closer together. The question of the affiliation fees is so difficult that I can see no solution for it. At this moment, when unemployment is so widespread in Europe, the total membership of our International is too small to make it possible for us to reduce the affiliation fees. It might however be more possible if we were to increase our membership through your affiliation with us, and were then to reconsider the question of the extent to which we could meet the various demands presented to us.

As you are aware, our machinery has been framed on the basis of a 20-million membership, whereas at the moment there are only about 13. It is my earnest hope that the Economic Conference may take the decision which will do something to diminish the unemployment in Europe within a few years, so that we may see some increase of membership. Only under such circumstances, would it be possible to consider a reduction of affiliation fees.

As for the second question, it is quite impossible for a minority to determine the policy of our International. But I have already proposed once or twice that we should discuss this question together, because I do consider it possible for us to meet your wishes by modifying our rules in the direction desired by you, that is to say, by defining the competence of the respective governing bodies more fully and with greater precision. It is obvious that a certain degree of freedom must be left to our Executive Committee for action under certain circumstances; but it would of course be possible to take measures for obviating the particular danger which you fear; although I may add that no instance of the kind has occurred since the Executive Committee was set up. It is difficult to negotiate these matters by correspondence, although I am prepared to do my best to reach some solution of the difficulty by this method. If you do not think this possible, I really see no way of realizing my very earnest desire that the A. F. of L. should join forces with us, which would greatly strengthen our hands and enable us to serve the cause of democracy with greater effectiveness.

We submit this matter to the convention without recommendation.

Cuban Labor

Over thirty years ago our American Federation of Labor expressed its sympathy for the Cubans and declared: "no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty to which they do not consent. A year later our Federation tendered "its hearty sympathy to all men struggling against oppression and especially to the men of Cuba who for years have sacrificed and suffered to secure the right of self-government."

We kept in close touch with events in Cuba and the following year re-affirmed the declaration of 1896. In 1898 our convention in declaring our duty toward Cuba and its unfortunate people said:

American sons fought and gave their lives to win for them their freedom and independence, and we mistake much the honor and good faith of our people if they will lend their countenance to any movement that will rob the Cuban patriots of that liberty which they prize so highly themselves.

American labor believes that international relations between nations must be based upon the same high standards of morality that we hold should obtain between individuals. We hold that contracts and pledges should represent responsible intentions. Because we felt our government should keep faith, American labor demanded that the Isle of Pines Treaty be ratified. It was the privilege of the American Federation of Labor to urge that ratification. When the ratification of the Treaty was under

consideration, the President of the American Federation of Labor wrote to a number of representatives of labor in Cuba:

Rest assured that whatever can be done by the American Federation of Labor to give justice to Cuba will have my hearty cooperation. Labor of the United States does not believe in taking away from any nation any portion of its territory.

True to our policy of helpfulness to the Cuban people when during the past year repeated protests were made to the American Federation of Labor by accredited representatives of the Cuban workers against the treatment accorded officers and members of organized labor in that Republic, we deemed it our duty to bring these matters to the attention of the proper government representatives of Cuba so that these officers might be fully conversant with these protests and the guarantees of protection of life, property and individual liberty as set forth in the constitution of the Republic of Cuba and sponsored by the Government of the United States might be safeguarded and upheld.

Third Pan-American Commercial Conference

On behalf of the governing board of the Pan-American Union, composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and the diplomatic representatives of the American Republics at Washington, Director-General L. S. Rowe extended to the American Federation of Labor and invitation to be represented at the Third Pan-American Commercial Conference, May 2-5, 1927. The purpose of the conference was to discuss measures that will tend to the development of closer commercial relations and to the elimination of those obstacles that retard normal growth of inter-American commerce.

The printed proceedings of the 1915 and 1920 conventions of the American Federation of Labor give full reports regarding the First and Second Pan-American Financial Conferences and the declaration of the American Federation of Labor thereon.

Vice-President Matthew Woll was appointed as the representative of the American Federation of Labor to serve as one of the United States delegates to the Third Pan-American Commercial conference. Vice-President Woll made his report at our meeting in May. It was given our full approval. We submit his report as follows:

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, May 11, 1927.

Mr. WILLIAM GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Claypool Hotel,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

DEAR MR. GREEN:

I am more than appreciative for your kindness in suggesting and recommending my appointment by the State Department of the United States as one of the United States Delegates to the recent Pan-American Commercial Conference which met in Washington, D. C., May 2nd to 5th, inclusive.

My colleagues in the United States Delegation to this, the Third Pan-American Commercial Conference, held under the auspices of the Pan-American Union, were as follows:

Mr. Lewis S. Pierson, Chairman, Chairman of the Board of the Columbia Bank and Trust Company, New York City.

Mr. John H. Merrill, President, the All American Cables, 88 Broad Street, New York City.

Mr. Gano S. Dunn, President, J. G. White Engineering Corporation, 43 Exchange Place, New York City.

Mr. F. Abbott Goodhue, President, International Acceptance Bank, 52 Cedar Street, New York City.

Mr. Frank D. Waterman, President and Treasurer, Waterman Fountain Pen Company, 191 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. Roy D. Chapin, President, National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, New York City.

Mr. Franklin C. Remington, Chairman of the Board, The Foundation Company, 120 Liberty Street, New York City.

Mr. Daniel G. Wing, President, First National Bank of Boston, Boston, Massachusetts.

The sessions of this Conference proved extremely interesting, and I am confident, helpful in promoting trade, political and social relations between all the peoples of the Pan-American countries. I am sure, too, the action of this Conference will be helpful to the working people of all Pan-American nations by reason of a resolution adopted providing that future commercial conferences of the Pan-American Union should include for discussion the subject of improving the material standards of life and labor of the masses of the people of the respective countries represented.

I attach hereto a copy of resolutions adopted by the Third Pan-American Commercial Conference, and direct particular attention to the following resolution which was unanimously approved by the Conference:

That in the program of topics to be discussed at future commercial conferences there be included the subject of improving the material standards of life and labor of the masses of the people of the respective countries, so that by improving the conditions of labor production is fomented and consumption increased, thereby contributing to the development of commerce.

I am moved in calling particular attention to this resolution and action by the fact that the late President Gompers protested the absence of labor representation in the First Pan-American Financial Conference held in Washington, D. C., May 24th to 29th, 1915. In this protest he clearly indicated the importance of considering the standards of life and labor of the masses of the people of the respective countries.

Then, too, at the Second Pan-American Financial Conference, held in Washington, D. C., January 19th to 24th, 1920, while not accorded direct representation, the late President Gompers was permitted to represent the American Federation of Labor at group meetings, and as such he introduced a like resolution at a group meeting. The resolution failed of adoption because of considerable opposition manifested against such a procedure at that time.

Before presenting this proposal to the Conference I submitted the contemplated resolution to my colleagues of the United States Delegation. I am more than pleased to report that the proposed resolution not only received their approval but I was authorized to present the proposal in behalf of the entire United States Delegation. As a consequence I presented the following resolution to the Conference in behalf of the entire United States Delegation:

WHEREAS, Trade, commerce and finance are designed to enhance labor service, promote production, encourage manufacture and increase consumption and combined are all intended to serve human needs, lessen the burden of life and labor and to provide increasingly for human happiness and well-being.

Resolved, That this conference recommends including in the agenda for consideration at future conferences the subject of improving the material standards of life and labor of the masses of the people of the respective countries.

You will note that the change in the resolution as presented and as reported on by the Committee on Resolutions and later approved by the Conference is one only of form and not of substance. This change in form was deemed advisable in order to conform to the general character of the committee's report.

Thus I am happy to report that an objective sought eleven and again seven years ago and frowned upon on both occasions, was unanimously approved at this time.

Please understand that I do not seek any special or personal credit for this accomplishment. To the contrary, I would rather believe that the seed planted eleven years past and replanted seven years ago, has come to bear fruit at this time and that this favorable action of the Third Pan-American Commercial Conference marks the progressive interest being manifested by all governments represented in this Conference in affairs relating to the standards of life and labor of the masses of the people of the respective countries.

With the subject of improving the material standards of life and labor of the masses of the respective countries to be included in the agenda for discussion at future Commercial Conference, if I may not be deemed presumptuous, may I recommend that the action and decision of this Third Pan-American Commercial Conference be called to the attention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention to the end that the Pan-American labor movements will be impressed with the advisability and desirability of urging upon their respective countries the necessity of labor representation on the delegations of all Pan-American countries attending future conferences. By so doing the workers affected by the discussion and consideration of subjects embraced in the resolution herein reported will be directly represented and will have accorded to them the opportunity of helping to shape Pan-American life and labor standards through the Pan-American Union.

There is no reason whatever why the organized workers of the Pan-American countries should not be accorded the same representation at future Pan-American Conferences as is at present accorded organized financial, manufacturing, production and commercial interests. In this, our own government has set a splendid example at this time in having accorded to the workers of our country representation at the Third Pan-American Commercial Conference through the American Federation of Labor.

Trusting that the action and recommendations as herein reported may merit your approval, I am,

Fraternally yours,

MATTHEW WOLL,
Fifth Vice-President, American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Woll's report discloses another step forward in the growth and development of the American labor movement in that now, after 11 years, the Commercial Conference of the Pan-American countries declares that "at future commercial conferences there be included the subject of improving the material standards of life and labor of the masses of the people of the respective countries."

As recommended by Mr. Woll his letter was also brought to the attention of the convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor which met in Washington, D. C., July 18th, as is noted in another section of this report.

Geneva Economic Conference

The government of the United States was invited by the Council of the League of Nations to take part in the appointment of members of an economic conference to meet in Geneva, Switzerland, on May 4-23, 1927. As reported by the Council of the League of Nations:

The conference is not to be composed of responsible delegates invested with full powers for the conclusion of conventions; it is intended rather to organize a general consultation in the course of which, as at the financial conference at Brussels, the various programs and doctrines may be freely exposed without the freedom of discussion being restricted by any immediate necessity to transform the conclusions of the conference into international engagements.

Each country was invited to appoint five members. These members were not "in any way to bind their governments, and will not be qualified to act as spokesmen of an official policy."

President Green was requested by the government to designate a representative of the American Federation of Labor to act as Advisor on labor questions to the American members of the Conference. John P. Frey, Editor of the *International Molders' Journal* and President of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, was selected.

After referring to the preliminary work of the Conference, Mr. Frey stated that the Conference divided itself into three main sections—Industry, Commerce, Agriculture. His report reads:

The sum total of the conference's recommendations relative to agriculture were that cooperative farmers' organizations are desirable, and that there should be international cooperation on the subject of credit to farmers, the program adopted reading, in part:

Special emphasis is laid upon the importance of developing all forms of cooperation, including trade between consumers' cooperative societies, both within and across national frontiers. The provision of university courses on cooperation, and unification of the laws on that subject, are likewise advised.

A world-wide program of agricultural research with widespread publicity was also recommended.

In the field of commerce, the Conference expressed the conviction that lower tariffs in Europe are essential to the development of her industry. It was recommended that all trade barriers which had been established as a result of the war should be removed. That commercial treaties between nations should be entered into for long time periods, so that industry could adjust itself to international business with more assurance than is possible at present. That such commercial treaties should assure equality of treatment, and all contain the most favored nation clauses. That a commission be appointed to unify the terminology or nomenclature of tariffs and customs so that an article would be known by the same name in each country so far as the application of standards and tariffs was concerned. That all prohibitions on exports should be abolished. That internal taxes should apply identically to foreigners and citizens within a country. That special tariffs and unfair discriminations should be abolished. That nations should refrain from sudden or frequent changes in their tariffs, and finally that "dumping" (the sale of large quantities of material, at materially lower prices than charged for the same in the country producing the articles) should be restricted or abolished.

Among the many recommendations of the industrial section were two of outstanding importance. The first was a recommendation to simplify and unify the vital and industrial statistics of all countries on an international basis. The present international statistics relative to industry, the cost of production, the real wage, and per capita production, are such that even highly trained experienced statisticians are unable to know with certainty just what are the facts.

The outstanding action of the section on industry was its approval of "rationalization," the European term for what was once known in this country as scientific management. Compared with American methods of production, European practice as a whole is antiquated. There is much unnecessary industrial waste as well as unnecessary labor, labor being employed in many instances under such conditions that the workman's efforts can produce but little wealth, making higher wages and lower prices for the necessities of life economically impossible.

Among the delegates and experts present were a number prominent in their own countries as industrial engineers, who, as scientifically trained men, understand what the elimination of unnecessary labor has done to increase the wealth produced by industry.

In addition there were two technical delegates commissioned by the International Management Association upon the request of the administration of the Conference qualified to participate in discussions of rationalization (scientific management) and of rationalization as applied to cartels.

Edward Eyre Hunt (America), an engineer, was thus commissioned to represent America; Francisco Mauro (Italy), also an engineer, to represent Europe. Mr. Mauro struck the keynote in the first really important speeches made before the industrial section.

After pointing out the necessity for scrapping obsolete methods of production, obsolete plants and machinery, and the application of more sound and practical methods of production directed by trained industrial engineers, he pointed out that these new and necessary methods of production could not be safely or successfully established without Labor's cooperation. He then made it clear that this cooperation could only be secured by giving Labor a voice in the installation and application of these new methods. He emphasized the fact that if these more scientific methods of production were to be used by employers and bankers solely for their own greater personal profit, that they must inevitably fail. If they were to be truly sound and scientific these improved methods of production must result in two definite conditions—higher wages to the wage earner and lower prices for manufactured goods.

Mr. Mauro's views were most ably supported by Mr. Hunt.

The resolution finally adopted provided, among other things, that the cooperation of employees and the assistance of trade and industrial organizations must be had in a successful establishing of "rationalization."

During the debate upon this subject the delegations from one of the northern European countries desired to have this portion of the resolution so worded that it could be interpreted as applying to cooperation between the employees in a plant, as a whole, and the employer. What was evidently in their minds was something akin to company unions. This attitude led to an immediate questioning by some of the trade unionists. As a result Sir Arthur Balfour of the British delegation stated emphatically that he did not favor such a condition, but that what he had in mind, and what he felt sure the Conference intended, was that this cooperation between management and Labor meant the cooperation between management and the official representatives of the trade union movement.

The resolution itself gives greater recognition to organized labor than any other which has been adopted by an international conference, but Sir Arthur Balfour's statement, which was accepted without a protest by the conference, emphasizes and makes still stronger the affirmation that in installing improved methods of production it is essential that management should consult with the representatives of organized labor, so that true cooperation can be established.

The American attitude shown on all occasions was to place all of the data and information in their hands at the disposal of every one who desired information, and to freely give advice when it was asked; to indicate in every way possible a willingness to be helpful. The result of this policy proved its wisdom, for long before the conference concluded its work it had enabled the Americans present to be much more helpful than would have been the case otherwise.

Labor was represented by a number of its outstanding leaders upon national delegations. Among these were Wilhelm Eggert, Secretary of the German Federation of Labor; Cornelius Mertens, Secretary of the Belgium Federation of Labor; Arthur Pugh, President British Trade Union Congress; J. P. Nielsen, Secretary Danish Federation of Labor; Leon Jouhaux, Secretary French Federation of Labor; J. Oudegeest of Holland, Secretary International Federation of Labor; Johan Olof Johansson, Treasurer Swedish Federation of Labor; Max Weber, Secretary Swiss Federation of Labor; and R. Tayerle, Secretary Czechoslovakia Federation of Labor. Including

members of delegations and expert industrial advisers, there were thirty trade union officials in attendance.

In addition there were Edmondo Rossoni, representing the National Italian Fascisti Unions, and the Russian delegation who, though apparently all intellectuals, professed to represent nothing but labor.

Forty-four nations were represented. These delegates and their expert advisers made a body of some four hundred men and women, for among the delegates were a few women.

Australian Industrial Commission

Last year we received information that a government commission from Australia would come to this country in 1927 to inquire into the reasons of American industrial prosperity, the infrequency of industrial disputes, wages and standards of living of American workers.

When this commission was being formed, the Australian Premier called upon the labor centers of Australia to submit a list of three names each, from which he would select the representatives of labor. Two of the labor centers refused to conform to this arrangement but insisted upon the right to name the representative of Labor and the representative thus selected to be appointed by the government. This the premier declined to accede. The Premier finally selected the labor representatives on the commission from the lists of names which were submitted by several of the labor centers. This caused division in the labor ranks of Australia. As a result, protests by cable and letter were received by President Green that the delegation did not represent any branch of the Australian labor movement.

Your Executive Council, believing that differences of opinion between labor organizations in Australia over the selection of labor representatives upon the Australian Industrial Commission were a matter to be adjusted by the representatives of Labor in Australia, did not feel that we could take sides in such an internal dispute. The facts disclosed that the commission was a purely governmental commission composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and of labor. The representatives of Labor brought with them credentials from their respective organizations. We, therefore, met the commission as an official commission representing the government of Australia and extended to it every courtesy and cooperation in their work.

CONCLUSION

Our report shows that organized labor has problems of grave importance. It also shows that Labor is aware of these problems and is considering ways of dealing with them. We are not trying to make progress blindly but we shall face the facts of a situation and use that knowledge to plan constructively for further progress. Financially, numerically and economically we are better off this year than last year. This indicates that Labor has withstood the reactionary opposition of employers who sought to destroy trade unionism.

While not all employers understand the essential unity of progress for all groups or are ready to cooperate with unions for mutual advantage, there are many who realize the advantage of cooperation in production. We believe that the way forward lies in equipping ourselves with more accurate and useful information of functions and work of trade unions and thus urging the advantages of unionism more effectively upon both employers and workers. We propose to supply ourselves with data that will carry conviction within the conference room and in private and public discussion. We shall continue to expand plans to promote organization, for we know that upon union organization depends the progress that has come to workers.

We believe in the essential justice and rightness of the labor movement, and have found that it promotes the purposes of both good business and humanitarian progress. No movement can maintain wholesome, sustained progress that does not

have its roots in vital human activity, guide itself by the facts of experience and find its inspiration in ideals of human welfare. Because it does conform to these tests, we feel doubly assured that the labor movement will continue to make substantial progress.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.
JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice-President.
FRANK DUFFY,
Second Vice-President.
T. A. RICKERT,
Third Vice-President.
JACOB FISCHER,
Fourth Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL,
Fifth Vice-President.
MARTIN F. RYAN,
Sixth Vice-President.
JAMES WILSON,
Seventh Vice-President.
JAMES P. NOONAN,
Eighth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer.
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.
Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.

Following is a list of subjects in the Report of the Executive Council assigned by President Green to the appropriate committees:

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council

- Outstanding Achievements:
 2. Jurisdictional Adjustments.
 Matters upon which policies should be formulated:
 1. Income for Old Age.
 2. Union Investments.
 Section 1—Economic:
 Reorganization of International Fur Workers Union.
 Section 2—Education:
 Samuel Gompers Memorial.
 Section 3—Legislation:
 Workmen's Compensation.
 State Workmen's Compensation Legislation.
 Section 5—Political:
 Non-Partisan Political Policy.
 Section 7—Public Welfare:
 Mississippi Flood Catastrophe.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

- The Record of the Year's Work.
 Outstanding Achievements:
 1. Progress Toward Mutual Understanding.
 4. Constructive Activities of the Trade Union.
 5. Union Wage Standards Maintained.
 6. No Communistic Control.
 Outstanding Problems:
 1. Legal Status.
 2. How to Organize Highly Mechanized Industries.
 3. How to Maintain Members' Interest in Union Work.
 4. Company Unions.
 Section 1—Economic:
 Labor and Banking.
 Section 3—Legislation:
 Registration of Aliens.
 Porto Rico.
 Conscription.
 Military Training.
 Radio.
 Section 4—Legal:
 Legal Information Bureau.
 Court Decisions.
 Injunctions.
 Picketing.
 Boycott.
 Strikes.
 Interstate Commerce.
 Trade Unions.
 Wages.
 Workmen's Compensation.
 Conspiracy.
 Trade Union Agreements.
 Contempt.
 Criminal Syndicalism.
 Section 6—Public Relations:
 Relations with other organizations.
 Personnel Research Federation.
 American Bar Association.
 Section 7—Public Welfare:
 Modification of the Volstead Act.

Referred to Committee on Organization

- Section 1—Economic:
 Organizing the Unorganized.
 Volunteer Organizers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments

- Section 1—Economics:
 Agreements Pending:
 Electrical Workers—Railroad Signalmen.
 Machinists—Street & Electric Railway Employees.
 Tunnel & Subway Constructors—Hod Carriers and Building Laborers.

Referred to Committee on Education

- Outstanding Achievements:
 6. Progress in Educational Work.
 Section 2—Education:
 Report of Committee on Education.
 Compulsory School Attendance.
 Publications.
 Labor Press.
 Workers' Education Bureau of America.
 The Week-End Conference.
 Passaic W. E. Program.
 Labor Institutes Summer Schools.
 Research.
 The Fifth National Convention.
 Affiliations.
 Memorials:
 Woodrow Wilson Foundation.
 Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.
 Special Days.
 Section 3—Legislation:
 Public Health.
 Trade Marks.
 Section 7—Public Welfare:
 Child Labor.
 Section 8—Health:
 Child Health Day.
 Health Menace in Pneumatic Hammer.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations

- Section 3—Legislation:
 Legislation in States.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday

- Outstanding Achievements:
 3. New Goal—Five-day Week.
 Section 1—Economic:
 History of Hours of Labor.
 Section 3—Legislation:
 Forty-Four-Hour Week.

Referred to Committee on Legislation

- Section 3—Legislation:
 National Legislative Activities:
 Immigration.
 Night Work.
 Postal Rates.
 Navy Yards and Arsenals.
 Post Office Laborers.
 Bread Trust.
 Seamen.
 Pensions.
 Muscle Shoals.
 Retirement.
 Lame Ducks.
 Convict Labor.
 Steel Cars.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations

Outstanding Achievements:

7. Pan-American Congress.

Section 9—International Relations:

Mexican-American Labor Immigration.

Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention—Report of A. F. of L. Delegates.

International Federation of Trade Unions.

Cuban Labor.

Third Pan-American Commercial Conference.

Geneva Economic Conference.

Australian Industrial Commission.

President Green announced that 12 o'clock midnight Tuesday would be the time limit for the introduction of resolutions.

President Green introduced to the convention Mr. W. Sherwood, one of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress. He stated that Mr. Arthur Pugh, the second fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, was not present, but he would be introduced when he reached the convention. He also introduced Mrs. W. Sherwood, and Mr. Alfred Farmilo, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees:

Negotiations for A. F. of L. Convention Hotel Headquarters Should Stipulate Requirements of Union Hotel and Restaurant Employees

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott.

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of several conventions of the American Federation of Labor of the unorganized conditions of the catering and beverage employees in the said convention hotel headquarters, and

WHEREAS, This condition has greatly retarded the progress of organization work in our industry; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby requested and directed when negotiating for convention hotel headquarters for the next and succeeding conventions to enter as a part of their agreement, contract or stipulations, that in addition to said

hotel being fair to all other branches of the organized labor movement that the catering and beverage employees in the said hotel be members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Labor Commission to Visit Latin American Countries

Resolution No. 2—by Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico.

WHEREAS, The masses of the workers of Latin American countries crave freedom, justice and progress and need to gain the understanding and good will of the people of the United States, especially the friendship and co-operation of organized workers of the United States as represented by the American Federation of Labor in satisfying that craving; and

WHEREAS, An organized campaign of bitterest attacks and calumnies of all kinds is being spread by certain capitalists, politicians and communist groups jointly, using the press and the platform throughout these Latin American countries for the purpose of slandering the American Federation of Labor, openly accusing it as an agent of the Yankee Imperialists and capitalists, to conquer the Latin American peoples and to facilitate their exploitation by the Saxon race, etc.; and

WHEREAS, It is true that these peoples of the Western Hemisphere are on the one hand being visited frequently by many concessionaires, profiteers, exploiters and anti-unionists from the United States, and also are visited by demagogues of all classes who are disseminating day by day verbally and in writing, hatred against the trade union movement and the so-called ills of American materialism and American imperialism, while on the other hand are never visited by a labor delegation from the American Federation of Labor to represent labor officially, to carry to the masses of those peoples the ideals of democracy, justice and good will of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor see to the advisability of appointing a Labor Commission to make a visit to all the capitals and big industrial centers of the Latin American countries for the purpose and with the mission of good will and for the explanation and dissemination among those people and the masses of Latin American workers of the message expressing the soul of the organized workers of America, and these institutions of

democracy and freedom in which are being founded the Republic of the United States and especially the Labor Movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Restriction of Immigration from Latin American Countries

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates F. H. Fijozdal, E. E. Milliman, A. F. Stout, Frank M. Sillik of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

WHEREAS, The Immigration Act of 1924 places under the non-quota provisions the Republic of Mexico, the Republic of Cuba, the Republic of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone and independent countries of Central or South America; and

WHEREAS, Great hordes of cheap labor enter the United States annually from these countries in an unlawful manner and as a result thereof endanger the economic and social welfare of the citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Commissioner General of Immigration, Harry E. Hull, has recently declared that there are from one to three million aliens illegally residing in the United States at the present time, and that last year there were one hundred and thirteen thousand aliens illegally in this country confined in prisons and other institutions, and that at present, approximately one thousand aliens, mostly felons or lunatics, are deported monthly at a cost of seventy-five to one hundred dollars each; and

WHEREAS, A representative of the United States Department of Labor, according to investigations made by Congressman Box, has entered into an agreement with the Chambers of Commerce in California whereby the Department of Labor and the said Chambers of Commerce have reached a so-called "gentleman's agreement" making these illegal entries of Mexicans much easier than legal entry would be, in that these Mexicans are permitted to remain in the country and pay their ten dollars visa and eight dollars head-tax on the installment plan, while the law stipulates that these payments must be made before entry; this so-called "gentleman's agreement" likewise obstructs the proper examination of these Mexicans, with the result that many of them are permitted to enter the country who could not pass the examination because of being mentally defective, or paupers, or vagrants, physically defective, criminally inclined, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The employers and Chambers of Commerce in California insist that the law be disregarded in order that their communities may abound with cheap labor, while the

fact in the case is that this has long since ceased to be a local or seasonal problem. Furthermore, other interests encouraged by this violation of the law in California are constantly attempting to bring about still more general violation, Florida during recent years having urged that greater numbers of Cubans and West Indian negroes should be permitted to come to Florida to meet the "seasonal" demands for labor, clothing manufacturing interests in New York and the East appearing before the House committee in Washington in force and urging with great vehemence that they should be permitted to import from Europe tailors and clothing workers, other groups representing the building trades' interests insisting that they must have quarry hands, hod carriers, plasterers and builders, the sugar growing and manufacturing interests of Hawaii having delegates and lobbyists in Washington before the committee in Congress insisting that by a special arrangement not less than forty thousand Chinese coolies should be permitted to come to Hawaii bringing their wives, if necessary, to help carry forward the great sugar producing industry; and

WHEREAS, In 1926 an announcement from Washington quoted an official order made by the acting Commissioner General of Immigration which gave laborers crossing the Mexican border as immigrants six months within which to comply with regulations, such as the payment of visa fees and the head-tax, and being examined for admission as immigrants, all of which the law mandatorily requires to be done before the immigrants cross the border; and

WHEREAS, In 1925 the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Robe Carl White, and Commission General Hull, charged with the active administration of the immigration laws, testified before the House committee that there were probably 1,250,000 to 1,500,000 aliens in the country who had entered unlawfully; and

WHEREAS, At least from three states, Texas, Arizona and Colorado, come accounts of serious race conflicts between Mexicans and Americans, demonstrating that their presence raises another race problem, while widely gathered reports from the public press, from hospitals and charitable boards, court records, social workers and other reliable sources are overwhelming as evidence of the fact that these great numbers of Mexicans and others who have entered the country unlawfully constitute serious social as well as industrial problems; and

WHEREAS, Labor importers and labor selling agencies and the interests they serve, including utility companies, mining interests and many others, usually assuming to speak in the name of farmers, use the terms "temporary,"

"periodic," or "seasonal" in connection with their requests whether they be for negroes from the West Indies or Chinese coolies from across the Pacific, or cheap Mexican labor, while the facts in the case are that these questions are neither local nor temporary, this fact being demonstrated in one instance in the annual report for 1921 by the Commissioner General of Immigration which on page 7, in speaking of 72,862 Mexican laborers, admitted "under the department's exceptions," says:

"Of this number 21,400 deserted their employment and disappeared *** and 15,632 are still in the employment of their original importer", and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees has found after much effort and expense that it is utterly impossible to bring these Mexican laborers within the ranks of organized labor, an experience which has undoubtedly been shared by other trade unions, with the result that these illiterate workers prevent wage increases and constitute a menace both to the American wage structure and the American standards of living; and

WHEREAS, While the American trades union movement is not unfriendly in any sense whatever to the Mexican trades union movement, it feels at the same time that it must take steps to protect the interests of the American workmen and likewise to protect the interests of Mexican immigrants by preventing if possible the flood of cheap labor unlawfully entering the country now; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the city of Los Angeles, in its 1927 convention, go on record in favor of placing these aforementioned countries under the quota provisions of the Immigration Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed and empowered to actively support a legislative measure before Congress to bring about an amendment to the immigration law that will protect the workers of the United States from the present unlawful influx of foreign labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organization of Negro Workers

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegate John J. Mates of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many of our unions exclude negroes from membership, sometimes by explicit constitutional provision, and sometimes by subterfuges and technicalities; and

WHEREAS, Such exclusion is contrary to the very fundamental of de-

mocracy and brotherhood, upon which our labor movement is built; and

WHEREAS, The negro has time and again shown that he can be a loyal union man, often more loyal than the white worker at his elbow; and

WHEREAS, If we bar the negro from our unions, he will work as a non-union man, for he must make a living, and the employers are hiring him in constantly increasing numbers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we declare in full favor of the open membership to the negro in all unions, on exactly the same terms as white men; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge ourselves to work for the removal of whatsoever discrimination prevails against the negro in our own locals and internationals; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of our American Federation of Labor be instructed to give this resolution the widest practicable publicity throughout the labor press.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Canadian Immigration

Resolution No. 5.—By Delegate John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States, through the Immigration Department, is supposed to stop aliens from free entry to this country; and

WHEREAS, There was enacted into law a bill known as the Johnson Immigration Act, which intended to stop free entry to this country through Canada, as well as other ports; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor issued a general order, No. 86, which would stop all commuters from Canada entering the border cities in free opposition to American workers; and

WHEREAS, Little attention is being paid to the provisions of the law by the Immigration officials and thousands of immigrants are entering the United States through Canada every day and returning at night; and

WHEREAS, The living conditions are different from the American standards and recent investigations showed that this element is tearing down the standards of American wages and conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor cause an investigation to be made into the true conditions existing in New York State and to take such action as will force action for the protection of the thousands of men and women that are unemployed and are American citizens, while those commuters enjoy the freedom of free entry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Invasion of Armed Forces of United States in Foreign Countries

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor.

The following set of resolutions was introduced in the recent sixty-fourth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, and that convention decided to transmit same by above delegate, without comment or action, to the American Federation of Labor for such disposition as may be deemed proper:

WHEREAS, The United States government, contrary to repeated declarations for the self-determination of nations and for democracy of the previous administrations under Woodrow Wilson, is actively interfering in the affairs of the South American republics; and

WHEREAS, The United States government has despatched a large fleet of warships and troops to China in order to, together with Great Britain, suppress the aspirations of the Chinese people for their nationalist government; and

WHEREAS, These actions on the part of our government bring us into foreign entanglements, which inevitably will lead to new wars, in which we working people will be called upon to shed our blood, while the profiteers will reap the results; and

WHEREAS, These actions on the part of our government are plainly not in the interests of the common people of the U. S. A., but serve the interests of Wall Street, and bring our country into disrepute as a despotism used in the interests of big capital; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the State Federation of Labor, assembled here today, declare our most determined opposition to this imperialist policy and war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand the withdrawal of the war fleet and marines from China, Nicaragua and other countries occupied by the armed forces of the U. S. A.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be forwarded to the President of the U. S. A., to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and to the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Endeavor to Organize Members of Independent Organizations of Colored Workers in A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of the New York State

Federation of Labor by delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association that large groups of colored race workers are engaged in employment in New York City, that some have formed themselves into separate organizations, and that many remain unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to inquire into this situation by correspondence with the officers of Local Union No. 968, I. L. A., at 164 Malden Lane, New York City, of which W. E. Carr is secretary-treasurer, with the object of organizing the unorganized workers described herein and of bringing within the American Federation of Labor those who have already formed themselves into organizations.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Favoring Amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to Prevent Distortion by Court Decision

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Sherman anti-trust law was enacted by Congress over a quarter of a century ago for the announced purpose of breaking up powerful trusts at that time engaged in destroying competition in interstate commerce; and

WHEREAS, The only reason for the enactment of such a law was to maintain the purchasing power of the American dollar in the hands of wage earners against the encroachment of criminal monopolies over the necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, The purchasing power of the American dollar has now been reduced through the operations of powerful trusts to a degree that it is now unable to purchase as much as a wage earner could buy for a quarter of a dollar twenty-five years ago, with the inevitable result that, despite higher wages, the social, economic and material conditions of wage earners are in reality lower than before; and, despite the foregoing truths, these powerful trusts, greedy for more wealth and greater power, are now engaged in a definite undertaking to destroy organized labor through distortion of the Sherman anti-trust law—through government by injunctions and even criminal indictments as a means of coercing and enslaving American wage earners, through preventing them from exercising their inalienable rights as free men, even to the extent of coercing union labor to buy, use, work upon and handle scab materials; and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court has recently gone so far as to declare that it is a crime for

union labor to refuse to use, handle and work upon non-union materials and that an injunction should issue against union labor to prevent it from refusing to use, handle and work upon scab material; and

WHEREAS, The Attorney General of the United States has now instituted in the Federal Court of the Southern District of New York a blanket injunction, proceeding in the name of the American people against building trades unions of New York, to compel them to install and set in buildings cast stone manufactured under deplorable scab conditions by men not even American citizens—who cannot speak the language of our country and whose standards of living are conspicuously below the standards of decent American wage earners, and has even indicted and threatened with imprisonment honorable representatives of American unions; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of the State of New York, in convention assembled, representing hundreds of thousands of American wage earners in this state, call the attention of our fellow citizens of such late-in-the-day distortions of the old Sherman anti-trust law by our present federal administration and our courts; and we call upon organized labor all over the country to take heed to these outrages against their God-given rights; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these proceedings have been instituted for the purpose, and with the object, of destroying American organized labor as a means of throwing back the American working men to the days when peonage reigned; when great corporations owned the homes, the wages and the very souls of the American working men, and to those dark days when wage earners earned not dollars but credit slips, when wages meant merely credit at company stores, operated by employers who profited by high wages and extortionate prices for the necessities of life; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call the attention of the American people and the press to the fact that American labor unions have served their country faithfully in war and peace; that they have always upheld and are a part of American institutions; that, despite the fact that we have been well organized, we have never used our strength save to maintain and, if possible, improve the social and economic conditions of our families; and that, in view of the services we have rendered our country, we feel aggrieved and protest against these attempts in the interest of greedy and vindictive monopolies to compel us to stultify ourselves by denying us our inalienable right to refuse to buy, use, handle or work upon materials that are manufactured under conditions which are intended to destroy and undermine the social and

economic status of the American working man, or any attempt by our government to deny us the right to strike for better working conditions for ourselves and our fellow citizens, or any attempt to compel us to continue in the employment of any unworthy or oppressive employer, or to conduct our lawful affairs in a collective sense through our delegated officials; and we declare that such policies must inevitably result in the destruction of the splendid harmony which has recently existed between capital and labor and to create among American wage earners a spirit of suspicion, distrust and unrest, which can only result in weakening our efforts to combat those radical and anarchistic tendencies which have broken out here and there and which would destroy American institutions; and we further

RESOLVE, That the servants of the American people, whether judges or prosecuting attorneys, could better employ their time in compelling those huge and powerful combinations which control the necessities of life to reduce the cost of those necessities through the application and enforcement of the Sherman anti-trust law on behalf of the objects for which it was enacted, to the end that the purchasing power of the American dollar may be increased and the conditions of the American wage earner improved; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the public press, to the President of the United States, and to every trade union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to the end that the Sherman anti-trust law may be amended so as to prevent the further enslavement of the American working man; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge our leaders and members everywhere to make a political issue of these questions, to the end that our wage earners everywhere shall vote on election day only for such candidates favoring an amendment of the anti-trust law in such manner as will permanently abolish the present-day discrimination against the membership of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Purchase of Union-Made Collars

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate T. P. Hollcraft of the Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.

At a regular meeting of the Women's Union Card and Label League, of Olympia, Wash., held Sept. 16, 1927, the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the officers and delegates attending the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federa-

tion of Labor be requested to wear Union-made collars.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

To Assist Organizing Work Among Laundry Workers

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Harry Dubecker of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time will not warrant or permit in placing any additional Organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized Laundry Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all the State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Councils, and to all of the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the Laundry Workers in their districts and localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Support of Label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union Urged

Resolution No. 11—By Delegation of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The campaign against the Ward Bread Trust, unanimously approved at previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, has been successful to the extent of forcing a partial dissolution of that monster combination and thus destroying the dictatorship which William B. Ward, the "Bread King," sought to establish over the entire baking industry; and

WHEREAS, The three great corporations into which this trust was dissolved, namely, the Ward Baking Corporation, the General Baking Corporation, and the Continental Baking Corporation, are each capitalized at hundreds of millions of dollars, and are therefore in a position to establish a substantial control over prices, wages and working conditions in the baking industry; and

WHEREAS, It was conclusively demonstrated by an investigation conducted at the last session of Congress at the instance of Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, that the consent decree by which this partial dissolution was effected was secured by collusion in conjunction with an unethical understanding that the Federal Trade Commission's complaint against the Continental Baking Corporation should be dismissed; and

WHEREAS, The "Big Three" baking corporations, and particularly the Ward

Baking Corporation, have continued their unfair and hostile attitude toward the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to continue their efforts to secure from the Congress effective action based upon the facts developed by the Walsh investigation to protect the American people from the development of a bread monopoly and to secure for the workers in the baking industry the right to organize and bargain collectively; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the members of every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, together with the members of their families, be urged to purchase only bread bearing the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, as a means of protecting themselves against the development of a Bread Trust and securing for themselves and their children bread baked under wholesome and sanitary conditions.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

To Assist Metal Polishers' International Union in the Dispute With the Chicago Flexible Shaft Company

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Flexible Shaft Company, makers of Cooper, Stewart and Stewart Arizona combs, cutters and shears for shearing of sheep and horses, and also manufacturers of the "Sun-beam" electric irons and toasters, has declared for the non-union shop, refused to pay the scale of wages, forcing the employees of the Metal Polishing, Buffing and Flating Departments to strike in defense of their organization; and

WHEREAS, This strike has been going on since May 1st, 1927. Attempts have been made by the President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the U. S. Conciliator, the Executive Board of the local Metal Trades Council, the International President of the Metal Polishers' Union, and by the General Secretary-Treasurer of the Australian Workers' Union, and to all those attempts the management has made it plain that it is not so much a question of wages, as they do not intend to permit organized labor in their plant; and

WHEREAS, They have placed the directing of this strike in the hands of the National Metal Trades Association, who have employed private detectives, well-known gunmen, and quite a corps of professional strike-breakers that will take the place of strikers regardless of what trade they work at; and

WHEREAS, The sheep-shearing machinery manufactured by this concern is used largely in Australia, in the Argentine Republic, the Republic of Mexico, and through the western part of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to attempt to make an adjustment of this strike, and in case of failure or refusal on the part of the firm to negotiate a settlement, that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to send official communications to the above named countries and places, notifying them of the unfair attitude of the Chicago Flexible Shaft Company.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

To Assist Metal Polishers' International Union in Dispute With Hillerich & Bradsby Company, Louisville, Ky.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Hillerich & Bradsby Company of Louisville, Kentucky, manufacturers of baseball bats, sold under the trade name of "Louisville Slugger," and also manufacturers of golf clubs, are continuing their destructive attitude towards organized labor in attempting to break up the Metal Polishers' organization; and

WHEREAS, This strike has been on seventy-seven weeks. The loss of it would be a serious setback for our organization in the city of Louisville, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor get in touch with various baseball commissions by communication or otherwise and attempt to bring pressure on this firm to adjust its differences with the Metal Polishers' Union and that the unfair attitude of this firm be made known to the different Central Bodies by communication.

Referred to Committee on Boycott.

Proposing Investigation and Establishment of Invalidity and Old-Age Pension System in Each State

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Frank Ferguson of the San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The United States, notwithstanding its great material prosperity and highly developed industrialism, yet remains one of the few civilized countries in the world where there exists no general state-operated system of protection for the masses against the common misfortunes and vicissitudes of life, such as sickness, invalidism and old age, and where we still depend on such haphazard and inadequate relief for the needy as may be available through private enterprise and benevolence or public charity, and this social condition is a blot on our record when compared with what other advanced nations have done in that regard; and

WHEREAS, Through immigration and machine production we have acquired a labor supply far beyond our means of steady employment, and through encouragement of corporate forms of management and control we have exploited our resources and opportunities of trade beyond the purchasing ability of our own and foreign markets, and through the most fatal of our achievements—financial mastery and pyramiding of investments and credits—we have multiplied divided and interest bearing obligations, private and public debts, and created an all-devouring creditor class that, in good and in bad times, and regardless of conditions of industry and trade, perpetually levies tribute upon the earning power of the bone and sinew of the present as well as future generations of mankind; thus, we have reached a stage in our development of dangerous inequality in all human relations, where the many, however thrifty and circumspect, depend necessarily upon the social and economic good-will of the privileged and powerful few, a condition not in keeping with the dignity, intelligence and aspirations of a traditionally free and democratic people; and

WHEREAS, Such trends and evils in our country's development exist beyond dispute, and they have from time to time engaged the attention and study of many able and public-spirited citizens, striving earnestly to alleviate and solve the great social problems arising thereunder, yet we have arrived at no common understanding or accentuated public opinion as to proper remedies for the evils we foster in connection with our industrial expansion and progress, a confusion in thought and endeavor that is exemplified in the advocacy and adoption of varying legislative measures or private welfare schemes, all based upon foreign precedents and ignoring the facts and ideals common to our own national character and traditions; and

WHEREAS, It well may be a fact, though not apparent except after matured experience, that in the adoption of the English system of workmen's compensation and transplanting it to American soil, with all its intricate legal distinctions and limitations, we have committed our people to an un-American and, in the end, unsuitable system of relief against personal injury through accident, by limiting such relief to industrial accidents, and excluding from the system all cases of non-industrial injuries, and that by such legislation we have created impolitic class distinctions in a democracy, and deprived the majority of needy persons of the benefits of similar relief because of technical differences of place, time and other conditions of liability prescribed, although such non-industrial and non-compensable injuries are equally frequent and followed by equally serious consequences to the persons afflicted, and therefore entitled to the same consideration from the state; such artificial results created by law should make us

pause and reflect before we undertake to fasten on our people any foreign or new system of social relief whatever, unless we be convinced that the measure proposed will be in harmony with the principles and ideals of the American people and the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It may be both practical and consonant with the American spirit of individual responsibility, liberty and democracy to devise and administer a genuine American system of invalidity and old age pensions for the people in each state of the Union, to be supported by general taxation and operated by the state, pursuant to American precedents in social legislation already established and of undeniable success, such as our public school system, civil service and pensions for war veterans; and believing that such a system of protection for our aged and disabled citizens would best answer the needs of our country in the solution of this great problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we direct the Executive Council to make, cause to be made, or support, if conducted by other competent authority, public or private, a thorough investigation and study for the establishment of an American system of invalidity and old age pensions, to assist in the preparation of suitable legislation for the accomplishment of such purpose, and to promote its enactment by the creation and development of an earnest and enduring public opinion in favor thereof, to the end that the poor-house may be abolished as an American institution and there be provided in its stead a system founded upon a higher conception of public welfare and regard for human and social progress.

Referred to Committee on the Report of the Executive Council.

Organizing Work in Porto Rico

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Rafael Alonso of the San Juan, Porto Rico, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The temporary transfer of the organizer of the American Federation of Labor to serve in the capacity of secretary of the Pan American Federation of Labor in Washington, has considerably affected the organization work in Porto Rico to the detriment of the working masses who see themselves now deprived of his services and long-earned experience and influence in all the local affairs affecting the people; and

WHEREAS, The social and economic task which is still necessary to carry on in Porto Rico to better local conditions as a matter of protection for the workers of the mainland, against unfair competition of labor, for there are in Porto Rico many facilities for employers of a number of industries to go there and get cheap labor—cannot be left to local organized labor alone,

on account of its too limited financial means and lack of opportunities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor proposes as it has been done in the past to continue to lend its worthy and unquestioned cooperation, influence, moral aid and all financial help possible to the mission of organizing the workers as represented by the Free Federation of the Workingmen of Porto Rico affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and in their efforts to better conditions, to establish a decent scale of wages, a reasonable number of working hours, living conditions in harmony with civilization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Forty-Seventh Convention recommends that during the absence of the general organizer of Porto Rico, the necessary steps be taken by the President of the American Federation of Labor so that the above mentioned organizer be instructed to spend in Porto Rico, as much of his time as his new position may permit or whenever his new duties may allow him to spare any time in the benefit of the workers of the island.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Urging Legislation by Congress Granting Self-Governing Powers to People of Porto Rico

Resolution No. 16 — By Delegates Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico, and Rafael Alonso of the San Juan Central Labor Union, Porto Rico.

WHEREAS, The influence of the American Federation of Labor in the destinies of the people of Porto Rico has been responsible for a real guarantee of civil and political liberty, favorable to the enjoyment of individual rights by the laboring masses; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States should be earnestly requested to recommend to the Congress of the United States in his next message the removal of the causes of the deplorable economic and industrial condition of the people of Porto Rico, among the causes of which are the following:

1. The violation of the Organic Act by permitting the rapid development of illegal monopoly of lands and products of wealth by powerful resident and absentee individuals and corporations, which imposes upon the producing masses the most miserable wages, driving them thus to pauperism;

2. The refusal by powerful corporations and individuals to pay taxes proportionate to the increase in wealth and profits produced by the workers;

3. The steady yearly emigration of

sixty per cent (60%) of the profits and wealth produced by the island, representing an appalling amount of underpaid labor and lack of industrial initiative and development; and

WHEREAS, The Legislature of Porto Rico has appointed a commission from its membership in which are represented all shades of opinion, including that of the organized toilers, which came to Washington to hand him a memorial asking the President to recommend to the Congress the following amendments to the Organic Act of Porto Rico:

To grant powers to the Legislature of Porto Rico to legislate on all local matters without restriction; to grant the people of the Island the right of an elective Governor; the creation of a Department of Labor and the extension to Porto Rico of all measures of national and economical character that will extend the benefit of knowledge and of wealth, in the same proportion in which they are extended to all the States of the American Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 47th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor,

That as soon as this resolution be approved by this convention, the President of the American Federation of Labor shall communicate with the President of the United States by wire or otherwise, earnestly petitioning and urging upon him the desirability of his recommending by Congress in his next message the granting to the people of Porto Rico the measures embodied in this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to direct the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. to co-operate toward the enactment by Congress of the desired legislation for Porto Rico as stated in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Denouncing Decisions of Federal Courts Depriving Workmen of Right to Quit Work

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates J. P. Noonan, Julia O'Connor Parker, Chas. M. Paulsen, Martin T. Joyce, T. C. Vickers and Edw. J. Evans of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court has recently held in the case of Bedford Cut Stone Co., et al., v. Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association, et al., that it is a conspiracy in restraint of trade for union workmen to refuse to work on material which has been partially prepared by non-union workmen; and

WHEREAS, There is now pending in

the United States District Court at Chicago, a suit in which the Western Union Telegraph Company has procured a temporary injunction restraining members of several building trade unions from quitting work when non-union electricians in the employ of the Western Union Telegraph Company come to work on the same job; and

WHEREAS, In numerous other decisions of the Federal Courts the right of union workmen to go on strike has been limited or denied; and

WHEREAS, The right of workmen to quit work for any reason is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and is the only effective means which labor has for resisting oppression and for making economic progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protests against this tendency of the Federal Courts to deprive workmen of their right to quit work for any reason they see fit, as being an invasion of the constitutional right of all men to freedom from involuntary servitude; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated Unions to oppose this encroachment on their rights by every legitimate means, and to that end we pledge our unqualified and unflinching support; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated Unions against whom such court proceedings have been, or may hereafter be instituted, to procure the services of able and experienced counsel, known to be in sympathy with organized labor and familiar with the law pertaining thereto; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated Unions and all members and friends of organized labor to patronize the competitors of any concerns that institute court proceedings of the above character.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning Policy of Real Silk Hosiery Mills and Julius Kayser Company Against Hosiery Workers' Union

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The company union, with its yellow dog contract with labor spy and other vicious agencies at work to throttle the freedom of the textile worker is now being felt in many of our factories; and

WHEREAS, These instruments of persecution are being used in one form or another in a very flagrant manner by the management of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills of Indianapolis, Ind., and the Julius Kayser Company of Brooklyn, N. Y., and other places as manufacturers of full fashioned hosiery; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America, is bearing the brunt of the attack in the textile industry at this time; and

WHEREAS, The Real Silk Hosiery Mills of Indianapolis, Ind., and the Julius Kayser Company of Brooklyn, N. Y., and other places have demonstrated their enmity towards organized workers by discriminating against members of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers' Unions; and

WHEREAS, Many of the workers in these two concerns have signified their intention of becoming members of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers' Organizations, and are fearful of signing an application because of the intimidation and coercion used by those in charge of the departments, ably assisted by the so-called industrial detective agencies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., goes on record as condemning the tactics used by the managements of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills of Indianapolis, Ind., and the Julius Kayser Company of Brooklyn, N. Y., and elsewhere, and publicly brands them as unfair to union labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all state branches and Central Labor bodies of the American Federation of Labor be notified of the action of this convention on this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

To Support Publicity Campaign of American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers Affiliated With United Textile Workers

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers is an organization composed of 31 local unions in different parts of our country, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America, is planning a campaign for the promotion of the sale of their Full Fashioned Hosiery products made under fair and humane working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The most popular, reliable, stylish and widely advertised products of union-made Full Fashioned Hosiery can be purchased in every town and city of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The fair standards and the humane conditions established by these organized workers are seriously threatened by a small but powerful group of unfair Full Fashioned Hosiery employers through the use of the yellow dog contract, discrimination, intimidation, as well as the use of professional labor spies in their attempt to destroy the organization

of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers' organization, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Los Angeles, California, give their full moral support to the promotion campaign about to be launched for the purpose of educating the organized workers and their friends to the necessity of purchasing only Full Fashioned Hosiery made under union conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to have the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify all secretaries of International, National and Federal Unions, as well as the secretaries of all State Branches and Central Labor Unions, of the action of this Convention on the above resolution.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

"Pequot" Product of Naumkeag Cotton Co., Salem, Mass., Should Receive Patronage of Organized Labor

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The officers and members of the United Textile Workers of America deeply appreciate the support given them at the 1926 Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Detroit, Michigan, through its endorsement of the product of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., of Salem, Mass., sold under the trademark "Pequot"; and

WHEREAS, These Pequot products are made under fair and humane conditions through agreement with the International officers of the United Textile Workers of America and the management of the Naumkeag Mills; and

WHEREAS, These fair working conditions of our 3000 members in Salem, Mass., at the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., where Pequot sheetings and pillow cases are made, is seriously threatened by the non-union mills of this branch of the textile industry, with their long hours and low wages and "yellow dog" contracts; and

WHEREAS, The Lockwood Mills of Waterville, Maine (one of the group of unfair and non-union mills in the cotton sheeting industry), has within the last few weeks submitted a working contract to its employees similar to the well-known vicious "yellow dog" contract; and

WHEREAS, The refusal of some loom-fixers to sign this contract has brought about a strike in the Lockwood Mills; and

WHEREAS, We believe that one of the best ways to overcome this pernicious system is to purchase union-made Pequot sheets and pillow cases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor re-endorses the action of the Detroit Convention; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give all publicity possible for the promotion and sale of Pequot sheets and pillow cases, in conjunction with the officers of the United Textile Workers of America, for the benefit of the 100 per cent union workers in the Naumkeag Cotton Co., of Salem, Mass.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organization to Be Circularized in Behalf of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Organizing Campaign

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Kovelski and Conrad Schott of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, at its recent convention, voted to carry on an active and progressive organizing campaign in the hope of establishing organizations of their calling in the several unorganized fields and to enlarge on the present activity in the organized field in order to develop stronger and more progressive trade unions of the workers under their jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend its full support to this membership drive and that it circularize its several affiliations—State and Central bodies, as well as organizers, seeking their cooperation in the organizing of all workers coming under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Favoring Special Retirement Legislation for Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 22—By the Panama, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The provisions of the present retirement law for employees of the civil government of the United States are entirely inadequate; and

WHEREAS, Retirement pay is supposed to be sufficient to maintain the retired employee, after he has reached the age where his services are no longer efficient; and

WHEREAS, Conditions of living and employment on the Canal Zone are such as to render the provisions of the present retirement law even more inadequate for Isthmian employees, because of their isolated position, higher

cost of living, greater health hazards, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Special retirement legislation has been enacted to cover other separate branches of the United States government service where conditions warranted such action; and

WHEREAS, The Hon. Frederick Lehlbach, member of the House of Representatives from Newark, N. J., stated in a speech on the Canal Zone recently that he was in favor of special retirement legislation for Canal Zone employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as endorsing any special retirement legislation for employees of the Panama Canal and Railroad on the Isthmus that may be introduced into the next session of Congress by the Panama Metal Trades Council; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge themselves to render all assistance in their power, in endeavoring to secure the passage of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Retirement Legislation for Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 23—By the Panama, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The present retirement law for civil employees of the United States government, in so far as it applies to employees of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama, does not allow any credit for service with the Panama Railroad Company; and

WHEREAS, This condition inflicts a serious hardship by way of loss of service to a large number of employees who were transferred, at various times, to and from the Isthmian Canal, Panama Railroad Company and Panama Canal services involuntarily, for the good of the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledge itself to assist in every way possible towards having an amendment to the present retirement law enacted at the next session of Congress whereby full credit for service with the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus shall be given to all employees of the Panama Canal in computing length of service under the retirement provisions.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Eight-Hour-Day for New York City Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Fred W. Baer of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The Uniformed Firemen's Association, known as Local No. 94 of the International Association of Fire Fighters, is requesting the city officials in New York City to grant an eight-hour day to the uniformed firemen in the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, The firemen in New York City are now working an average of twelve hours per day, or two shifts, and under the eight-hour day three shifts would prevail; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, in convention assembled, approved of the eight-hour day for firemen as well as the request of the New York local, and are giving every support possible to the local in its efforts to obtain the eight-hour day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, recognize the benefits that have already resulted in the establishment of the shorter work day in industry, and therefore endorse the request of Local 94 of the International Association of Fire Fighters for an eight-hour day in the New York fire department, and hereby request the city authorities of New York City to enact legislation providing for the eight-hour day in the fire department; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee be directed to co-operate with the International Association of Fire Fighters and Local 94 in their campaign to establish the eight-hour day and that the attention of the affiliated bodies in New York City be called to the necessity of co-operation in order to obtain the eight-hour day for the New York firemen.

Referred to the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

A. F. of L. to Urge Legislation by Congress Granting Wage Increase to Post Office Laborers, Watchmen and Messengers

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Walter C. Gayhart of the Post Office Laborers' Union No. 17899, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, in an Act approved February 28, 1925, granted an increase of \$300 to the annual salaries of postal clerks and carriers, to clerks in the railway mail service, and to the employees in the motor vehicle department of the post office; and

WHEREAS, By the same act, Post Office laborers, watchmen and messengers were granted an increase of only \$150; and

WHEREAS, the present salaries paid to such laborers, watchmen and messengers, of \$1500 for the first year and \$1600 for succeeding years of service

with no opportunity for further advancement, are wholly inadequate and insufficient; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use every influence to urge upon the Congress of the United States, the passage of a law granting to the said laborers, watchmen and messengers a further increase of \$150 per year above what is now being paid them.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Urging Co-operation with the International Golden Rule Committee of The Near East Relief

Resolution No. 26 — By Delegate Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The co-operation of the members of the American Federation of Labor has been recognized as an important factor in the saving and caring for thousands of orphans and other destitute children in the Near East, and in securing a general observance of International Golden Rule Sunday; and

WHEREAS, We see an opportunity to promote Golden Rule both in international and world affairs, as well as in social and industrial life, contributing to a better international understanding and world peace; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, October 3rd-12th, 1927, commend to all our members the largest practicable co-operation with the International Golden Rule Committee in bringing to the American people, through our many channels, the ideals of the Golden Rule and its practical application in connection with Golden Rule Sunday to those of our members in behalf of the Golden Rule orphans of the Near East; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue in an advisory capacity the Labor Committee of Near East Relief.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Petition Congress for Relief from the Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Stone Cutters' Case

Resolution No. 27 — By Building Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has handed down a decision in the case of the Journeyman Stone Cutters of North America, which has shocked the entire labor movement, and if permitted to go unchallenged prac-

tically nullifies the usefulness of International Trade Unions who are engaged in industry similar to that of the Journeymen Stone Cutters of North America; and

WHEREAS, This decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was such a flagrant violation of the rights and liberties of the workers that it was severely criticized in a dissenting opinion handed down by United States Supreme Court Justice Brandeis, and his dissenting opinion was concurred in by United States Supreme Court Justice Holmes; and

WHEREAS, The dissenting opinion of the Court as rendered by Justice Brandeis, clearly shows the great injury that will result to the trade union movement if permitted to stand, as the result of the Supreme Court's decision would force the members of the organizations such as the Stone Cutters and others in similar positions into a condition of involuntary servitude; and

WHEREAS, We the delegates to the Building Trades' Convention, realize that a condition of this kind cannot be tolerated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor most emphatically protest against this unjust and unfair decision; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Department petition the American Federation of Labor to instruct its Legislative Committee to use every means to bring about a solution by Congress to remedy this imposition which has been placed upon our movement by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, as it applies to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Declarations in Favor of an American Merchant Marine

Resolution No. 23.—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The Senate Committee on Commerce of the Sixty-ninth Congress, in its second session, after careful consideration of our vanishing sea power, reported a bill, S. 5732, together with a report on the same, Report 1696; and

WHEREAS, The report in substance sets forth that the vessels built during the war are gradually passing away without being replaced and that if this is permitted to continue we shall shortly arrive at a condition existing prior to the war and leave us without defense for our commerce and seaboard; and

WHEREAS, We are of the opinion that the situation will be worse than

anticipated, because at that time we had a fairly well-trained body of officers and seamen, which, through the combination between the Shipping Board and the ship owners, has now practically been driven from the sea without its place being filled with men who in skill can be compared to those driven away, thus undermining the real foundation of all sea power; and

WHEREAS, This has been done and is continuing through discrimination against white foreigners, even though they be citizens or have legally declared their intention to become such citizens, in favor of natives, regardless of their fitness, unless such natives shall protest against conditions maintained on the vessels, such as undermanning, violation of the principles of the eight-hour day and obedience to safety laws generally and the laws providing for skill specially, in which cases the native is promptly discarded in favor of Chinese, Filipinos and casual laborers from the gutters, thus driving the American from the sea; and

WHEREAS, It is our opinion that vessels are the smallest part of sea power and can be built quickly, as has been proven, while an efficient personnel is of slow growth and very difficult to replace when destroyed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That unless there is to be a real change in the policy carried on by the Shipping Board, so that real seamen shall be again attracted to the sea; so that American youths may be induced to come and the ripe man induced to remain, we can see no good reason for expending the people's money in building vessels that cannot be successfully operated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That, though we are opposed to government ownership and operation of merchant vessels, we should be willing to waive our objection if we can be satisfied that we are to see the laws provided for increased safety and improved efficiency obeyed by the Shipping Board and the ship owners alike, that skill and experience in officers and men are to be so developed that we can compete with all other nations in operation of vessels; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will do our best to sustain Congress in any effort to build up a real merchant marine and a real sea power for our country whenever such effort shall be seriously made, whether such merchant marine is to consist wholly of vessels owned and operated by private capital or is to consist in part of vessels owned and operated by the government and in part of vessels owned and operated by private owners.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Denouncing Pacifist Doctrines as Imperiling Peace and the Perpetuation of American Principles

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate John H. Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The right of national defense is, in essence, the same as the right to strike for the maintenance of decent living standards; and the unholy alliance of international bankers as intent upon the creation of vast international industrial cartels employing cheap labor, with the self-acclaimed idealists, who, under various disguises, propose the submergence of America into an international capitalistic combine;

WHEREAS, The so-called peace movements are inimical to the welfare of the American wage earners and lead to the destruction of nationality and leveling of the living standards of the American people to the plane of international coolieism and peasantry;

WHEREAS, The doctrines of these peace movements would make it possible for the vital interests of American wage earners and their social and cultural status and their standards of living to be subjected to the judgment of other people. Great endowment funds, left by notorious oppressors and exploiters of American labor, are devoted to the propagation of doctrines, which undermine the national integrity of Americans and threaten the prospects and hopes of our people for continuous betterment of their economic, educational and other opportunities enjoyed by the wage earners of the nation.

WHEREAS, It is plain that international money changers, dealers in government bonds, importers, shipping companies and other capitalistic concerns interested primarily in international trade have been aiding and abetting by money and counsel many of the attacks upon those American institutions and laws which stand in the way of a general reduction of American living standards;

WHEREAS, International assemblies of financiers and so-called statesmen controlled by them, meeting in Europe for the purpose of breaking down the advantages enjoyed by the American economic system in order that the loot of international loan sharks have the applause and acclaim of many individuals and organizations which hypocritically pretend to be interested in labor and the uplift of humanity;

WHEREAS, Periodicals, which are habitually pacifist and which continually harass the organizations of American working men, because they refuse to become tools in anti-national enterprises, are subsidized from funds of Wall Street manipulators. The cause

of real peace and international good will is imperiled by these pretenders, even as the interests of the wage earners have been damaged by their treacherous and subversive tactics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor register a protest against these enemies of the organized wage earners of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention go on record to request this year's convention of the American Federation of Labor at Los Angeles, Calif., to take similar action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Invitation to A. F. of L. to Meet in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly of the Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officially dates its inception from November 15, 1881; and

WHEREAS, The meeting at which the present name and type of organization were chosen was held in Columbus, Ohio (Druids Hall, 180-182 South Fourth street); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Ohio State Federation of Labor extend an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to celebrate its semi-centennial anniversary and hold its annual convention in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Ohio State Federation of Labor be instructed to bring this invitation to the attention of the delegates of the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and inform them of the hearty welcome that awaits the convention of the American Federation of Labor in the state and city of its birth.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting That International Unions Discontinue Use of Union Label to Firms Unfair to Other Trades

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Wm. M. Brandt of the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The St. Louis Brass Manufacturing Company of St. Louis, Missouri, are on the "We Don't Patronize List" of the Metal Polishers' International Union, and their product bears the Union Label of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and

WHEREAS, The Holland Furnace Company of Holland, Michigan, and Cedar Rapids, Iowa, are on the "We Don't Patronize List" of the International Molders' Union, and their products bear the Union

Label of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The Anheuser-Busch, Inc., of St. Louis, Missouri, are on the "We Don't Patronize List" of Carpenters' District Council, the Vehicle Trades Council, Blacksmiths' District Council No. 31 and the Painters' District Council of St. Louis, and their products bear the Union Label of the Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to present a copy of this resolution to the convention of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of having this matter referred to the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor to outline some plan with the various International Unions to discontinue the use of the Union Label in all cases where any manufacturing firm or corporation are on the "We Don't Patronize List."

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Proposing That the Use of the Union Label Be Restricted to Firms That Are Fair to All Unions Whose Trades Are Employed

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Wm. M. Brandt of the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, On the floor of this convention have arisen controversies over the use of the Union Label, and such controversies and disagreements are detrimental and not to the best interest of the organization in general, and, if continued, lead only to strife and ill-feeling among the members of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Thirty-first Annual and Third Biennial Convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, that the delegate elected to represent this body in the convention of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to bring to the attention of said convention that it is the desire of the Missouri State Federation of Labor that action be taken to devise ways and means to the end that no business firm, corporation, or association, and no product of any firm, corporation or association, shall be permitted the use of the Union Label or shop card unless said firm, corporation or association shall be one hundred per cent fair to all unions employed by them.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Endorsing S. 5829 Designed to Limit the Jurisdiction of Courts of Equity

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Equity Power — earlier known as Chancery Power, Royal Prerogative, Imperial Power and Tribunitian

Power or Veto Power, must of necessity be swift, autocratic and irresponsible, if it is to be of use in protecting property, where there is no remedy at law; and

WHEREAS, All such power has within it an almost irresistible tendency to expand so as to take the place of all other power, the power of law, the power of custom, the power of the democratic will, and thus result in return of autocracy, no matter in whose hand it be lodged; and

WHEREAS, The Equity Power came to this country from England in the form into which it had been hammered in a struggle of the people led by the Judges of the Courts of Law; and

WHEREAS, This struggle had finally reduced the jurisdiction of Courts of Equity to the power of protecting property where there was no remedy at law, a necessary and beneficent function; and

WHEREAS, In this country the jurisdiction of Courts sitting in Equity has so expanded that there seem to be no limits to its power, and is thus transforming our concepts of human freedom, of our constitutional government and of our lives; and

WHEREAS, Honorable Henrik Shipstead, U. S. Senator from Minnesota, in the short session of the 69th Congress introduced a bill S. 5829, to amend chapter two of an Act entitled "An Act to codify, revise and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911; and

WHEREAS, It is designed to and will limit the jurisdiction of Courts of Equity to what it was before it was expanded and to bring it back to its beneficent purpose and restore Government by Law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this bill be endorsed and that we do our utmost to see it enacted into law by the 70th Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Commending Services of A. F. of L. Representatives Assisting Fur Workers

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Philip Silberstein and Pietro Lucchi of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, Early in 1926 the International Fur Workers' Union and several of its largest subsidiary local unions in New York and elsewhere were seriously menaced by the insidious inroads of a slick foe in the guise of the Workers' (Communist) Party, concentrating upon the needle trades' organizations as part of a general and avowed design to destroy the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, A group of the said party's agents, by virulent and slanderous personal attacks and underhand methods directed against the ablest leaders and officials, poisoned the

minds of a numerous membership and finally succeeded to the most influential local offices; and

WHEREAS, This group soon thereafter deliberately eliminated active and experienced members from all directive voice and control of affairs for the sole reason that such members were not in sympathy with communist methods of dictatorship and violence, and might question and prevent unconstitutional and un-American acts injurious to the organization and its membership; and

WHEREAS, The said group called a general strike in the industry of New York—a strike which unquestionably could have been avoided on the terms of settlement accepted by the group after seventeen weeks of intense suffering and anguish endured by eight thousand to nine thousand workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, upon request of the international and local officers, instituted a painstaking investigation and thorough sifting of the facts of the strike by a special committee, consisting of Vice-President Matthew Woll, Organizers Hugh Frayne and Edward F. McGrady, President John Sullivan of New York State Federation of Labor and President Joseph Ryan of the New York City Central Labor Union, that investigation disclosing a most unusual and alarming state of affairs prevailing throughout the strike and continued long after the settlement; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the unfortunate condition dark despair gripped the hearts of the majority of the rank and file and even the most active spirits in the union lost hope of recovering from the dictatorial rule of the Communist group holding the largest section of the International Fur Workers' Union in the iron grip of duress; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, true to its historic mission, unhesitatingly came to the rescue of the fur workers; guided and advised the international officers in their efforts to shake off the obnoxious communist rule, and lent the services of such devoted and energetic brothers as Vice

President Matthew Woll and General Organizers Hugh Frayne and Edward F. McGrady to the International Fur Workers' Union for the purpose of undertaking a general work of reorganization; and

WHEREAS, This work of reorganization has been carried on in the teeth of an organized resistance, aided and abetted by the shadiest elements recruited from the darkest byways of New York City, and has been brought to near completion in spite of terrorism and cruel violence directed against workers who registered their loyalty to the International Union and the American Federation of Labor; therefore, at the urgent request of the delegates to this Convention from the International Fur Workers' Union, who are voicing the sentiments of the great mass of the fur workers, be it

RESOLVED, By this Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., that President William Green, Vice President Matthew Woll, General Organizers Hugh Frayne and Edward F. McGrady and the entire Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor deserve the congratulations of this convention upon their success in breaking the power of the Moscow agents in the Fur Workers' Union and bringing the reorganized locals, Numbers 101, 105, 110 and 115 of the International Fur Workers' Union, to the stage of electing their officers and Joint Council which combines these locals. It is the sense of this convention that by their incessant personal attention and devoted services these brothers have accomplished a great work in seven months and earn the gratitude of the American Federation of Labor in general and of the International Fur Workers' Union in particular.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 4:30 o'clock p. m. the rules were suspended and the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday, October 4.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Los Angeles, Cal.,

October 4, 1927.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m. by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Fischer, Belair, Tracy, Reinke, Ryan, (Daniel J.), Perkins, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Gilboy, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Baer, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney, Duncan, Brock, Gai nor, Askew, Bock, Wills, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Pattison, Kennedy, Nesbit, Golden, Cappellini, Hughes, Lewis, Smith (W. R.), Barry, Hannah, Coefield, McQuade, Berry, Burke, La Belle, Wepner, Collins, Strickland, Cashen, Perry, Soderberg, Manion, Johnson, Evans (E. L.), Spencer, McCluskey, Atkins (J. M.), Brandt, Brandie, Roberts, Stroud, Studard, Kosta, Buckland, Martel, Barnes (H. H.), Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, Contner, Coulter, Draper, Wickert, Crowell, Young, Bower, Tosh, Reagan, Patterson, Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Dean, Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller, Graham, Oglesby, Campbell, Gayhart, Elliott, Fitzgerald.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Your committee have examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union—Fred J. Dempsey, 1 vote.

Credentials have been received for Mrs. Lillie Barbour Clineinst to represent the White Pines County Central Labor Union, Ely, Nevada. Mrs. Barbour states she will represent this organization in the convention rather than the Federal Labor Union No. 17614, Reno, Nevada, which credential has already been reported upon by your Committee.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17954, Los Angeles, California—Albert J. Bock, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Substitute Hugh V. Reilly for Theodore M. Brandle.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

St. Petersburg, Fla.,

October 3, 1927.

Frank Morrison,
Alexandria Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif.

Florida Federation Labor expresses fraternal greetings and best wishes. We regret that owing to bad financial conditions that exist among the units of organized labor the Federation must forego sending a delegate to the present session.

May your labors in the present convention meet with the very greatest success.

J. M. ATKINS, President,
Chicago, Ill., Oct. 4, 1927.

Frank Morrison,
Cinderella Roof Ballroom,
Los Angeles, Calif.

The National Women's Trade Union League of America sends cordial greetings to the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The league's secretary-treasurer elected by them at their last convention as the fraternal delegate is unable to present in person a message from the membership. May we therefore here congratulate the American Federation of Labor upon the successes of the past and express our desire that organized labor may always show unwavering courage in meeting its ever-present problem, and wisdom to study the new problems in changing industry as these arrive. We trust that the deliberations of the forthcoming convention may make a signal contribution towards these ends.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE.

By ELISABETH CHRISTMAN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

San Francisco, Sept. 21, 1927.

Mr. Frank Morrison,
Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Sir and Brother—Mindful of the great good that has been wrought by the American Federation of Labor; appreciative of its high humanitarian principles; confident that it will achieve even greater results for the workers, we hereby express our appreciation of the honor of having the American Federation of Labor convene in Los Angeles, California, and extend fraternal greetings and every wish for a most successful convention.

Sincerely and fraternally,
CALIFORNIA BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL.

F. C. MacDONALD,
General President.

M. F. CONNORS,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Secretary Morrison also read a telegram from Richard L. Garnett, President of the Liberal Club, Columbus, Ohio, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its golden anniversary convention in that city in 1931. A letter containing a similar invitation was received from Fred Harvey, Secretary of Local Union No. 248, Painters and Decorators, Columbus, Ohio.

The Carpenters' District Council of New Orleans, La., through M. B. Gla-

mann, its Recording Secretary, invited the American Federation of Labor to hold the 1928 convention in that city.

A telegram from John R. Voris asked for a hearing for a representative of Near East Relief who would attend the session.

President Green announced that Senator Johnson, of California, would address the convention at ten o'clock, and appointed J. W. Buzzell, Secretary Los Angeles Central Labor Council and his associates on the local committee to escort him to convention hall.

Fraternal Delegate Arthur Pugh, representing the British Trade Union Congress, and Mrs. Pugh, were formally introduced to the convention by President Green. Delegate Pugh received a handsome gold convention badge from President Green.

Senator Hiram Johnson entered the convention, escorted by the committee appointed by the President. All the delegates arose and applauded, and remained standing until he was seated on the platform.

President Green: It affords me very, very great pleasure to present to you our distinguished guest and speaker of this morning. Senator Johnson of California is an outstanding figure in our political and national life. He has made his impression upon all phases, practically, of our national activities and our national life.

There are very few people in America who do not know of the services, of the work and of the devotion to principles of Senator Johnson. He is not only a son of California, but he is a distinguished son of our great United States of America.

We in Washington know him as a fearless and heroic advocate of human rights. We always considered him as a friend. When we presented to him legislation in which labor was directly interested he always responded in a most friendly and sympathetic way. The only question was that we were right, that our cause was just, that it was fair and that our proposals would benefit and help all the people of the nation.

There are many things I would like to say about the life and the work and the character of Senator Johnson. It seems to me, however, that it would be superfluous. All you who are here know him by reputation and by his work and by his

service. We have a treat in store; we are going to hear from him this morning. He is going to speak to us in his own characteristic way, and I know all who are here will be greatly benefited by his address. I now present to you Senator Hiram Johnson.

ADDRESS BY HON. HIRAM JOHNSON (United States Senator, California)

Mr. President and My Friends—It would be a work of supererogation on my part to congratulate you upon this assembly and upon the work that you are engaged in accomplishing. I felicitate myself that I am permitted, in a few disjointed sentences for a brief period this morning, to address you. I feel that I do not come to you as a stranger at all. I do not come in didactic fashion to teach you that which you already know, nor to arouse that spirit which in union is unconquerable. I come to you as one who, in a great commonwealth in this nation, has gone through the fire with union labor and, in conjunction with union labor, has written into the statutes of the State of California the homely lives of just ordinary men and women.

I come to you as one who, for six years in this state, worked hand in hand with a united idealism that was exemplified in this organization, and the one appeal that I have to make to you today in the national aspect is the appeal that formerly we used to make to you in the local aspect in this state—that you would never forget, no matter what your success is, no matter what your accomplishments, no matter what your victories might be, no matter that you rode the crest of the wave of prosperity with those who denied you in the past, that you would never forget the fundamentals, the idealism that in organized form organized labor represents today in the United States of America.

I recognize the peculiar times in which we live—peculiar and strange are they. Materialism runs rampant in this land now. I recognize changing conditions, due to science and invention, that stagger the imagination. I recognize that those of us of an older generation must conform ourselves to the newer era, and conforming ourselves to the newer era must perhaps occasionally pick up the gage of battle where we left it in the older and carry it on in the newer, just as we did in the days gone by.

This is an age of materialism, my friends. Ours is a government today, founded in its national philosophy as perhaps no other government in all the ages has been founded, upon the philosophy of business. I do not cavil at that, nor do I complain unduly that that is the fact, but with a national

philosophy that embraces possibly within its view business alone, I would have you here, you who know something else besides business and who have been striving during your period for something different than mere materialism, I would have you ever remember that strife of the past, the necessities that brought it about, and the essentials that are required for the strife in the future, that that which you so hardly won may not be lost in this singular and this remarkable age.

I recognize, of course, as you do, how organization came originally from man's primitive wants; how, with man's primitive wants demanding a little more of sunlight for all of God's creatures, finally you went step by step along the road of progress until today you are practically triumphant in the original purposes for which unionism was devised. I recognize, though—and if I had the power I would sear it into every heart and every brain in this room—I recognize that in this era at this time, when business is our national philosophy, when materialism rules, when sometimes we forget that which has been in our hearts in the days gone by, in striving with our fellows for the success and the luxuries that come in the material age. I recognize that, unless eternally we are on guard in the days to come, labor's monumental gains in the struggles of the past may be lost, and the only appeal that I would make to you men and women in this state and in this nation is eternal vigilance for humanity, for men and for women and for children during the time of prosperity of the nation and during the era of its materialism.

Strange are our times, metamorphosed from the old—different standards of living are ours today, different standards of relations are ours, different standards, indeed, of political morality are ours, different standards of reward for legitimate effort are ours today, different standards to which we must accustom ourselves, never forgetting, however, the fundamentals. Men who walked but a short time ago now ride. Women who shunned certain places but a brief period ago now attend without demur. When political morality of a certain sort that we had only a few decades ago seems now wholly forgotten. Different kinds of rewards in different degrees we find, and sometimes we believe that legitimate effort in this ever-increasing complexity of our civilization, legitimate effort does not bring the reward that it ought to bring.

Digressing for the instant in that regard, I recall but a week ago the thrill that I felt, as doubtless you did, listening to the radio telling, blow by blow and step by step of a great fistie encounter in the city of Chicago. I do not deny the thrill that I got from the "one, two," that, with relentless

precision, were delivered by one of the contestants, nor the thrill that came to me when a body punch laid another low. You don't deny that thrill, either, but when you think that in that fight of thirty minutes one man received a million dollars for that effort and that a United States Senator receives a salary of ten thousand dollars a year, you may believe with me that perhaps the United States Senator is overpaid.

Different rewards now come in a fashion most perplexing and different sorts of political morality that confuse and vex us come out of this strange phantasmagoria that we witness in our day. New modes of expression, new methods of transmission, new means of communication—today the world is far different. Science and invention have taken us so far afield that none can understand what may be the ultimate result or whither we are going. An expanded press today talks to a greater number of people than ever before in history. There is no house without its radio, over which will come not only jazz, not only entertainment that will be pleasing, but will come sometimes, as those who have their ears attuned to passing events well know, the propaganda that is instilled in behalf of certain great interests in this land.

The moving picture teaches with an alacrity and a celerity never before dreamed of, far in advance of what the eye can conceive in reading the printed page. All of them today have revolutionized the old modes, and back of all of them today, glorious as they are, much as they minister to our comfort and our advancement and our prosperity, back of them all sometimes is a propaganda little disguised and little understood by the ordinary individual—a propaganda that is designed to influence us upon the great public questions and the great governmental policies that confront us. So it is essential that we be on guard, on guard always, and that we preserve those things that are fundamentally the right of human beings to do under the Constitution of the United States, those things that not only were given as privileges originally, but were conferred as rights upon the people of this land.

I have read of late of what has transpired in Pennsylvania and in Illinois. I speak in no personal strain, I speak in no partisan strain at all, but from what transpired politically in Pennsylvania and in Illinois comes to you—who who, after all, represent organized humanity, demanding humanity's rights—there comes to you at once the warning and the lesson. Certain people in those states sought to buy an entire electorate, sought to buy it by the use in extraordinary amounts of just coin, and out of this mercenary assault upon the very fundamental idea of this Republic has come what? Not denunciation by those in power at all, for I

have yet to read of any man in power in this great nation denouncing either the theft of oil from the United States of America or the use of money to buy the electorate in Illinois and in Pennsylvania.

Out of it has come what? Out of it has come a concerted and a determined attack upon the one instrument that you and I have to protect ourselves politically. Out of it has come a determined attack upon the direct primary in the different states in this Union. Because certain men debauched the primary, because certain others endeavored to buy an electorate, an argument is made to the people of this land that the one instrument of protection that they have should be destroyed and that we should return to the old convention system, where the purchase was easier and cheaper, and returning to that permit the old system that we thought we had rooted out in states in this Union again to become a byword and a reproach to our people. I beg of you, therefore, when you read of the concerted attack that is made upon the direct primary in this country, steel your hearts, get ready for the fray again, protect the direct primary and maintain it for the people of this land.

But there is a lesson that is of wider scope than that, after all, is greater than the mere assault upon the rights of the people to maintain its own weapons for their protection. The lesson that comes to the thoughtful man who understands what has transpired is that whenever there is economic supremacy in any particular territory, easy is the descent to political domination in that territory. The reason for what exists in Illinois and Pennsylvania—I beg you to acquit me of personality or partisanship in this regard—the reason for what exists in those two states and what has been proven there is because certain great interests economically control the territory of those two states. Controlling economically, it was a very easy process to devote a part of the profits of economic control to political supremacy. That was what was sought to be done, and because of that you have an interest peculiarly your own, just as every man who claims to have the interests of his country at stake has in the welfare of the people a stake in preventing the recurrence of what has happened in those two states.

And so I beg of you, my friends, wherever you have any instrumentality of government that enables you to determine who your candidates for office shall be, wherever you have an instrumentality of government that enables you to check a legislature that may be recalcitrant or false to its trust, wherever you have an instrumentality that enables you to watch with care and guard even the courts of this land, hold on to those instrumentalities that

belong to a people, guard them and protect them and say that no amount of propaganda, no concerted action of those who believe merely in interests and private gain shall deprive you of those instrumentalities and take them from all of our people.

We are interested here in a very great question. Personally, I would be willing to cease my legislative career could I accomplish the thing to which, for the last few years, I have set my face in the construction of the great Boulder Dam project. I will not bore you with details concerning that matter. I do wish to call your attention to one or two things that are of consequence to you. I appeal not alone to your patriotism—an appeal which would be sufficient in any event—but I appeal to that which Napoleon always appealed to and said was uppermost in men's minds—I appeal to self-interest as well.

We seek in the Colorado River finally to harness that vagrant and torrential stream. We are endeavoring there, under the advice of the most capable engineers in the United States, to build a great dam, a dam twice as large as that ever built before by the hand of man. We hope, with a storage there many times greater than any storage capacity in all the world, to have water enough not only to care for the arid plains of Arizona, Nevada and California, but to furnish the absolutely essential water to the great coastal cities of Southern California.

We seek not a dollar from the United States government. We ask, indeed, really no appropriation, but we are endeavoring in the great dam that we desire to construct at Boulder or Black Canyon, to pay for every penny which shall be expended in that great work out of the power that shall be generated from that dam—and when I say to you that we will there generate more power than is generated at Niagara Falls, six times as much power as is generated at Muscle Shoals, more than is generated in any other place on the face of all God's universe, you will realize the possibilities presented and you will realize, too, why my imagination is fired in the endeavor to be a part of the greatest constructive work of this generation.

And when we come to the question of the generation of power there we meet with the peculiar, subtle opposition in eastern states—a peculiar and subtle opposition that I regret to say has a power in the United States government and in the United States Congress that I would prefer infinitely it had not. There comes the rub so far as our eastern brethren are concerned. I dismiss the squabbles of the states about the Colorado River, because they are demonstrating just one thing, and that is that in a project of this magnitude the states cannot be relied upon to do the job. It is a national undertaking, and

the nation itself must do the work and must construct the particular dam.

But when we come to the generation of power at that dam, then we meet an opposition that is the most remarkable that any great project in this land ever has encountered. I spoke to you of propaganda a moment ago. I hold in my hand here two very beautifully printed pamphlets issued by the Joint Committee of the National Utility Association, 420 Lexington avenue, New York, representing the great organization of utility companies in this country, and these gentlemen say, in so many words, the government of the United States shall not be permitted to build a generating dam—not distribute electricity, mind you, nor indulge in the other appurtenances of governmental ownership, but that the government shall not be permitted to build a generating dam at Boulder Canyon. Seven billion dollars are invested, they assert, in these public utilities. I wish them well, I wish them every prosperity, but when seven billion dollars or any public utility says to me that my government shall not be permitted to build a generating dam, I accept the challenge and I ask you to accept that challenge.

Every source of propaganda that is conceivable today is in operation against this monumental work. Every single kind of publication that can be utilized against the building of this dam is now being utilized in every part of the United States. The contest is before us in the next session of Congress. The contest is before us perhaps in the following session, and the following session of Congress, but if I know your spirit, as I know my own, it matters not how bitter the contest may be nor how prolonged. We will do just as we did in the state of California eighteen years ago. We will go on for one or for two or three or four or ten or twenty years, if it be necessary, and we will teach the public utilities of the United States of America that there is something bigger than seven billion dollars, and that is the government of the United States of America.

I would indeed that there were ample time to explain to you in detail all that is sought by this great enterprise. I would, if time permitted, detail to you the purpose of the All-American Canal that is sought to rescue the people of the Imperial Valley from the domination of those who own land just over the border. They are called sometimes, those who appropriate the water just over the border, Mexican land owners. They are not that, they are not that—they are Americans who are millionaires who own land over there and who oppose the construction of an All-American Canal in order that they may first take the water of the Colorado River and that they may make the Imperial Valley really subordinate to

them in the matter of water, and our distinguished friend who lives in this city, who publishes a great newspaper here, Mr. Harry Chandler, is the principal owner of that land.

Thus much for the Boulder dam project. We need your aid, we solicit it, we desire it in the days to come. It matters not whether you pass a resolution one time or another respecting it—what we need is concerted action for the great principles involved, next year and the year after if it be essential.

Passing that now and presenting to you my apologies for speaking upon it, I do it because if there is one thing that has been repugnant to me in the past it has been to invite a particular committee to partake of my hospitality and then tell that committee what I desire or ask their aid in any particular consideration. My apology is that the matter is national, that it concerns you in its fundamentals, just as it concerns us, and that, whether the details of the scheme meet with your approval or your disapproval, you can no more permit those who represent private interests in government to direct governmental activities than those of us who deny that right in the past in the halls of the Congress.

I read some time ago the wants, the hopes, the aspirations of labor in the eloquent words of the late Samuel Gompers. I read and I reread them, and they struck me with such a force that I dare, because so heartily do I subscribe to them, read them to you here again. "What does labor want?" said Mr. Gompers. "It wants the earth and the fullness thereof. There is nothing too precious, there is nothing too beautiful, too lofty, too ennobling, unless it is within the scope and comprehension of labor's aspirations and wants. We want more schoolhouses and less jails, more books and less arsenals, more learning and less vice, more constant work and less crime, more leisure and less greed, more justice and less revenge—in fact, more of the opportunities to cultivate our better natures, to make manhood more noble, womanhood more beautiful, and childhood more happy and bright."

Who could not subscribe to such a creed as that? We in California, under the first direct primary in this state, finally wrote that creed into the law of the State of California, and we wrote it so well, eighteen, sixteen, fourteen years ago, that, although many have caviled and some have gnashed their teeth, no man has ever yet dared repeal what then we wrote into the law of this state. That creed is a creed that may take men far along the lane of progress. That creed is a creed that will take us ultimately to real victory for humanity.

I recall historically two hundred and fifty years ago, when a man went to the scaffold for a conspiracy against a king and when, as he cried out against

tyranny at the very foot of the scaffold, bleeding from mortal wounds, the drums beat to drown his voice so that he could not be heard by the populace. Drums do not beat militarily today to drown our voices, it is true, but there is a rumble all over the land of a big part of the press of this nation that drowns out the voice, after all, of him who is militant against the wrong. There is the rumble of the press in every community in the land today—not the rumble of the drums that would not permit Rumbold to speak upon the scaffold, there is the rumble of the printing press today that enables those in power, perhaps for a time, to prevent from the wrongs that need resistance and the cause that needs assistance, men and women to voice their plea and their plaint.

But there comes a time in every nation finally when these things fundamentally and ultimately have their due. Our time is here in the United States of America, and what Rumbold said upon the scaffold two hundred and fifty years ago is exactly the philosophy of life that has been mine during all the years that I have been a part either of governmental machinery or community activity. He said then—and this it was that so offended in that day: "I will never believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world ready, booted and spurred to ride and millions ready, booted and bridled to be ridden." I never will believe that God has sent into this great country of ours a few men ready, booted and spurred to ride and millions ready, booted and bridled to be ridden. I believe that God's sunlight shines equally upon all the men, women and children in this land. I believe, you believe, you fought the good fight in the past. Thank heaven, it has been my pleasure to fight it side by side with you in this state in the days gone by.

You believe that men, women and children, after all, are the first concern of government. Believing thus, we are going forward in the days to come, no matter how material they may be, no matter how soft you or I may get in luxury or prosperity—we are going forward again in the good old way to see that there are not a few men who are going to ride the great millions in this land, but that every man and every woman shall stand on an equal footing in the United States of America.

At the conclusion of the Senator's address the entire audience arose and applauded for several minutes.

President Green: It is not the purpose of the chair to say one word which would detract from the deep impression which I know the speech of Senator Johnson made upon your minds. I cannot refrain, however,

from expressing in your behalf our very deep appreciation of his visit to our convention and of this most masterly address which he delivered. I know that with me you were charmed by his eloquence, you were carried into a realm of profound thought by his irresistible logic. I am happy to know that we shall have this address printed verbatim in the proceedings of our convention for future reference.

I wish to thank Senator Johnson for his visit to our convention this morning and for his sincere and wonderful address.

Delegate Hall, United Mine Workers, asked that the address be printed in pamphlet form for general distribution.

President Green announced that the address in full would be printed in the daily proceedings.

Treasurer Tobin received unanimous consent to introduce a resolution for immediate consideration and action, as follows:

Resolution No. 35—By the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to the delegates attending the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have become not only the most important forums for the expression of opinions helpful to the masses of the workers in our country, but they have become the annual meeting places for reunion and exchange of thought among the men of labor who see each other and meet each other at those gathering places; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the great service rendered by the delegates attending these conventions to their constituents throughout the United States and Canada, great friendships have been created which have helped to soften the hardships encountered in the economic struggle in which we are engaged; and

WHEREAS, Year after year we notice the absence of some of the familiar faces whom we have loved and respected; and

WHEREAS, In looking over the history of the Federation and its conventions we find that there has been one delegate, who is not with us this year, who has attended every convention of the American Federation of Labor since 1886, whose expressions were so inspiring and constructive that they have made many of us better men and women for having heard them. The personality of the man left its favorable impression upon nearly every one who has attended the con-

ventions during any of those years. His progressive thought, trained opinions and unselfish service in the carrying out of its policies have been without doubt the greatest contributions that could possibly be rendered to the labor movement.

In the great struggle in which we are engaged one of the things that we may be proud of, is the sterling qualities and honesty of the men who have served as officers of the labor movement, men who have fought for the principles of trade unionism during the greater part of their lives.

The First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, James Duncan, is seriously ill at his home in Quincy, Mass., and because of this illness he is absent from this convention for the first time in forty-one years. The absence of his illuminating presence and helpfulness, both in committee work and on the floor of the convention, is a substantial loss to this Federation. Never shirking a duty, never afraid of expressing his opinion, always desirous of being right and of serving the Federation, even to the point of disagreeing with his friends when necessary. Year after year he has given unselfishly of his time and energy, his strength and his experience, second to no man that has served our labor movement. His sterling fighting qualifications have given courage to many delegates in the dark hours when the Federation seemed to be threatened with disagreement and dissension. His practical optimism and belief in the principles upon which this Federation was founded was instrumental in getting men to hold on, way back in the 80's and 90's, when it took real fighting men with unconquerable characters to battle against the bigotry and hatreds with which our labor movement was surrounded; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending this Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, extend to First Vice President James Duncan, our deepest, our most sincere and heartfelt sympathy in this hour of his struggle to overcome his serious illness, and that we express to him our sincere regret that he is not with us with his constructive and helpful mind, to aid us in the formation and continuation of the policies and principles of this Federation which he helped to formulate and establish, and that it is our fondest hope that the unseen Power which regulates the forces of men and balances the scales of justice as to the right to live, will restore him again to vigor and health, so that he may continue with us for many years, building and helping toward a greater measure of emancipation and happiness for the workers and toilers of our country.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

Treasurer Tobin: I move that the President of this Federation stand instructed by the convention to transmit a copy of this resolution to First Vice President Duncan.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

**SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
Forty-seventh Annual Convention of
the American Federation of Labor**

Los Angeles, Cal.,
October 4, 1927.

The United Mine Workers of America have been engaged in an industrial struggle in the bituminous coal fields of Central and Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Northern West Virginia, Iowa and other sections of the country. More than 250,000 mine workers have been either locked out or are on strike since April 1, 1927. The cessation of work was caused by the refusal of the coal operators to renew the agreement between the coal operators and the coal miners, commonly known as the Jacksonville Agreement, which expired on March 31, 1927.

The Executive Council has observed the progress of this industrial conflict with feelings of deep interest. It has availed itself of every opportunity to acquaint itself with the outstanding developments in the progress of the strike and has been inspired by a desire to be helpful in every possible way.

The members of the United Mine Workers of America directly involved in this struggle, true to the traditions of their organization, have met the test of trade union loyalty and devotion. In a way which excites our highest admiration they have followed the leadership of their organization and have responded to every call which their officers have made upon them. The formulated policies of the International Union have been strictly adhered to and decisions of the tribunals of their organization have been accepted without question and have been faithfully carried out. No greater exhibition of loyalty to a movement or to the organization and its chosen representatives has ever been shown by any group of workers affiliated with the trade union movement.

We direct the attention of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor to the heroic courage displayed by the miners in this strike, to the sacrifices which they have made, to the suffering which they have en-

dured and to the duration and intensity of the bitter opposition which they have encountered.

The history of the United Mine Workers' organization is replete with stories of individual and collective privation, the rigors of long wage disputes and the miseries of unemployment. Many of the bituminous coal fields upon which the present struggle is being waged have, for years, been industrial battlefields upon which the lives and fortunes of thousands of miners and their families dependent upon them have been determined. Alternating experiences of success and failure, the miners have with renewed courage, fought for the enjoyment of higher wages, humane conditions of employment and higher standards of living. Only men who possessed sublime courage and an unconquerable spirit could repeatedly engage in such grueling, bitter contests.

The bitterness of the opposition to the miners was directed against them in the coal fields of Central Pennsylvania, Western Pennsylvania, certain sections of West Virginia and Ohio. A special, concentrated effort has been directed against the miners of Western Pennsylvania, commonly known as the Pittsburgh district. There the Pittsburgh Coal Company, a powerful financial corporation, repudiated the Jacksonville Agreement during the year 1926, long before the agreement expired on March 31, 1927. This company imported men to take the places of its employees, who insisted upon full compliance with the wage agreement which was in effect. Since this policy was inaugurated by the Pittsburgh Coal Company many thousands of men have been brought into Western Pennsylvania from different sections of the country to take the places of the union miners who were locked out and who had served the Pittsburgh Coal Company in a most faithful way for many years. After the expiration of the Jacksonville Agreement other powerful coal companies in Western Pennsylvania joined with the Pittsburgh Coal Company in a policy of importation of strike breakers, to be used in the non-union operation of the properties of these companies. All the tactics resorted to by those who adopt a strike-breaking policy have been used. Gunmen and thugs have been employed, miners have been evicted from their homes, coercion and intimidation have been resorted to, the civic and social activities of the miners and their families have been interfered with and a state of terrorism has been created for the purpose of breaking down the morale and destroying the spirit of the men on strike. Injunctions have been issued, picketing has been prevented and men have been denied the exercise of their legal rights.

One of the most reprehensible developments in this strike is found in

the action of certain political powers in Pennsylvania, who promiscuously issued commissions to coal and iron police, who were paid for their services by the coal corporations. In this way employees of the coal companies were vested with police powers and were clothed with authority to arrest the miners and to prevent them from communicating with or talking to imported strike breakers who had taken their places in the mines.

The membership of the American Federation of Labor is thoroughly alive to this situation, for they realize what it has cost in struggle, sacrifice and suffering, to build the miners' union to its present standing of numerical and moral strength.

Appreciating all these facts, the Executive Council gave special consideration to the situation created by the strike and lockout of the miners in the bituminous coal fields, at its meeting held in Washington, beginning September 7th. At this meeting Vice President Philip Murray and Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Kennedy, of the United Mine Workers of America, reviewed the incidents which have transpired during the strike and particularly the aggressive acts of the coal operators toward the miners and the miners' representatives.

After carefully weighing the matter the Executive Council decided to recommend to the delegates in attendance at the Los Angeles convention that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, representatives of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and representatives of city, central bodies and the State Federation of Labor, in Pennsylvania, meet with the officers of the United Mine Workers at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on November 14th. This conference to be held for the specific purpose of considering ways and means by which the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies can be helpful to the United Mine Workers of America in the strike situation which now prevails in Central and Western Pennsylvania, as well as in other bituminous coal fields where the strike is now in effect.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,

President

JAMES DUNCAN,

First Vice-President

FRANK DUFFY,

Second Vice-President

T. A. RICKERT,

Third Vice-President

JACOB FISCHER,

Fourth Vice-President

MATTHEW WOLL,

Fifth Vice-President

MARTIN F. RYAN,

Sixth Vice-President

JAMES WILSON,

Seventh Vice-President

JAMES P. NOONAN,
Eighth Vice-President
DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

President Green: I desire to add Brother Charles A. Sumner, of the Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, to the Committee on Executive Council's Report. The Chair also desires to add Delegate J. B. McNamara, of the Stationary Firemen and Oilers' Union, to the Committee on Law, and Delegate Joseph W. Morton, of the same organization, to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Chair desires to appoint William L. Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; William L. Clarke, President of the Flint Glass Workers' Union, and Secretary J. W. Buzzell, of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, to escort James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, to the convention at the opening of the session, as he will address the convention at 2:30.

NEAR EAST RELIEF

Mr. E. Guy Talbott, representing Near East Relief Committee, was introduced by President Green.

Mr. Talbott gave a brief report of the manner in which the work of the Near East Relief is progressing, and on behalf of that movement thanked the members of organized labor in America for the generous manner in which they have supported it from its inception. He stressed the necessity of continuing the work for a few years, or until the orphans now being cared for are in a position to support themselves.

Speaking of the life-saving work that has been carried on by the relief committee in Palestine, Syria, Greece and Armenia, the speaker pointed out the vast number of people who would have died from starvation and disease had it not been for the work of the Near East Relief. He stated that 42,000 orphan children whose fathers and mothers had been killed by the cruelty of the Turks, have had their sight preserved and their health restored in

other ways; that 150,000 orphan children have been trained in the ideals and principles of American civilization and are being employed as the forerunners of a new civilization in those countries. In addition he stated that 100,000 Christian slave girls have been rescued and given proper training and teaching to enable them to lead normal, happy lives.

Mr. Talbott stated that not a cent of government subsidy has been given to carry on the work and in America no people have responded more generously in behalf of these people than the men and women of labor, and he expressed his appreciation of being permitted to bring this message to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: I desire to present to the convention, not introduce but present, Sister Sara A. Conboy, Secretary of the United Textile Workers of America. Secretary Conboy desires to express to the delegates and through the delegates to the millions of working men and women affiliated with the American Federation of Labor the sincere appreciation of the officers and members of the United Textile Workers for the support offered that wonderful organization during the past year.

Delegate Sara A. Conboy

Mr. President and Delegates: Those of you who were at the convention last year will remember the appeal that was made upon the floor of the convention for assistance to the men and women who were making a valiant struggle in the city of Passaic, N. J. It was an extremely bitter fight. At the inception of the fight a communist group created the struggle, and finally, through the efforts of several agencies, it was taken over by the United Textile Workers of America.

You will remember that Rabbi Wise came to the convention to present his appeal for help and assistance for those noble men and women. How generously you responded is a matter of record. The officers of our International Union were unable to write letters to those who so generously donated, because of the fact that the donations were sent directly to Secretary Morrison. With the many other duties he had on hand he took care of that. All moneys sent by him to our headquarters were immediately turned over to the proper people in Passaic for the assistance of those men and women.

I want to take this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of our international officers and members for the generous and hearty support accorded to the people in Passaic by the trade union movement of America. It has done more than feed Passaic. I told you a moment ago that Passaic was a Communist center. The communists have been driven out of Passaic and these men and women are under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. For a year or more our organization has kept two men there constantly on guard against the onslaughts and the boring from within of the Red element. Today I can say we are practically free of them in that district.

The strike was won in favor of the workers of Passaic, but a deplorable situation still exists. You know the depression in the woolen industry from over-production. Up to the present time not more than half of those who were on strike have returned to work. They are keeping up their organization in splendid shape, and I feel that when we return again to normal times and all the spindles are at work Passaic will have a splendid situation.

Since I have been here it has been brought to my attention that General Summerall wants to get new uniforms of blue cloth for the soldiers. You know what that means to start up the

spindles of the country. If you can help with the Army Appropriation Bill I hope you will do your best. It will mean much to the textile workers.

I want to say to you now, what I have always said, that the heart of the labor movement is big and generous, and as it is big and generous it is strong to help those who are weaker. Our International Union has commissioned me to bring to you the heartfelt thanks of our organization for your splendid and loyal assistance to Passaic. Without it they were lost; with it, they were victorious.

President Green: General Charles P. Summerall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, will address the convention next Tuesday afternoon at two-thirty o'clock. General Summerall accepted an invitation extended by the Executive Council to meet with the delegates and address them.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen, moved that the rules be suspended and that the convention adjourn to meet at 2:30 o'clock p. m.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 11:45 o'clock a. m., the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Second Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Mullaney, Fischer, Franklin, Haggerty (John B.), Belair, Tracy (Wm.), Nelson, Horan, Anderson (J. Rex), Ryan (D. J.), Perkins, Chapman, Willis, Engelhardt, Schulte, Coulter, Zaritsky, Gilboy, McAndrews, Snow, Baer, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney (T. J.), Duncan (J.), Marshall, Brock, Duffy (C. D.), Askew, Bock, Millard, Ryan (J. P.), Hart (L. V.), Willis, Gorman, Lane (D.), Kelly (M. J.), Kennedy (T.), Nesbitt, Hall (L.), Golden, Cappellini, Hughes, Lewis (G. W.), McCarthy (P.), Weaver (C. A.), Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Wilson (J.), Hannah, Peterson (F. A.), Coesfield, Burke (T. E.), McQuade, Berry, Fense, Van De Water, Doggett, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Shea (P. J.), Wegner, Strickland, Olander, Cashen, Perry (J. M.), Soderberg, Johnson (R. H.), Evans (E. L.), Hayes (M. S.), Spencer, Jewell, Manning, Harris (E. J.), McCluskey, Murphy (D. C.), Gross, Atkins, Walker, Lewis (J. C.), Hulsbeck, Ely, Brandle, Mates, Iglesias, Roberts (R. E.), Stroud,

Studdard, Kelley (S. G.), Bowen, Kosta, Johannsen, Malley, Buckland, Martel, Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, Odell, Rice, Contner, Denison, Smith (E. F.), Brady (P. J.), Draper, Wickert, Crowell, Edwards, Young (W. H.), Bower, Tosh, Reagan (P. H.), Wood (R. T.), Dean, Trimmer, Leavitt, Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Ostran, Miller (J. B.), Graham, Campbell (A. C.), Gayhart, Fitzgerald (A. B.), Holmes (Ethel).

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from R. E. Burt, mayor of Dallas, Texas, urging that the 1928 convention be held in that city.

A communication was read from Carpenter's Union No. 208 of Fort Worth, Texas, signed by its president and secretary and endorsed by the officials of the Fort Worth Building Trades Council, asking that the next convention be held in Dallas.

Telegrams were received from C. S. Wemp, secretary of the Central Labor Union of Lakeland, Florida, and from W.

E. Crawford, secretary of the Central Labor Union of Orlando, Florida, asking that Lakeland be chosen as the next convention city.

Molders' Union No. 98 and United Garment Workers' Union No. 241, of Columbus, Ohio, sent communications urging that Columbus be chosen as the convention city in 1931.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Nashville, Tenn.,
October 2, 1927.

William Green,
President American Federation
of Labor, Alexandria Hotel,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Tennessee Federation of Labor extends greetings to the officers and delegates assembled in the Forty-seventh Annual Convention.

W. C. BIRTHRIGHT, Secretary.

President Green: I wish to announce that the fraternal delegates from Great Britain, Brother Pugh and Brother Sherwood, will address the convention tomorrow morning. Brother Farmilo, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, will also address the convention. Following the addresses of the fraternal delegates I have asked Brother John P. Frey, secretary of the Metal Trades Department, to address the convention upon a subject of very great interest.

We are indeed very fortunate today. This forenoon we listened with rapt attention to the inspiring and instructive address of Senator Johnson. This afternoon we are to be given another treat, we are to receive a message from the Secretary of Labor of the United States. The men and women of labor are always interested in what the Secretary of Labor might say regarding labor, regarding those problems and questions that so seriously affect labor.

He comes to us, clothed with very great responsibility, and I know he speaks to us with a deep feeling of appreciation of his responsibilities. Secretary Davis comes to us also as a worker, who, when he was a boy, started to work in the steel and iron mills of this country, so that he is privileged to speak out of his own experience, his sympathetic understanding of the difficulties of labor, of the hardships and of the sufferings of labor.

I think it very well for me to refer to the fact that Secretary Davis came to

America as an immigrant boy. He rode in the steerage of a great ship with his Welsh father and mother. I presume the reason he rode in the steerage was because there wasn't any other cheaper passage to America. When he came here to this land of opportunity and freedom he started to work as a boy, and he has had the same experiences as other boys, many of you sitting in this convention who will be permitted to listen to his eloquent address. It is a long way from the immigrant boy from Wales as a steerage passenger in a great ship to the Secretary of Labor in the Cabinet of the President of the United States. It bespeaks the stuff that is within him that, handicapped as he was when he came here, the victim of poverty with a heart full of hope and courage that knew no limit, he embraced the opportunities that our country affords, and I think I can say that he has made a great success.

May I also say that I know from experience that Secretary Davis is sympathetic toward the aims and purposes of our great American labor movement. Furthermore, the working men and women of America have no greater friend who stands for the protection and advancement of our immigration laws than Secretary Davis. It is fortunate indeed that we have as Secretary of Labor a man who believes with us in restricted immigration and in the enforcement of our immigration laws.

I fear I have taken too much time in making this presentation. These things were on my heart and mind and I wanted to say them in the presence of the Secretary. Now, my friends, with no further statement on my part, I take great pleasure in presenting to you Honorable James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor in the United States.

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES J. DAVIS (Secretary of Labor)

Mr. President and Delegates: When the President said I spent most of my early life in the mill it brought back to me a picture, a picture of the early beginning of this great American Federation of Labor. The first presiding officer of this convention was a relative of ours, he lived across the street from where I lived and as a boy I remember how they talked of the formation of what is now this great representative organization.

Before I get into my speech I want to say that I talked with the President just before I left Washington, and he requested me to bring to you his greetings. And so I bring to you the whole-hearted, full-hearted greetings of the President of the United States.

It is rather hard for me to make what I term a set speech, but in this day of so many minds and so many publications, it will be necessary for a while at least to stick to my manuscript until I get over to those things that have impressed themselves on me in the years that I have been Secretary of Labor.

By nature we are an optimistic people, and from this characteristic we derive most of our strength. But optimism that goes to fanatical lengths may be a weakness rather than a source of strength, and there are reasons for thinking that we tend today to have too much optimism rather than too little. Let me explain what I mean.

According to the best information of the day, a critical time in the realm of industry lies ahead of us. A few years ago most people thought that our old earth contained an inexhaustible supply of mineral wealth. They believed that no matter what other troubles might arise to vex us, none could arise in regard to raw materials.

Some who might have given the subject thought, refused to worry about it. Their idea was to let coming generations get along as best they could. That is a destructive policy. If we are to build for the future; if we want our nation to grow, prosper, and increase in strength, we must think and plan for posterity so that there will be sufficient resources left on this earth to support the increased population.

Late reports would indicate that no new supplies of lead and tin are being discovered to keep up with the depletion of our present mines. We know that the world's supply of zinc is shrinking. It is further said that the richer deposits of these valuable metals will be exhausted in fifty years.

Still more disturbing is the prediction that the world's supply of iron ore will be exhausted in 200 years, and that long before 200 years have elapsed the oil pools of the world will be drained dry.

By the most conservative estimate, our own oil pools will be exhausted within 50 years. In fact, the Federal Oil Board, in a report filed a year ago, backed by the United States Geological reports, declares more alarmingly still that the known oil fields of our country hold oil sufficient to supply the needs of our people for only six years.

A British traveler, Mr. J. H. Curle, who has gone all over the world, even to the most out-of-the-way places, states in a recent book that the end of all the useful metals, with the exception of coal, is already in sight.

Now it doesn't require massive brainpower to perceive that if our mineral wealth is exhausted, it will mean a complete disorganization of industry, as we

now know it, unless science discovers how to produce metals artificially and economically. We know, now, that that is possible in theory, but it may be a far cry from theoretic possibility to accomplished fact.

The business of saving the nation's resources is not primarily the task of labor. But labor is vitally interested, for what will become of labor if the wealth of nature is lost? And to put the matter bluntly, we have been wasting our natural resources with criminal recklessness.

I use the word "criminal" advisedly. It is not too strong a word. There is no other country for which Nature did so much as the United States. And we have squandered this natural wealth like spendthrifts, until it begins to look as if in the end we might have a pauper's reward.

We have been a great deal more interested in wealth than in commonwealth. We have thought too much of making money today, and too little of the safety of the country tomorrow. Unless we take care, the time may come when the son of the millionaire and the son of the beggar may be partners in idleness and lie down together in the same hard bed. All because America had a dearth of intellectual foresight and of statesmanship the like of which it might be impossible to parallel elsewhere in history. When that day comes, opportunity will be gone in America, and our people will migrate to other lands where the natural resources have not been depleted.

It is time that we put an end to the enormous waste that has been, and still is, going on. It is time we resolved to preserve our natural heritage as long as possible. We are all interested in our jobs, and many of these jobs may be directly dependent on the conservation of our natural resources. For his own self-preservation, every man who works—and that means all of us—must get squarely behind every program for the conservation of every natural source of wealth—whether coal, oil, or what.

Look at our present waste of coal alone. You hear just one complaint from the coal industry—"No money to pay the help." And why? Because overdevelopment of mines, with fierce competition, is beggaring the industry. The result is waste not only of coal itself, but waste of capital, waste of manpower.

I wonder how many of you here today are familiar with the conditions of the coal industry. I stated to the President of the United Mine Workers in an interview at Washington in 1922, that there are 250,000 more miners than are needed in the industry, and I think today there are 300,000 more miners in the industry than the industry can support.

No man can live up to the American standard who only works a day or two a week. He must have steady work if we are to go on with the development of that particular natural resource. In

Illinois they have too many mines operating, and the men get only part time work. You can operate eighty-six mines there, working five and one-half days a week, and produce all the coal that is produced in Illinois today.

All this is due to lack of proper organization. The worker is not to blame for it. The fault is due some say, to want of a far-seeing business statesmanship. Others blame our Anti-Trust laws. This country's first and most vigorous effort in conservation must be directed to the saving of coal. If there is any obstruction which prevents the adoption of a conservation policy of this kind, we should set it aside.

Beyond this single example I will not discuss this subject at further length today. Let us turn to other matters in which you are vitally interested. How about the conservation of Human Life, and the elimination of the accident and disease hazard in industry? This is a problem for the worker as well as for the employer, for often through the carelessness of the worker he is to blame for the loss of his earning power and the hardship of those dependent upon him.

Since 1910 the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor has been gathering fairly complete information as to accidents in the iron and steel industry.

Something over a year ago I called a conference in Washington to see what could be done to extend this work to cover other industries. It was a good meeting and I think something was accomplished, but we have not reached the stage yet where we can say that industrial accident statistics for the United States as a whole and for all industries are much better than an estimate.

The Commissioner of Labor Statistics estimates that the death toll from industrial accidents alone is not under 23,000 per year, that non-fatal injuries are probably not under 2,500,000, that over 227,000,000 days of productive labor are lost through such accidents, and that there is a wage loss of \$1,022,000,000. This does not cover all accidents, for there are several States that do not report industrial accidents at all, and a number of States that do not report such accidents unless the loss of time exceeds seven days.

In the last Congress a bill was introduced by Senator Shortridge and Congressman Rathbone which had for its purpose strengthening the Department of Labor in the collection of a more complete record of industrial accidents. The bill passed the House almost unanimously. In the Senate the bill was approved by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, but failed of passage in the closing days of the session. Our duty is to conserve our man power. It is the humane thing to do, it is the right thing to do.

I know of nothing more important than labor and the safety of labor. While Karl Marx was wrong in saying that labor produces all wealth, it is true that

without labor but little wealth would be produced. By labor, Karl Marx meant hand-labor; whereas we all know that labor means productive work of every description—the labor of the architect as well as the labor of the carpenter.

The first thing every man in need of work has to do is to get a job. Everyone knows that the saddest sight on earth is the spectacle of a man looking for work and unable to find it. But it is not enough for a man to get a job. After the job is found, he must know how to hold it.

He must know how to develop his job. He must know how to get out of it all there is in it. He must do that for his own sake, as well as for his employer.

Twenty years ago Henry Ford worked with his hands. You will find no better example of a man who developed his job. Today, he has made what is perhaps the greatest fortune ever accumulated by a single man. But the cars that made his fortune are made, every one of them, by men who work with their hands.

If a man wishes to be paid a high wage he must actually create enough wealth to make it profitable to pay him a high wage.

No writer has reason to complain because people do not read what he writes, if he really has nothing to say. And no worker has reason to kick because he does not receive a high wage, if he produces so little wealth that paying him any wage at all is an act of charity.

It is as much the duty of every worker to understand his job, as it is for the employer to know his business, and both should be mutually interested in the output. The good worker knows that he can produce more and better work with sharp tools than with dull ones.

After all, the invention of a new machine to increase production is not the sharpening of a tool already in use. If the worker is wise, and most of our skilled workers are wise in these matters, he will always use the machine intelligently and keep it in good running order. The machine is merely an extension of the human hand, and the human hand in action is merely the application of brain power to obtain results.

The more wealth a worker helps to create, the greater the fund of wealth out of which high wages come. The success of any firm depends very largely on its workers. It is a great deal easier for workers to negotiate with a successful firm than with one that is constantly obliged to borrow and renew its notes. Yet it lies with the worker to make his firm successful. No firm is going to be successful unless its workers do all in their power to make that firm a success.

We long ago learned that there is no essential conflict between capital and labor. Each is dependent on the

other, like a general and his army. Battles can be lost by a poor general; battles may be lost if the general is good while his army is composed of poor material.

An unwise employer can wreck an industrial plant, but so likewise can a body of employees who take no interest in the prosperity of the plant. A ship has to be cleared of barnacles before it can have easy sailing, and sometimes an industrial plant becomes encrusted with human barnacles. You may find them among the employers as often as among the workers. But they have to be disposed of before effective work can be done.

The workers of the world had a hard struggle before they were able to secure collective bargaining. Nearly every so-called country had laws to prevent the workers from forming trades unions or labor organizations. In England these laws were not repealed until the second quarter of the 19th Century, and were not repealed in Germany till a later period. They existed also in America, and were enforced in America.

Somebody has said that the Fathers of our nation were good republicans but poor democrats. As a result, labor had its upward struggle here as elsewhere. There used to be a law in Massachusetts that forbade a poor woman or a poor man to dress as well as the well-to-do citizen. Historians have said that the clothing worn by the average American worker of the earlier days was abominable—even after the Revolution he looked like a tramp of our own times.

It took a good many years for the more successful men of the world—in America as well as in Europe—to learn that all men are made of the same clay. They had to learn that the blood of a worker is as blue in the veins as it is in the son or daughter of a hundred earls. Not only that, we had to learn that no country is rich unless its workers are well paid. It is only lately that we noted the plain business fact that the American worker is not alone a producer, but the greatest consumer, the greatest customer we have. The country is prosperous only as he is prosperous.

Now it is no longer contrary to law for workers to form associations for the purpose of collective bargaining. In America the worker has every right and privilege that his employer has. It is true that many employers dislike the principle of collective bargaining. Many of them advocate other plans of dealing with their workers.

I know of employers who agree to the justice and righteousness of collective bargaining. More than that, they say it is essential to the well-being of men and management alike. Yet in the seven years that I have been Secretary of Labor, other employers have told me that collective bargaining, closely defining the work of each craft,

would put upon them a grievous burden.

Their argument that some workers would take advantage of it to escape their just share of work and do as little as possible. Another objection is that collective bargaining leads to jurisdictional disputes that injures the individual firm and industry in general.

I am opening my heart to you when I say that the jurisdictional disputes does more than any other one thing in the labor world to divide employer and worker. Not only that, it is the greatest obstacle in the way of collective bargaining.

May I add isn't there some way by which we could have a better fitting of the structure of union organization to the new industrial organization. Couldn't we have some sort of supplemental organization in which craft autonomy would be merged into industrial grouping, at the same time leaving craft unionism alone in the smaller and older plants where it still fits more or less.

What if some national concern, such as I have in mind, should say to me that they would recognize one organization in their entire system, but would not recognize forty or fifty separate organizations? Couldn't we then construct an organization that would cover all of their difficulties? At least, I would make an earnest effort to do so. Some of our older unions, like some of our older industries, need to realize that times and conditions have changed.

These complaints from employers, you see, do have some weight. But I know that the overwhelming majority of our workers are intelligent men, just men, industrious men, with a true regard for the welfare of industry and those dependent upon it.

This intelligence shows itself in the way American workers have responded to every new development of machinery. Each new development, each further "sharpening of the tool," they accept at once, and make the most of it. They sharpen their own wits to keep pace with this sharpening of their tools.

I wish to say, at this point, that labor in America deserves every credit for this encouragement of invention, rather than obstruction of it. If you turn to Europe you will discover that virtually every machine that has revolutionized or assisted industry aroused the antagonism of the greater number of workers. So great was this opposition at times as to provoke mob violence.

When Richard Arkwright, the English barber, invented the spinning-frame, he had to fly for his life, and the mill he erected was burned to the ground. Not a man helped Arkwright but to put himself in jeopardy of life or limb for a time. One would suppose that James Watt would be hailed with enthusiasm for his invention of the steam engine, but he was not. He could hardly have

been treated worse if he had invented a new religion.

One man in England, and one alone—Matthew Boulton—stood by Watts and his engine, and his loyalty almost cost him the whole of his fortune. Even in our day we have seen men like John Ruskin denouncing steam engines, railroad locomotives and virtually all machinery. If Ruskin had lived a few years later, I suppose he would have been denouncing the automobile. Indeed, the later years of the 19th century saw a school of English economists who denounced machinery as if it were an invention of the devil.

Nothing could better show the contrast between this way of thinking and America's ready acceptance of machinery than in the American philosopher, Emerson. While Ruskin thundered, Emerson saw the real beauty of machinery in its service to man, and he sounded its praise in poem and essay.

What he saw then we all know now. We know that the machine destroyed human slavery. It transformed the worker into a man. It has been said that but for the invention of machinery we should have a few kings, a body of lords and their armed retainers bossing the world. It was the machine that wiped out feudalism, created democracy, and handed the average man more luxuries than kings enjoyed 300 years ago.

What we workers must do is to keep pace with machinery and turn every new development to our own advantage and to the advantage of the rest of mankind. Pastor Robinson, when the little band of Pilgrims entered the Mayflower to cross the desperate seas for the wilderness of Massachusetts, expressed his belief that more light yet was to issue from God's Holy Word. Just so we must believe there are still greater gains yet to issue to mankind from the inventive genius of man. But let us see the worker well paid for this ready willingness to use each new machine. Let us see to it that he, too, shares in the increased wealth produced by the new machine he operates. This insures continued prosperity for all, because our prosperity will continue only so long as the purchasing power of the 42,000,000 men and women gainfully employed in our country is not impaired.

We all think in terms of what we want. "I want" is the great human impulse in us all. Let us, workers and all, keep our wants in harmony and not in conflict. Study the history of this country, or the history of the world in general, and you will find that virtually all the wants of mankind have been gratified, not through the creation of political parties but through education, by exerting pressure on whatever happened to be dominant.

There used to be a political prohibition party in America. It never polled in any national election more than a few hundred thousand votes. In the end, Pro-

hibition was won by those who thought the saloon should go, and who put the pressure of that belief on both political parties? The same is true of woman's suffrage. My information is, that just so has every law in the interests of labor been enacted, both here and in Europe.

Hundreds of such laws have been enacted, each the fruit, not of any labor party, but of moral suasion by the people on the members of the old parties. The first factory acts of England were secured not by a labor party, but by winning the heart of Lord Shaftsbury, who was not even a Liberal but a Tory, though God knows he was a good friend of labor. The poor of England were crying for cheap bread. On many a night the House of Commons heard the voice of Richard Cobden thundering for cheap bread for the poor, and few appeared to listen.

But a night came when Sir Robert Peel, head of the Government and head of the Tory landlords whose policy kept bread dear, rose from his seat in the House and filled his followers with consternation when he declared himself converted by Cobden's argument. He thereupon introduced the bill that repealed the Corn Laws.

When that bill went to the House of Lords, nearly every member of which favored the hurtful Corn Laws, it was about to be defeated by an almost unanimous vote, when the old Duke of Wellington, Napoleon's conqueror at Waterloo, got up and said, "Well, my lords, do you want the Queen to send for Mr. Cobden to form a new ministry?" And the bill passed that hostile body.

The point of this is that cheap bread was obtained for England not by a labor party but by labor's pressure on the parties already in power. I raise this point because I want to praise this body with all my heart for setting its face against participation in partisan politics.

The more things we can keep out of partisan politics the better. Whenever two men get to wrangling on any subject that engages their partisan more than their humanitarian interests, there stands the devil in the midst of them. The questions that divide men politically, ought to be abstract or constitutional rather than concrete.

Many of the expressed disagreements of men come not so much from any actual disagreement of thought as from the instinctive pugnacity of individuals. That native pugnacity sends one man to the prize ring, another to the arena of debate.

The story is told of two Scottish theologians, each unknown to the other, meeting accidentally one day, and developing a fierce argument in which neither was able to address the other quite respectfully. Finally one of the disputants said to the other, "Well, if you really wish to get my view of this matter, read the writings of Dr. Chalmers." To which the other replied, "If you agree with the writings of Dr. Chal-

mers you agree with me, for I am Dr. Chalmers."

In the same way heated minds assume sometimes that the interests of capital and labor are diverse.

This view is the pet theory of modern communists who seem to think that the light of the world is eclipsed except as it comes from the writings of Lenin and his followers. It is all an old story, for most of our fears are ancient, whatever new faces they wear.

In one of his political works, Thomas Paine speaks of something as like an attempt on the part of darkness to illuminate light. A great part of political history is nothing but this attempt on the part of darkness to illuminate light.

Just now the communists of Russia have started a crusade against America, with this land pictured as one of brutality. In a series of faked pictures, women soldiers are shown in training for a revolution. Workmen are portrayed as locked in stocks and whipped by prison wardens until they fall unconscious. Then they are laid in rows on the ground to recover. Boy scouts are shown sawing logs like slaves.

It is evident that the Bolsheviks have taken a picture of Russia and have written "America" under it. Yet look at the contrast. In our country any man may criticize the President, or a Government official, or Congress. He may state with vehemence his opposition to any law on the books. But in Russia the man who attempts what every American has the constitutional right to do, he is apt to be arrested and deprived of his liberty, or even his life.

The communist bible is the "Das Kapital" of Karl Marx. You will find it on the shelves of every good library in America. In Russia you cannot buy any book in opposition to Marx. Even the works of great Russians—Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostolevsky—are banned by the communist government. The only freedom in Russia is freedom to do what you are told to do, to profess agreement with what he is told to believe. And communist Russia ever seeks to assert its influence in other countries, even in America.

I do not assert that all conditions with us are ideal. Things are done among us that many would prefer to see otherwise done. We have our critics, and they serve a good purpose. But again I would praise this body for keeping out of its ranks men who would try to improve us by Russian or communist methods. You have ever been a mighty bulwark to keep this country free from those who would seek to destroy it.

There is one truth that communists and reformers of all types never wish to consider. That is that we live in a world most of whose evils cannot be cured by law. Read history with understanding, and you will perceive that Destiny loves nothing so much as to

create irony out of human efforts to abolish by law evils rooted in human nature itself.

There are things we can do, and things we cannot do. One thing we could do, if we would, is to see some things as they are. We might then better comprehend the virtue of wealth. Wealth is a very fine thing, so long as it is well distributed. The value of wealth is in its ability to supply human wants. Wealth would have no value if it supplied the wants of nobody. It has little enough value if it supplies the wants of only a few.

If you went to some community you had heard of as famous for its wealth, and found that only a half dozen nabobs and their families enjoyed this wealth, dining on terrapin washed down with the finest old wines, while the masses who sweated to supply all this had nothing but beans and bread, you would hardly praise what your senses observed. Wealth that is not well distributed is not truly wealth. It is merely a hoarding.

An industrial plant is fine for any community if it pays good wages—wages high enough to supply the wage-earner's wants. But there are industrial plants designed in the first place not to pay good wages but to pay high dividends at the expense of labor. Of what value are such to any community?

Usually these industries suffer the curse of dead hand domination. Some founder who started an industry for the enrichment of himself and his partners, at the expense of labor, has tied it up by will or tradition. Sometimes their management is left in the hands of financial trustees. Improvement is out of the question. Nothing can be done except as the founder ordered. If the business doesn't decline of its own dead domination, those in control may grow weary and may decide to close down the works.

Many of you may have seen what happens then. Little homes, built from the savings of workers, decline in value. Left without his job, the worker must move and sell at a loss. Or his house may be seized to satisfy a mortgage, taking with it the savings of years of toil.

In every sense the heads of industries have a very human responsibility to fulfill. A prosperous industry makes a prosperous town. An industry neglected or poorly managed cuts real estate values, reducing buying at retail stores, and affects the life of the community in many ways. The same is true in any community where low wages are paid to the workers.

No industry that does not set aside reserves for its future, no industry that pays poor wages, that is nothing but a machine for grinding out dividends for its owners, deserves anything of those who live within its shadow. It is not a benefaction but a curse.

So also is the worker who falls to

save not a benefactor but a burden to any community where he dwells. It is a poor rule that does not work both ways. We need employers and workers alike who can see beyond the length of their noses, who consider both the present and the future, and who labor as partners for the prosperity of themselves and all about them.

I think we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that by all odds the great majority of our workers and leaders of industry are of this type. Never has American industry been as free from strife as it is today. Never before has American industry been so generally filled with a spirit of good will and partnership between employer and worker. Making for uninterrupted production as this does, it has played a large part in creating our present high level of employment and prosperity. We have in America today only one serious labor controversy, and that will always exist as long as the industry remains in its present condition, and that is coal.

Now that we all see fully the solid profits in peaceful partnership, I believe worker and employer will alike strive to maintain this splendid feeling. I further believe that intelligent effort cannot only maintain this good feeling, but can broaden it.

One great step in that direction comes to mind immediately. Those who believe in collective bargaining could do their cause a wonderful amount of good if, as a matter of pride, they helped rid industry of the man who shirks on the job. The man unwilling to do his full duty by his industry and his fellow-workers has no right either to a job or to membership in organized labor. If organized labor saw to it that every union card was as good as a diploma, a badge of character as well as a certificate of skill, the cause of labor would benefit beyond calculation. The time would come when an employer would no more think of employing a worker without that certificate than he would think of employing a doctor who lacked a degree.

But it is not alone labor that has duties to perform for the country. There are duties that we all must see performed for the benefit of labor. Attention was aroused when I wrote and spoke, a few days ago, of the problem created by the rapid and ceaseless introduction of labor-saving machinery. By the figures supplied me from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, I learn that from our increase in population in the last eight or ten years, it now should take 140 men to supply the needs of the country where 100 could do so. Instead of that, and in spite of our having 20,000,000 more people, the needs of the country are fully supplied with 7 per cent. fewer workers than we needed in 1919.

What is the meaning of this? Labor-saving machinery has brought it about. The glass industry is only one of many where machinery has come in to displace

human skill and labor. Is the constant introduction of such machinery to load us down with a chronic and steadily increasing unemployment?

To me this matter is of the gravest importance to every employer and to the country at large. It is true that since the first introduction of machinery into industry this process has been going on. In times past the man whose place in an industry has been taken by a machine was left to his fate. He wandered as he could, without any help, into other occupations. Today we cannot permit him to suffer distress incident to that period of sometimes painful adjustment.

We ought not to permit it on plain humanitarian grounds. We can not permit it on plain business grounds. The unemployed man produces little or nothing, consumes little or nothing. To himself, to industry, to the country itself, he is not only a loss but a burden. We lower national prosperity by 7 per cent. if we permit 7 per cent. of our workers to pass out of the consuming and buying market. In a way, whenever a man loses a job, we all lose at the same time. For business reasons we must keep our workers employed.

I believe public opinion will soon expect every employer to regard it as a duty to introduce no new labor-saving machine without seeing to the continued employment of the men thrown out of work by his new machine. Otherwise we do not "save" labor, we waste it.

I believe the inventive genius in which our people are so rich must direct itself to new channels. We go on inventing new machines to speed up the older industries. We must invent new industries altogether—new articles for human use—new employment for the workers needed to produce them. This is one of the light we expect of industrialism, as Pastor Robinson assured the Pilgrims that new light would pour from Holy Writ. It is one of the most solemn duties that society owes to labor, and so to itself.

Some of its duties to labor, society has already performed, nobly, thoroughly, and with marked effect. I wonder if labor appreciates what it owes to restricted immigration. In 1920 and 1921 we found that the war had shot industry to bits all over the world. Business depression hung over this country. I shocked the American people with the figures on unemployment that I was asked to supply the Senate.

At the same time Europe was utterly disorganized. Not industry only, but all life was at a standstill over there. The rest of the world stood ready to send us millions of despairing men and women who looked to America for the chance to make a living that was denied them at home.

In previous years we had allowed them to come at the rate of nearly a million a year. Somehow then we could take care of them. But keeping in mind the

condition of this country as it was in 1921, I often wonder what America would be like today if we had allowed the ranks of our native and foreign-born unemployed to be swelled by these others coming in at the rate of a million a year!

The present scale of wages prevailing in American industry—the highest in history—would have been impossible. Instead, with seven millions more workers today and with some unemployment even now, the competition for jobs would be awful to contemplate. The total of unemployment would be appalling. It is hard to conceive the distress we might have on our hands.

A wise and timely law has saved us from that. Instead we let in new citizens only as we find it possible to absorb them into our industrial and social life. The rest of the world has profited because its workers have remained at home, producing wealth for their countries. And the worker in America has been free to develop a productive power unrivaled by any other. I claim that the Restrictive Immigration law is the greatest piece of legislation in fifty years. And I believe, when you think it over, you will agree with me.

And I want to say now in following up legislative action on this, from what I have been able to read and learn, I pay great honor and great tribute to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor for directing this course that has brought this about in this splendid country of ours.

I believe the nation is agreed that this law must continue as an unbroken policy. But to continue it we must, however, make it more humane in parts, so that the families of aliens run no danger of separation. Means must always be found for keeping families together.

In a sense that legislation was a tariff of human beings. I believe our tariff on the product of those human beings who are employed at low wages and poor working conditions is as necessary as it ever was for the protection of the American worker and his standard of living. We must protect our workers from the cheaper products of other countries, at least until the workers of other lands are paid as well, and can live as comfortably as the workers of America.

I have spoken of the effect of labor-saving machinery in displacing men. Let us look on another side of the same situation. In my own days in the mills it was often the case when a fellow-worker had reached the age of 50, he was presented with a gold-headed cane—and was often given, at the same time, a retirement letter. In those days any man of 50 was regarded as "old." It was thought he had outlived his usefulness.

Now I believe the well-nigh universal use of automatic machinery is going to make it possible for the man of 70 to handle these machines as well as a fellow of 20. With the knowledge, skill

and judgment that comes with ripened years, the man of 60 or over may even be at a premium, as he should be. Instead of being a charge on his family, or on the public, he may be what society needs him to be—a producer of wealth, a consumer of products, adding his share to the total of many such shares that we call our national prosperity.

This question of unemployment is, for that matter, ever present. Even in our most prosperous years there are always thousands of workers who, for unavoidable reasons, are thrown out of work. A great flood such as that in the Mississippi Valley, within one short week, turned thousands of workers out of productivity into idleness. We have on our hands the unemployment problem of those who follow seasonal occupations. Between jobs they must lose much time—and we lose it with them.

Taken with those who, after years of service in a specific craft, are displaced by new machinery and methods, the problem of the unemployed is one to call for the wisest business statesmanship. It is our problem, it is your problem.

In 1921 the total of unemployment was such as to compel thought and action. The national Government, State and local governments, public spirited individuals were forced to think and to act in ways of relief. That action in the relief and prevention of unemployment must not be exercised only in times of great national emergency. The emergency is always with us. We who are so proud of our industrial development should never rest until we have devised machinery to prevent this waste of human productivity.

Even among the millions of workers regularly employed, we all know there are many who do not share in the good wages received by the others. The skilled American worker is paid a higher wage than workers have ever received in history. What we call common labor in America is paid little higher than the same type of labor in England, and not much higher than common labor is paid in Germany. Wages for common labor in this country are all out of scale. Taken with their families and dependents, this means that we have probably 10,000,000 of people among us who are not earning what they should.

Taken as a purely business proposition, this is bad enough. It means that the great American market is the poorer by the fact that 10,000,000 of our people are not ready consumers and good buyers. It is a known fact that a man with an income of barely \$990 a year will make one poor overcoat last him ten years. A man who makes \$1500 will buy a new overcoat every five years. If his income is larger, he buys accordingly. This makes it as plain as day that for the sake of national prosperity alone we ought to make these people more prosperous. The well paid worker, by his

liberal buying, makes work for other workers. The poorly paid man is a loss to the country as well as himself. I am sure you, too, have these poor people at heart.

My Chief, the President himself, has put the matter in a nutshell. In his first message to Congress he said,

"In the industries the condition of the wage earner has steadily improved. The 12-hour day is almost entirely unknown. Skilled labor is well compensated. But there are unfortunately a multitude of workers who have not yet come to share in the general prosperity of the nation. Both the public authorities and private enterprise should be solicitous to advance the welfare of this class."

Another matter we must watch is the tremendous labor turnover in this country. It is fortunately becoming less each year, and while some are worried over it, I am not. For one thing, the roving worker has a splendid opportunity to see America, to add to his knowledge of our country from firsthand acquaintance. The worker in New England today may be in the Mid-West tomorrow. A little later you may find him on the West Coast. In moving from place to place he gains a better understanding of all our people through contact with them.

Since steel rails and concrete highways have welded our 48 states into one great State, sectionalism has broken down. At the same time we cannot all be nomads, and labor turnover is a matter of concern to labor itself as it is to the employer.

When I think of the turnover in industry, I am reminded of turnover in government itself. Ever since our President stated that he did not choose to run again, I have been thinking now and then of the turnover that is going to take place in the Department of Labor. Every man has his boss, you see. My boss is the President, and he's a good one, too. . . . Yet even the President of the United States has his boss—in the great American people.

I began my address with the reminder that we have before us many matters of serious concern. We have touched on only a few of them. Whether we satisfactorily meet these problems will depend, at least in part, on the kind of people we develop among us.

There was a time in the history of our Civil War which seemed to be highly critical. The Confederates had built an ironclad—the first in history. One day it came forth to see what it could do to the Northern fleet, built of wood throughout. It sank two of them without difficulty, and then, satisfied with its target practice, it retired for the day, to return on the morrow to destroy the rest of the Northern fleet at its leisure.

But when the Confederate ironclad returned to finish its work, a strange little craft, looking like a cheese-box on a raft, darted out and put it to flight. An inventive genius of Swedish birth had

designed this vessel and by his genius he saved the nation.

Again and again in history, crises have risen only to stimulate men to new ingenuities to meet them. Time and again some critical situation has been saved by a man of genius. But there are crises when a nation can be saved, not so much by individual genius as by the qualities of its people as a whole. We need always both individual genius and strong national qualities.

The future, I believe, is going to test the American people as they never have been tested before. It is going to test them, I believe, as no other people have been previously tested. When the time comes it will be found, I am firmly convinced, that America has put her house in order and that much of her strength lies in the sterling character of her workers.

We need more money for the rehabilitation of the disabled men in industry, for the Federal Board of Vocational Education. Let us ask this next Congress for appropriations for that particular kind of work. I know of nothing we are more interested in than this work of rehabilitation of disabled men. What right have employers to turn a man out because he is crippled in industry? We must carry on this campaign, that when men and women are crippled in industry it must be a charge against the industry itself until he becomes his own purchasing power and has his own earning power again.

There is some propaganda going on. You can hear it on every hand, of using every course, every sort of persuasive ability, every sort of persuasive argument they can use against our immigration law. Some are using the argument that we need population to make prosperity. Some are saying that to repeal our immigration law will mean more men, and that means a reduction in wages. Some are using other arguments to other people to suit the things that they have in mind, and I want to say to you now that when they talk about population in the matter of immigration, when they talk to you about education of our country's workers, you might use this as an illustration: population doesn't mean anything, so far as the prosperity of a nation is concerned. Look at China, with its four hundred millions of people! Are they prosperous? What are their conditions? Wages from ten to thirty cents a day. Look at India, with its caste system and its three hundred millions of people—what are their wages? Practically nothing. Look at Russia, with its 165,000,000 people and 98 per cent of them illiterate.

Talk about population—that doesn't mean everything! I say to you here in this convention, with all my heart, that the prosperity of a nation is in the pay envelope of the American working man, and in that place only. Let us keep our eyes open when this next Congress convenes.

Probably some of our friends here from foreign lands do not understand the fight on immigration. It started more than forty years ago out here on this coast in the city of San Francisco, prohibiting the Oriental from coming to America. What would have happened to us today if we had not prohibited them many years ago? Recently in speaking to a group of business men I said, "How could you succeed or how could an American working man succeed with that competition of business and labor alongside you?"

Is there any city in the world that pays such low wages that could send such distinguished men to a convention, to report such a convention as is here? Could they have these great newspapers that are sometimes used for the purpose of carrying the wrong message for prosperity? What makes a newspaper, my friends, such as we have in America, these great metropolitan papers in New York or in Los Angeles or San Francisco? What makes that prosperity and why are they able to publish them? Read the advertisements. If people could not buy that which is advertised in that newspaper they would not be able to produce a sheet big enough to produce the minutes of this convention. And who are the ones who purchase it? None but those who get the pay envelope. There are 42,000,000 men and women gainfully employed in America, and they are the purchasing power of this country.

We have many things to think in terms of besides machinery, too. Mike Tighe, your representative, and I worked in the mills together, and when there was a new invention it was not we of the older employees who were given the places. Shipload after shipload came in and they got the jobs when we thought of increasing our wages and benefitting our conditions. We woke up to find out that somebody had the job fifty per cent lower than we had it.

We have many problems that have come to us out of immigration and out of this war. Look at the overdevelopment of our own industry, with the power that we have of manufacturing now in America, when mills are running full time—and I can say that in all my time in the mills I don't believe I had a full year. You can make all the steel that is needed in America in about seven and a half months. You can make all the boots and shoes, with improved modern methods, in about six months, and you can make all the textiles needed in six months; you can blow all the window glass needed in America in seventeen weeks. You can dig all the coal in six months, with the men now in the industry. As I said a few moments ago, you have 300,000 more men in the industry than are needed.

Those are the things uppermost in my mind. I believe with all my heart and with all my soul that our only

advancement for our cause, for the education of our children, is to have, not a low-wage country, but to have a country of high wages, from the humblest laborer in the factory to the highest official in that particular institution. That is my feeling about it, and the business man who thinks in terms of low wages, if I had my way about it—and I hope the newspapers will print it on the front page—there ought to be some sort of commission to examine him mentally, to find out what is wrong with him.

There are a good many things happening. There is one thing that we ought to take action on, above everything else—the secrecy of a ballot box and the protection of the ballot box. The big thing we must do in America is to bring to the attention of our people the fact that the election laws are not what they should be, they do not protect the ballot box effectively. No officer in any business, no matter how great he may be, no man in any walk of life, no matter how much power may be in his hands, should be able at any time to debauch our electoral by trying to buy votes. There is so much talk nowadays about money in politics. The best thing we can do is to educate our people not to sell their votes. If we can do that, then those with great fortunes at their command will soon lose their influence in politics.

In the direct primary, too, a great many are nominated by the minority. We should see to it that it takes a majority at least to receive the nomination, no matter how many times it is necessary to go to the polls to get the will of that majority.

My business philosophy is to be right. There must be a proper distribution of wealth. This will prevent the misuse of economic power that certain groups may have. It will prevent them from turning that economic power into a political power.

We have something in this great Republic of ours under its institutions greater than money, and that is our freedom to help each other live our lives in our own way, and to have a government by the majority to give us the sort of government that we desire.

In spite of all its weaknesses, its drawbacks and its imperfections, our economic system of government, our nation as a whole stands out among the great governments of the world as the best that man has ever produced.

And so I say to you, my friends, with all my heart and with all my soul—let me try to leave that with you if I can—I have been a student during the past seven years as Secretary of Labor, and I say it again, let us place it on the advertising boards of the nation and on the front pages of all the newspapers of America, if we are to continue to keep happy and keep at work

and all be prosperous, so that we can educate our children, then it must come to us through the pay envelope in wages sufficient for us to do it.

The future, I believe, is going to be the test of the American people as they have never been tested before. It is going to test them as I believe no other people have been previously tested. When the time comes it will be found, I am firmly convinced, that America has put her house in order because you men will have helped her to put her house in order, and that we will find that much of her strength lies in the character of her workers.

I know the roll call of this convention about as well as any other man not actively engaged in labor. Go where you will—anywhere, my friends from Great Britain, my friends from the land of my birth, in business institutions, in commercial institutions, in manufacturing institutions that meet as associations, and you will not find a more able, a more distinguished group than these men and women who make up the representation to this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. President, I am delighted and happy that you have given me this opportunity. Thank you.

At the conclusion of the Secretary's address the entire audience arose and applauded for several minutes.

Response by President Green to Secretary Davis' Address

President Green: I am sure that the delegates at this forty-seventh annual convention have been tremendously impressed by the most sincere and earnest address of the Secretary of Labor this afternoon. We are gratified to hear from his own lips how thoroughly he is in accord with the economic wage policy of the American Federation of Labor. I am happy to hear him advocate the economic policy that we know and are certain will promote the happiness and the prosperity of our nation. He could have said these words in any city of the United States with tremendous effect. He could have given utterance to these truths in Washington, but I am happy that he came to Los Angeles to preach in favor of high wages here. There is no city in our country where he could have uttered these words with such telling effect as in this beautiful sunshine city of Los Angeles.

I hope that what he has said as an authority, as a spokesman of the administration, he who comes here with a message from the Chief Executive of our nation, a member of the President's Cabinet, I hope that his utterances in favor of high wages will reach into the editorial sanctum of the Los Angeles Times. His voice is not my voice, his voice is not your voice, it is not the voice of some delegates who believes in the union shop that

has stood here and given expression to what the Los Angeles Times classifies as an economic absurdity, but it is the distinguished Secretary of Labor, the messenger from Washington, a man respected by the citizenship of our Republic, it is he who seconds the economic policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Secretary, we feel under everlasting obligation to you for what you have said and for the sincere way in which you have said it. Your address will become a part of the fixed and permanent proceedings of this convention, and I hope that the membership of organized labor will refresh their memories many times by reference to his statement regarding high wages and improved conditions of employment.

Now, Mr. Secretary, we will be glad to have our committee, President Hutchesson, President Clark, and Brother Buzzell, escort you to your hotel, and we shall be very glad to see to it that you are helped and accommodated in any way we can. Thank you for coming here.

President Green: I have called Brother Richard Coppock, a visitor to this convention from Great Britain, to come to the platform and say a word to the delegates at this time. Brother Coppock is General Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives of Great Britain, and he is here in America as a representative of the International Union of Building Trades Workers. He came here as a duly accredited representative from the International Union of Building Trades Workers to the Convention of the Building Trades Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. He is here as a visitor to our convention, a fellow trade unionist, not as a fraternal delegate. I know you will be glad to hear a word from him.

Address by Mr. Richard Coppock

President Green and Brothers: It is with a certain amount of timidity that I follow such an eloquent speech as that delivered by the Secretary of Labor. I was pleased to hear Friend Davis speak in the manner in which he did, for he had previously expressed those sentiments to me early this year when visiting Britain.

The policy laid down by your organization is a policy preached by our people in Great Britain. We have not been able to get organized employers to the stand that you appear to have got them in this country with reference to your high wage standards but we are carrying on our struggle, particularly in the building trades where we have had the advantage of a fair state of prosperity as compared to the rest of the industries in Great Britain. There is no doubt about it, that if there was progress made and prosperity from low wages that Europe would be the most progressive

and prosperous continent in the world. Today it is not, and I believe it is entirely due to the old world theory of wages that we are in the main in the position we stand in, particularly in Europe.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I come among you. Indeed, the speech delivered yesterday by your President is a speech that is worth recording in the mind of any visitor for his life time, for it got to the heart and the core of the economic position of the workers throughout the world. And while President Green was addressing you in the name of the American Federation of Labor, we could have expressed those sentiments in the name of organized labor the world over, and I only hope that his speech is not butchered by the English press or the American press, that our British and European trade unionists may have that call that was made yesterday by President Green wafted over the wires of the world as an inspiration for them to keep on their struggle for the things they are fighting for.

I do not want to express my views in reference to this large country of yours. During my travels by train to this particular city all sorts of politicians and advocates have been discussing questions with me. One particular individual was talking about immigration and the absurdity of immigration laws. "Look here," he said, "there is New Mexico and Texas. The whole of the population of Europe could be put in those two states and we would be prosperous as a result." I didn't know what he meant until I looked outside, and I was wondering what the European population would do in the State of Texas, for I saw not a soul for a thousand miles.

Your policy is a policy that must be decided by yourselves. And as we in Britain and in Europe mainly do not believe in the interference of any Nationals, it would not become me to discuss your policy, but as a student I have watched the development of your movement, hoping that the consummation of the ideals laid down by your President yesterday will, in the very near future, be realized.

We have referred to the leaders of your movement. We have had an opportunity from time to time to meet representative men of the various departments. I have had an opportunity of meeting the building trades representatives when they have come to the British Trades Union Congress. I have also had an opportunity of getting a few words in, a very few, when John P. Frey has been speaking, because you cannot get many words in when he is speaking, and I have realized that your movement is the same movement as ours.

When at the Building Trades convention I heard the discussions on the floor I thought I was at my own con-

vention, for your troubles are just the same as, our troubles. They may be greater in magnitude as a consequence of the breadth of continent you have got. We have 44,000,000 people, shoulder to shoulder, and we can hardly move in our own little island. It is only two hours' journey from London to Birmingham and eight hours' journey from London to Glasgow. That is a well known name, we see it on many labels in this country, and it is a town of good spirits.

You will appreciate that our problem is more condensed, shall I say, than your problem. As a consequence we are able, possibly, to grip the situation quicker in detail than you are in this vast continent of yours, but if the sterling worth of the men I have met here will stand for anything it means that you will overcome the whole of your difficulties. While there is a determination to win there will be success following the activities of every member and official of this great organization.

I am pleased to have been among you. In the building trades, for the first time in my life, I received a diamond stick pin. When I got home I will have to announce definitely in my journal that I have not bought it from the salary they pay me, or I would be bound to get a reduction of salary. I intend to have it photographed, and I am also asking for a letter from McSorley and Spencer to attest to the fact that this diamond pin was given to me.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to express my appreciation of the kindness bestowed upon me. I am here as a student inquiring into a theory. Our wage negotiations start in November when I return. There is a desire to reduce our standard of living in the building trades on the other side. My people said: "Go over there and give us first hand information of what you see, what you hear, and inquire into the fundamental principles that are governing the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. I have come, and the effect of my visit amongst you will be that it will not be so easy to spin the yarns they have hitherto spun as far as you people are concerned on this side, for indeed they have told some wonderfully romantic stories of the building trades workers, and I don't think you are any more given to romance than we are in Europe.

I am pleased to see the manner in which your forum is open to all opinions; whether people agree with you or disagree with you, you allow them to express their point of view. An organization can be very proud when a representative of the government of this country will come to the convention and advocate the policy your organization has been standing for all these years. It shows progress, it shows the men you have chosen in

your movement are leading you right, and in the leadership of President Green will be something for us to copy on the European continent.

I thank you, Mr. President, for this opportunity, and I thank the delegates for their kindness in listening to me, and I again express my appreciation of the kindnesses that have been bestowed upon me during my visit in Los Angeles.

President Green: I knew we had a treat in store when I called Brother Coppock to the platform. You know we frequently believe that these English chaps have no sense of humor, but I think Brother Coppock has completely dispelled that belief. We very deeply appreciate the fine address he delivered this afternoon.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees:

Application of International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers for Assistance of Organizer in Northern Ontario

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates John McMullen and Homer Whitmore of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, There are thousands of men employed in the metal mining industry in Northern Ontario, Canada, being without organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is not in a financial position to meet the needed expense of a successful campaign in that district; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and instructed to have one of the Canadian organizers of the American Federation of Labor (one who can speak French), act with a representative of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in an effort to perfect organization of the men employed in the mining industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Urging Legislation to Secure Wage Standards for Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers, New York City

Resolution No. 37—By Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17958, New York City.

WHEREAS, The labor law clause for all city contract work of the city of New York specifically states that the wages to be paid for the legal day's work to all classes of such laborers, workmen or mechanics upon public work shall not be less than the prevailing rate for a day's work in the same trade or occupation in the locality where such public work is

being performed, and that each such laborer, workman or mechanic shall receive the prevailing rate of wages and shall not be permitted to work any more than eight hours in any one calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency, caused by fire, flood or danger to life or property; and

WHEREAS, The members of the State Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17958 of the American Federation of Labor are being forced to work over the eight hours, and in some instances as much as ten and twelve hours per day, and are not receiving the prevailing rate of wages established for this class of work, which is the minimum of 75c per hour, and double time for all overtime, when such overtime work is necessary according to the clause of the labor law; and

WHEREAS, A representative committee of Organized Labor, accompanied by President Paul Vaccarelli of the Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17958, of the American Federation of Labor, called at the office of the Hon. Alfred A. Taylor, Commissioner of the Department of Street Cleaning of the City of New York, under whose jurisdiction the contractors are now performing said work on land fills in Manhattan and the Bronx; namely, Walter Price, Vice President of the B. M. & P. I. U.; John Gill, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the B. M. & P. I. U. in New York City; George Meany, Secretary of the New York Building Trades Council, and several other representatives of organized labor, who had several conferences with Commissioner Alfred A. Taylor, and at one of these conferences the Commissioner had Assistant Corporation Counsel Pascall give an interpretation of the said labor law herein mentioned, that said labor clause does not apply to men who joined with the contractors in a co-partnership agreement. We requested that said Assistant Corporation Counsel Pascall give us his interpretation in writing, but he refused; and

WHEREAS, Not alone that this class of work which is being performed by means of a contract awarded by the City of New York, but other contracts, which are being awarded by the City of New York to numerous contractors can, under the interpretation of Assistant Corporation Counsel Pascall, do the very same thing with their employees by terming them as co-partners and avoid payment of the prevailing rate of wages and violate the eight-hour law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor will take immediate steps through the proper channels to have said law amended, if interpretation of Assistant Corporation Counsel Pascall is correct, and no workman, laborer or mechanic will be subjected to the vicious padrone system; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor communicate with the

Commissioner of Street Cleaning of New York City, Hon. Alfred A. Taylor, so that members of this local may get some relief from employers on said land fills of Manhattan and the Bronx.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Declaring for Employment of Seamen Through the United States Shipping Commissioner's Office

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, There can be no safety at sea without skilled officers and seamen; and

WHEREAS, The needed skill is only developed when those who are to see the work done are selecting those who are to do it; and

WHEREAS, The Sea Service Bureau and the shipowners' employment offices are working directly against any and all efficiency and safety; and

WHEREAS, These employment offices are gathering places for casual laborers and men seeking shelter from too close a scrutiny by the police and to get away when the scrutiny becomes too pressing; and

WHEREAS, These conditions work a hardship upon all real seamen and a most serious hindrance to the development of a Merchant Marine and a sufficient seapower for the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sea Service Bureau and shipowners' association shipping offices are a positive evil and ought to be abolished, and that employment of seamen ought to be through the United States Shipping Commissioner's office, being selected by the vessels' officers either at the commissioner's office or before coming there to be signed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

S. 1087 Bill for Supervision of Employment of Seamen to Insure Safety at Sea

Resolution No. 39—Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, Merchant vessels under our flag are being operated in such condition that they are a menace not only to the lives which they carry, but also to the lives of persons—passengers and crews on other vessels; and

WHEREAS, The cause is largely to be found in disobedience to such safety laws as we have and the employment of men who are in no sense seamen but just casual laborers, who in some devious way have obtained able

seamen's and boatmen's certificates; and

WHEREAS, This dangerous condition is gradually becoming worse because of the present law, which gives the master the right to sign on his crew without any supervision by the shipping commissioners; and

WHEREAS, The masters are compelled to violate the safety laws in order to keep their jobs; and

WHEREAS, We now have no way of even getting reports upon who was on board a lost vessel because there is no place where the names of the crew are kept unless they be shipped before the Shipping Commissioners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That such condition ought to be stopped as quickly as possible and we most seriously petition Congress to enact into law the Bill—S. 1087—which was introduced in the last Congress by Senator La Follette of Wisconsin and which was reported to the Senate with an amendment, which amendment must not, however, be any part of the Bill, because it would re-establish involuntary servitude on vessels of the United States and of all other vessels coming within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Enactment of S. 3574 to Prevent Smuggling of Immigrants Disguised as Seamen

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, Immigration of aliens into the United States in violation is proceeding in increasing numbers notwithstanding the general law, which permits only a specific number from each foreign nation outside of American Continent; and

WHEREAS, Such immigration is effected through the shipping, which is so regulated that it constitutes an open side-door into the country and is an invitation to smuggling of so-called seamen into our ports; and

WHEREAS, It is notorious that vessels are bringing into our ports more so-called seamen, who are in fact nothing but immigrants in disguise and that they are bringing many more than they are taking away thus leaving behind them any number from up to sixty or more men, who promptly vanish in the population; and

WHEREAS, This immigration at present is mostly from the Mediterranean countries and from China is sure to be extended so as to come from other ports and be made up of other races partly or wholly excluded; and

WHEREAS, The port of Hamburg, which has been doing such thriving

business in this smuggling, has caused the arrest and imprisonment of a large number of conspirators; and

WHEREAS, The premium for landing Chinese has reached a figure of some eleven hundred dollars per person, and the premium from Italy, Greece, Southern France, Belgium and Germany ranges from two hundred to four hundred dollars; and

WHEREAS, The Bill, S. 3574, introduced by Senator King of Utah, passed by the Senate and then held up in the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House, will effectively close this open side door and compel some real respect for our immigration laws by those that control and operate shipping, foreign and domestic; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we earnestly request Congress to pass this bill in the early part of the coming Congress to the end that the side-door may be closed and our immigration laws respected.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Endorsing Bill H.R. 1383 to Transfer to Department of Labor Enforcement of Navigation Laws

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union of America.

WHEREAS, There is a continuous decrease in the number of men certified by the local inspectors as a sufficient deck crew for our merchant vessels, the vessels being so undermanned in numbers as well as in skill as to make safe navigation impossible and the maintaining of the vessels in anything like a seaworthy manner; and

WHEREAS, This seems to arise from the fact that some persons, who inspect the vessels, who provide what the crew shall be, what safety rules shall be adopted, are the same persons who try the officers after investigating the cause of any disaster and who naturally will find the fault to be with the personnel since otherwise it would have to be found in the vessel itself, which would mean that the inspectors have failed in their duty; and

WHEREAS, While the vessels, the material and the personnel are under the same departmental jurisdiction there is sure to be a continuous degeneration of the personnel, which must end in disaster to our merchant marine and our sea power; and

WHEREAS, H. R. 1383, a bill to transfer from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Labor the duty and power to enforce so much of the navigation laws and laws governing the steamboat inspection service as relate to persons employed in seafaring occupations, and for other pur-

poses, was introduced in the last Congress but failed to pass; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we earnestly petition Congress to give careful consideration to said bill and to pass it with such amendments as may be considered wise and needed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Repeal of Sherman Anti-Trust Law

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, The Sherman anti-trust law is in fact an anti-combination law, which properly construed and fully enforced will make all associations of men and women for mutual aid and protection illegal and a crime, as plainly shown in the decision by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Stonecutters' case, where it was held that the organized stonecutters may not protect themselves by refusing to finish stone which has been partly cut by others who are hostile to the organized stonecutters; and

WHEREAS, Any continued vitality of this law must result in the abolition of all trade Unions organized for mutual aid and protection of the working people; and

WHEREAS, Industrial organizations based upon industrial discontent are essential in the future evolution of Christian civilization and to prevent the return of slavery; and

WHEREAS, Trade unions are voluntary associations of free men who come together to do collectively what they cannot do individually, to obey the divine command to men, that they shall bear each other's burdens, and to put into practice in their industrial life that fundamental American idea which was practiced by the fathers, and through which this nation was born, the trade unions being in form and purpose a continuation of the voluntary associations of pre-revolutionary days; and

WHEREAS, W. R. Hearst, then a Representative in Congress from New York on February 18, 1905, introduced a Bill, H. R. 19048, to protect trade and commerce against restraints and monopoly, which bill is in fact an anti-monopoly bill designed to apply to prevent monopoly in the products of labor, or of any mineral products, or products of the soil or of the sea, and to leave to men and women the right and the opportunity to protect themselves by combinations for mutual aid and protection; and

WHEREAS, Congress in the Clayton act already has enacted that the labor power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, thus plainly intending to take all human labor power from under the jurisdiction of the Sherman law and the amendments thereto; and

WHEREAS, This enactment has failed of its purpose and has remained a disregarded or misunderstood enactment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we demand the immediate repeal of the Sherman anti-combination law, which has been found of no especial value in suppressing combinations except the combinations for mutual aid and protection organized by laboring men and women, together with all amendments thereto except the above quoted definition of labor power, and promptly enact in its place the anti-monopoly bill, H. R. 19048, introduced in the Fifty-eighth Congress by W. R. Hearst.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
Eight-Hour Day for Sailors Employed on United States Merchant Vessels

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Andrew Fursueth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, The United States has adopted as a policy that those who labor for the national government shall do so on the eight-hour day, forty-eight hours per week; and

WHEREAS, The American people, through national and state laws, have given effect to this policy, and have found it so successful that President Harding felt it to be his duty to intervene and induce the steel trust to abolish the twelve-hour day, Sunday and Monday alike, or eighty-four hours per week; and

WHEREAS, The World War, with its special need for labor, did not depart from this principle, but, in fact, made it more mandatory, because it was found to be a blessing not only to man, but also to industry; and

WHEREAS, A large part of our merchant marine has gone on three watches—the eight-hour day; and

WHEREAS, The Shipping Board, when it is compelled by the Supreme Court of the United States to comply with the safety law that provides an equal number of men on deck during night and day, does so by giving orders for a twelve-hour day, Sunday and Monday alike, thus re-establishing the eighty-four hour week; and

WHEREAS, We can only understand this to indicate a determination to go back to the twelve-hour day generally on shore as well as on the sea; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, hereby appeals to President Coolidge to issue an executive order providing that the sailors working for the United States on merchant vessels and on transports shall, under normal conditions, be placed on three equal watches—the eight-hour day—to the end that sailors so far as possible may be treated as well as others who work for the United States, and that the fear of the return of the twelve-hour day

on land may be relieved; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent as soon as may be to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Boulder Canyon Dam

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, assembled in its forty-seventh annual convention at Los Angeles, California, reaffirms its previous stand in favor of the control and development of the Colorado River by the Government in the manner recommended by the engineers of the Reclamation Bureau of the Department of the Interior, for the following reasons:

1. The federal government is the only agency which can adequately deal with the interstate and international questions involved.

2. It is a recognized duty of the federal government to provide protection from floods. The proposed works outlined by the government engineers will turn this great annual menace into a great national asset.

3. The erection of a 550-foot dam at or near Boulder Canyon, as recommended by the Reclamation Bureau, will conserve all the flood waters, which are now wasted into the Gulf of California, and give an equated flow to the lands in Arizona and California now under cultivation and make possible the reclamation of thousands of additional acres of desert lands in those states.

4. The hydro-electric energy which can be generated at the dam, in accordance with the plan suggested by the Secretary of the Interior, and a small charge for the storage of water for irrigation and domestic use, will in less than a generation return to the United States Treasury all the moneys advanced by the Government, together with interest thereon.

5. The building of the Boulder Canyon Dam will remove the annual flood menace from the Imperial Valley and the building of an All-American Canal, which is an essential part of the great project, will relieve the ranchers of Imperial Valley of the present precarious method of bringing all their water through the Republic of Mexico and also will relieve them from the necessity of turning over one-half of the water in their canal to Mexican landowners.

6. On account of the many questions involved (not only interstate and international but on account of the conflicting interests of flood control, irrigation and power development), the federal government is the only neutral agency which can supervise the works.

7. The development of this project will not only return to the United States Treasury in a few years the money advanced but will create many millions of

new wealth, which will assist in the payment of taxes, local, state and national, and assure the establishment of hundreds of new industries, thus creating employment for thousands of men and women.

8. The climatic conditions in the valleys to be benefited by this project permit the successful cultivation of winter vegetables and other crops which do not enter into competition with farmers in the United States.

9. The present unregulated flow of the Colorado River and the necessity of bringing the water for the Imperial Valley through Mexico is permitting the reclamation of many thousands of acres of new land in Mexico each year with cheap Asiatic labor. The principal crop of these Mexican lands is cotton, which directly competes with the cotton crop of our Southern States. The Boulder Canyon Dam and the All-American Canal will permit the control of the flow of water in the river so as to curb this growing competition.

10. The unprecedented growth of the cities and towns of Southern California will be forced to cease in a few years if they remain dependent upon their present water supply. The creation of the large storage contemplated in this project will permit these cities and towns to secure at their own expense, an adequate supply of water for their future growth.

11. The government, in partial recognition of its debt to those who responded to its call in the hour of need, reserves for entry by ex-service men all Government land brought under cultivation by this project.

The Swing-Johnson Bill, which has been pending before Congress for many years, and has for its sole purpose the enactment into law of the recommendations made by various government officials, should receive favorable consideration at the next session of Congress, to the end that this great work shall be pushed to early completion and the many benefits which will flow therefrom may be realized.

In conclusion, we extend our congratulations and good will to all those officials, National, state and local, who have gone on record as favoring the early completion of this great undertaking, which, in addition to giving immediate relief from a threatened calamity, will establish the principle that the great natural resources of our country shall be retained by all the people for the benefit of all the people instead of being given to predatory corporations for the benefit of a few stockholders.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Legislation Excluding Filipino Laborers

Resolution No. 45 — By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through the instrumentality of the sugar planters of Hawaii many thousands of Filipino laborers have been brought to the Hawaiian Islands and have subsequently, of their own volition, migrated to Pacific Coast States; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that an ever-increasing number of Filipino laborers are also migrating directly from the Philippines to the principal Pacific Coast ports; and

WHEREAS, This free and unrestricted influx of another group of Asiatics is adding to and complicating the racial and economic problems of California and other Pacific Coast States; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has held the Filipinos to be ineligible to citizenship of the United States; and

WHEREAS, All the objections that have been raised against the immigration of Chinese and Japanese apply with equal force to Filipinos; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in forty-seventh annual convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., Oct. 3, 1927, that we strongly urge Congress to enact legislation prohibiting Filipino laborers from migrating to the United States, either by direct route or via the Territory of Hawaii.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Legislation to Place Mexico Under Quota Requirements of the Immigration Law

Resolution No. 46 — By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, More than sixty thousand persons, mostly unskilled workers, have entered the United States from the Republic of Mexico during the last fiscal year; and

WHEREAS, Said persons refused to maintain an American standard of wages and living conditions and have in many cases become a burden on the state and our charitable institutions and a menace to the health and general welfare of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in the Forty-seventh Annual Convention, assembled at Los Angeles, Calif., Oct. 3, 1927, that we most respectfully petition the National Congress to enact such laws and regulations as will place the nationals of the Republic of Mexico under the quota as provided for Europeans entering America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Legislation Requiring Competent Instructors for Trade Schools

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Graduates of trade schools, industrial and vocational schools enter industry without full knowledge of the laws regulating conditions of labor, and regulation hours of labor, and the wage agreements relative to trade unions in their respective industries; and

WHEREAS, Without this knowledge the conditions gained through these laws and the efforts of the trade union movements to improve the standard of living of the workers will be endangered; and

WHEREAS, Such organizations as the Industrial Association, Open Shop, and American Plan organization quite often influence these students against the maintenance of these conditions and the benefits of the organized labor movements; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Forty-seventh Annual Convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, use its influence to pass a law at the next Congress which will provide instructions and competent instructors which will meet the above situation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Independence of the Philippines

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States in the preamble to the Jones law contains a solemn declaration of the purpose of the people of the United States to recognize the independence of the Philippines as soon as a stable government could be established therein; and

WHEREAS, The requirements regarding a stable government in the Philippines have been fulfilled for a number of years and the Filipinos have at various times, by virtually unanimous voice, expressed their earnest desire for national independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in 47th Annual Convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, that we heartily favor the immediate grant of independence to the Filipino people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Pardons for Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Daniel J. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Mooney case has been before the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for many years; and

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, although innocent, are still in prison; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly demanded that justice be done in this case; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as urging His Excellency, C. C. Young, the Governor of California, to grant immediate unconditional pardons to Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Uniform Badge for Labor Day

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has long existed a need for a uniform insignia for use on Labor Day by Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, The request that such insignia be adopted by all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco for use on Labor Day was presented to the Central bodies in San Francisco, and by them favorably received and adopted; and

WHEREAS, The matter was enthusiastically received and successfully inaugurated in San Francisco in the short period between its inception and Labor Day, its success being evidenced by the fact that more than 30,000 uniform buttons were worn by organized labor in that one city upon September 5, 1927; and

WHEREAS, Believing that the efficacy of the parade on Labor Day is each year lessened by many factors brought into existence by the continued progress of the worker, and believing that the display of a uniform insignia upon Labor Day will forcibly demonstrate the solidarity of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Annual Convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1927, heartily approves the idea of a uniform badge for Labor Day and urge all affiliated unions to support the movement to adopt a uniform badge for use by all organized workers on Labor Day.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Ely Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities

Resolution No. 51—By Florence C. Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always stood for democracy in education and vigorously opposed the carrying on, in our public schools, of propaganda to advance the special interests of a few; and

WHEREAS, There has been established in Northwestern University in Chicago, under the direction of Prof. Richard T. Ely, an "Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities" — which Institute, though financed by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, railroads, public utilities and other private corporations, declares itself to be impartial and disinterested in its activities; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers, after a full and careful investigation, finds that this institute is hostile to the best interests, not merely of the wage-worker but of the farmer—that it is carrying on in our educational institutions, under the cloak of disinterested research, propaganda against the further taxation of land values and other natural resources speculatively held — measures which the A. F. of L. has long favored—and propaganda in favor of the further taxation of sales of goods and articles for consumption—measures which the A. F. of L. has long opposed; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers has further found that this institute, having started out with fixed and preconceived conclusions detrimental to the working classes and advantageous to the corporations supporting it, is misusing the conception of research and masquerading under false colors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Annual Convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., October 3 to 15, 1927, join with the American Federation of Teachers in condemning the Ely Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities as unworthy of the confidence and trust of the American people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all local and affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor put forth every effort to have all text and reference books prepared by the Ely Institute barred from the tax-supported schools, colleges and universities of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Application for Organizer for Louisiana

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Ernest H. Zwally of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of the State of Louisiana and other States of the South are doing all that they are able to do to expand the ranks of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, We feel that, having shown our faith in the labor movement, and realizing that we need assistance to further the cause of Organized Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council be instructed to employ an organizer on a full-time basis for the State of Louisiana for a period of twelve months.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Invitation to A. F. of L. to Meet in Boston, Mass., in 1930

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate E. A. Johnson of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, August 1 to 5, 1927, voted to invite the American Federation of Labor to hold the Fiftieth Annual Convention in Boston, Mass., in the year 1930; and

WHEREAS, The year 1930 will witness the observance of the three-hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and will be the occasion of historical and patriotic celebrations in connection therewith; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be informed of the desire of the State Federation of Massachusetts to have the A. F. of L. Convention in Boston in the year 1930, and that action be taken by the convention that will allow the trades unionists of Massachusetts and Boston to make preparations that will redound to the credit and success of the labor movement in its 1930 convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Liberalization of Civil Service Retirement Law

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Engelhardt, Frank Willis, E. L. Chapman of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William E. Collins, H. W.

Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund, of the Draftsmen's Union; A. O. Wharton, Charles W. Fry, Daniel Haggerty, L. V. Hart, Charles F. Wills, R. H. Henning, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Sixty-ninth Congress, largely in response to the urge of the organizations of affiliated government employees and the American Federation of Labor, enacted legislation improving in some respects the civil service retirement law, especially by increasing the amount of the annuities and changing the method of their computation; and

WHEREAS, While these liberalizations have brought a degree of relief to retired employees and operate generally toward an improvement of the retirement law, nevertheless, they are inadequate from both the standpoint of the employees directly affected, and the public service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to continue to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employees to the end that further liberalizations, particularly in the way of higher annuities and lower optional age requirements, shall speedily be enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Differential for Night Work in Government Employment

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Engelhardt, Frank Willis, E. L. Chapman, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William E. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, For the most part the United States government, in its employment policies, has failed to recognize the hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, In the postal service, the bureau of engraving and printing, and

other federal agencies, there are night work requirements involving the employment of many thousands of wage earners, with no compensatory offsets in additional pay or shorter hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of government employees to have the government recognize, in a practical way, appropriate to the needs of each group, the hardship and undesirability of night work.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Elimination of Speeding-Up Practices in Government Employment

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Engelhardt, E. L. Chapman, Frank Willis, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William E. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, In the postal service and other government establishments there have been instituted highly objectionable practices under the guise of "efficiency systems," which are harmful to the workers physically and destructive of service morale, and therefore add materially to labor costs in government employment; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" practices assume various forms and methods all directed toward mechanical standardization by plans of weighing or counting, or otherwise measuring output without regard to variations of work and other essential factors; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any system of "speeding up" the workers beyond a reasonable standard is disastrous in its reactions upon both employers and employee; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" systems in government employment are not only harmful to the health of the workers directly affected but they add to public taxation burdens because of the large overhead administrative cost of the superfluous supervision involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor directs the Executive Council to co-operate with the

representatives of government employees' organizations whose members are subjected to these dehumanizing practices, with a view to their elimination in the interest of the workers and the public service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Engelhardt, Frank Willis, E. P. Chapman, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William E. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Frequently in civil service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials and from which judgment the employees affected have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of civil service employment is permanency of tenure if the employee is competent to perform the work available, and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who exercise, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to assist the representatives of organizations of government employees to curb this arbitrary power exercised by administrative officials through establishment of a civil service court of appeals, independent of any existing governmental agency, to which employees may appeal in demotion and dismissal cases and which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Extension of Saturday Half-Holiday for Government Workers

Resolution No. 58—Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Engelhardt, Frank Willis, E. L. Chapman, of the National Federation of

Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William E. Collins, J. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund, of the Draftsmen's Union; A. O. Wharton, Charles W. Fry, Daniel Haggerty, L. V. Hart, Charles F. Willis, R. H. Henning, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Saturday half-holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employees and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in state and municipal governments, and in a number of private industrial pursuits—in a number of notable instances—the five-day working week has been established; and

WHEREAS, In some instances encouraging progress has recently been made in applying the principles of a more extended weekly period of rest in Federal activities, with resultant benefits to the public and the employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employees for the purpose of having the Saturday half-holiday observance and principle extended in government establishments to benefit every possible worker.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Convict Labor Legislation

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate J. M. McCune of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, during the past several sessions of Congress, made efforts to secure legislation that would enable the various States to obtain relief from the competition of convict labor of other States, in all of these efforts the Legislative Committee having had the opposition of prison contractors, prison officials and other exploiters of convict labor; and

WHEREAS, Many affiliated organizations are suffering from this unfair com-

petition, and some industries are threatened with destruction through the competition of inmates of penal and reformatory institutions, one industry, the manufacture of brooms, being practically controlled by contract and state account prison shops, the members of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union having averaged less than four days' work per week during the past year; and

WHEREAS, The Cooper bill, which was before the last session of Congress, will again be introduced in the next Congress, and everyone connected with the Labor Movement should be urged to use their utmost influence to secure this legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That at the proper time the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with all organized labor relative to this matter and to put forth every effort to the end that the Cooper bill, or similar legislation, be secured.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Invitation to A. F. of L. to Meet in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931

Resolution No. 60—Delegate M. B. Cain of the Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officially dates its inception from Nov. 15, 1881; and

WHEREAS, The meeting at which the present name and type of organization were chosen was held in Columbus, Ohio (Druid's Hall, 180-182 South Fourth Street); and

WHEREAS, The year 1931 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Organized Labor of the city of Columbus and the State of Ohio have taken cognizance of the fact that 1931 will be the golden jubilee of the American Federation of Labor and has extended an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its jubilee convention in the city of Columbus, Ohio; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give favorable expression to the idea of holding the 51st Annual Convention in the city of Columbus, Ohio; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to bring to the attention of the delegates to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1930, the invitation of Organized Labor of the city of Columbus, in the state of Ohio, to this body to hold its Jubilee Convention in the city of Columbus, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. to Initiate Effort to Have More Adequate Appropriations Allotted to the Bureaus of the Department of Labor

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry Schmal of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, There are in the executive branch of the federal government three service departments for the purpose of developing and promoting special fields which are basic in national growth and progress.

These departments must plan their service activities within the limits of appropriations provided for them by the Congress of the United States and it is needful that those who benefit by the service shall endeavor to persuade Congress and the budget bureau to make funds available for constructive work.

There exists a decided inequity in the funds allotted to the Department of Labor as compared with the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. For the year 1927 there were appropriated for the respective departments: Labor, \$9,561,305.00; Commerce, \$30,632,347.00; Agriculture, \$139,635,823.00; for 1928, Labor, \$8,558,540.00; Commerce, \$35,240,430.00; Agriculture, \$144,487,820.00.

The difference unfavorable to labor is clearly shown by reducing the appropriations to a percentage basis. Of the total amount appropriated for the three departments, labor got, in 1927, 5.3 per cent; commerce, 17.1 per cent; agriculture, 77.6 per cent. In 1928 labor will get 4.5 per cent; commerce 18.7 per cent; agriculture 76.7 per cent.

Obviously there has been a definite policy of discrimination against the Department of Labor, which is contrary to the best national development. Wage earners need facts and information in order to plan policies and make their decisions wisely. They need more service from the Department of Labor, especially from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Conciliation Division, the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau. If these bureaus give more service they must have more adequate appropriations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the President of the American Federation of Labor to initiate sustained efforts to have more adequate appropriations allotted to the bureaus of the Department of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Journeymen Tailors' Union Protests
Issuance of A. F. of L. Charters to
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers
Unions Pending Jurisdic-
tional Demarcation**

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Gust. Soderberg and E. N. Bolander of the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

WHEREAS, Pursuant to Resolution No. 41, introduced by delegates of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America at El Paso, Texas, 1924 Convention, relative to the matter existing between the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America and the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers; and

WHEREAS, The committee of the Executive Council's report recommended at the aforesaid convention not to concur in the aforesaid resolution; but recommended that "the Executive Council call a conference between the representatives of the Journeymen Tailors and the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers within ninety days from the adjournment of this said convention, in order that the jurisdiction of each organization be delimited as closely as possible, in order that complete understanding be had of the rights of each organization and of other organizations that may be similarly situated as the Journeymen Tailors with reference to the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers"; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council was concurred in and, pursuant to such recommendation, a conference of the representatives of the J. T. U. of A. and representatives of the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers, presided over by Vice-President T. A. Rickert, was held on or about the 20th day of January, 1925, at the Morrison Hotel in the city of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, After due deliberation, no agreement was reached between the aforementioned organizations; but the entire subject matter was continued to a future date, thus leaving the jurisdictional lines of the J. T. U. of A. and the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers undetermined; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council, notwithstanding the indecision as to whether certain tailors should belong to the J. T. U. of A. or to so-called Retail Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers, who are workers who have been engaged in the custom tailoring trade, over which the J. T. U. of A. has had jurisdiction since its inception in 1887; and

WHEREAS, These so-called Retail Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers are tailors, employed in the custom tailoring trade doing repairing, pressing, altering or remodeling old clothes, as well as being engaged in new custom tailoring, using our label, and being members of our organization; and

WHEREAS, The issuing of federal

charters by the Executive Council to above described workers is in direct conflict with Article 9, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, as we deem it a direct trespass upon the jurisdiction expressly granted to the J. T. U. of A. when they first became affiliated in 1887 to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record reaffirming its stand on the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report of the El Paso, 1924, convention, viz.:

That no further federal charters be issued to the so-called Retail Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers until such time as final determination and eliminations of the jurisdictional lines of the Journeymen Tailors' Union and Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers is reached, as recommended by the Committee on Executive Council's Report of the El Paso, 1924, convention.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

**Journeymen Tailors' Union Requests
National Woolen Mills Company
Declared Unfair**

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Gust. Soderberg and E. N. Bolander of the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

WHEREAS, The National Woolen Mills Company of Parkersburg, W. Va., through its opposition to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, has made it impossible to re-establish friendly relations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its action at the Atlantic City Convention in 1925 in declaring the National Woolen Mills Company unfair.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**International Ladies Garment Workers'
Union Extends Thanks to Affiliated
Organizations**

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Isidore Nagler of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has encountered during the past year a tremendously difficult financial situation owing to the fact that its sources of revenue had been for a time nearly destroyed by the Communist disruptive element which made this Union the principal object for its attack in this country; and

WHEREAS, during the critical period in the life of this International Union, several of the large organizations in the American Federation of Labor, notably the United Mine Work-

ers of America, the International Association of Machinists, the Federation of Hosiery Workers, and many others, have come to its assistance through generous loans, and have thus made it possible for this International Union to weather the treacherous storm and to embark later on a reconstruction campaign to rebuild and revitalize the forces of the ladies garment workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., act favorably upon the request of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union to convey officially, on the floor of this convention by means of this resolution, the heartfelt thanks of its membership to the above-mentioned international unions for their timely, effective, and generous assistance to the ladies garment workers in the hour of their most critical struggle to save their union, their only bulwark of defense against sweat shop conditions of misery and exploitation, from complete destruction by Communist political adventurers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

International Ladies Garment Workers' Union Extends Thanks for Assistance Received in Struggle with Communists

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Isidore Nagler of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, As a result of a number of specific conditions and causes, including conditions of industry and employment, it has been the misfortune of the workers in the women's garment industry, organized under the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, to have become the special target of a sinister attack by the Communist element in this country, strongly financed and directed by the Communist International of Moscow; and

WHEREAS, This onslaught upon the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union by the Communist union-wrecking element of several big divisions of said organization of which they gained control for a time, resulted in the virtual destruction of these unions during the reign of this Communist regime, and in destitute conditions for forty thousand cloakmakers in New York City when they had plunged into a futile and losing strike for over twenty weeks; and

WHEREAS, In the counter-offensive undertaken by the loyal forces of this International, which resulted in the eliminating of this treacherous and disloyal element from office and influence, it has received the undivided, wholehearted and generous support

from President William Green and Matthew Woll, who acted as the representative of President Green, and from the whole Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., act favorably upon the request of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union to convey officially, on the floor of the convention by means of this resolution, the undying gratitude of the tens of thousands of its members, loyal trade unionists and adherents of the principles and traditions for which the American Labor movement as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor stands, for the unselfish, sincere and highly effective assistance and co-operation given them by President Green and the entire Executive Council in the fight to save their Union from the attack of the union-disruptive Moscow agents; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That now, since the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, after cleaning its house from the Communist pestilence, has undertaken a great drive to repair the damage done by the Communist pilferers, to re-establish union control in the trades under its jurisdiction, and to do other equally constructive trade union work, that it is the sense of this convention that the Executive Council continue to give the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union the same measure of invaluable aid and co-operation which it has given it in the past and which has been so greatly instrumental in checking the spread of Communist disruptive propaganda throughout the American Labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Petitioning the President and Secretary of State to Negotiate a Treaty Between the United States and Mexico in Regard to the Allocation of the Waters of the Colorado River

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate C. T. Francis of the Phoenix, Arizona, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The prosperity and growth of the Colorado River states, namely, Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming, are dependent upon present and increasing use of the waters of the Colorado River for domestic, agricultural, industrial and other beneficial purposes, and the need of many regions of these states for additional

water from that source, already is extremely acute and will become increasingly so; and

WHEREAS, Said river is an international stream between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico with all of the water supplying the same coming from the United States of America, and the United States of Mexico is rapidly extending the irrigated area supplied from said river within her own boundaries, and great storage projects within the United States of America are in existence and in contemplation; and

WHEREAS, said United States of Mexico, although having no strictly legal right to a continuance of the river flow for beneficial purposes, nevertheless may hereafter make some claim thereto; and

WHEREAS, Under acts of Congress of May 13, 1924, and March 3, 1927, a commission of three has been appointed by the President to co-operate with representatives of the United States of Mexico in a study regarding the equitable use of the waters of the Colorado River and other international waters for the purpose of securing information on which to base a treaty relative to international uses,

NOW, THEREFORE, And to the end that no unfortunate misunderstanding may arise between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico, and that no false encouragement may be given to present or future developments along the Colorado River in the United States of Mexico, we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the City of Los Angeles on this 3rd day of October, 1927, do hereby in great earnestness and concern make common petition that a note be dispatched to the government of the United States of Mexico calling attention of that government to the fact that neither it nor its citizens or alien investors have any legal rights as against the United States of America or its citizens to a continuance of the flow of the Colorado River for beneficial purposes and that the United States of Mexico can expect no such continuance except to the extent that as a matter of comity the two governments may declare hereafter by treaty and that especially under no circumstances can the United States of Mexico hope to use water made available through storage works constructed or to be constructed within the United States of America, or hope to found any right upon any use thereof. We believe, too, so great are the water necessities of our states, that any adjustment made with the United States of Mexico concerning the Colorado River, should be based upon that river alone. We further earnestly suggest that a special commission be created by act of Congress for the Colorado River alone, a majority of the commission to be ap-

pointed from citizens of the Colorado River states, or that by act of Congress the present commission already referred to be enlarged to contain two additional members to come from the Colorado River states.

It is only by such precautionary measures, promptly taken, that our seven states with their millions of people can be given a basis of economic certainty, adequate protection, and a feeling of security pending the negotiation of an early treaty between the two governments.

And your memorialists will forever pray.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

States Rights in Colorado River

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate C. T. Francis of the Phoenix, Arizona, Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, It is the settled law of this country that the ownership of and dominion and sovereignty over lands covered by navigable waters within the limits of the several states of the Union belong to the respective states within which they are found, with the consequent right to use or dispose of any portion thereof, when that can be done without substantial impairment of the interests of the public in the waters, and subject always to the paramount right of Congress to control their navigation so far as may be necessary for the regulation of commerce with foreign nations and among the states; and

WHEREAS, It is the settled law of this country that, subject only to the settlement of controversies between them by interstate compact, or decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, the exclusive sovereignty over all of the waters within the limits of the several states belongs to the respective states within which they are found, and that sovereignty over waters constituting the boundary between two states is equal in each of such respective states; and

WHEREAS, It is the sense of the American Federation of Labor that the exercise by the United States Government of the delegated constitutional authority to control navigation for the regulation of interstate and foreign commerce does not confer upon such government the use of waters for any other purpose and does not divest the states of their sovereignty over such waters for any other public purpose that will not interfere with navigation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this conference of the American Federation of Labor and the duly authorized and appointed delegates of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Los Angeles, California, in convention assembled, this 3rd day of October, 1927, that

The rights of the states under such settled law shall be maintained.

The states have a legal right to de-

mand and receive compensation for the use of their lands and waters.

The state or states upon whose land a dam is built by the United States Government, or whose waters are used in connection with a dam built by the United States Government to generate hydro-electric energy, are entitled to the prior right to acquire the hydro-electric energy so generated or to acquire the use of such dam for the generation of hydro-electric energy, upon undertaking to pay to the United States Government the charges that may be made for such hydro-electric energy or for the use of such dam, to amortize the government investment, together with interest thereon, or to agree upon any other method for the use of their waters.

The Senators and Representatives in Congress from, and the state officials of the Colorado River Basin States, should support all legislation that tends to enforce or make effective such rights and oppose all attempts through legislative, judicial or administrative action to nullify, alter or deprecate such rights.

**Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
Electrical Workers vs. Railroad
Signalmen**

Resolution No. 68.—By Delegates James P. Noonan, Chas. M. Paulsen, Edw. J. Evans, Martin T. Joyce, T. C. Vickers and Julia O'Connor Parker.

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen were chartered by the American Federation of Labor with the express provision that their jurisdiction of work should not encroach on that of any other then affiliated organization; and

WHEREAS, Since their admission to the American Federation of Labor they have continuously claimed jurisdiction over all men working in the signal departments of railroads, regardless of the fact that many employees working in the signal departments of the railroads are engaged at electrical work the greater part, if not their entire time; and

WHEREAS, The question of jurisdiction was definitely decided by the El Paso convention in 1924, to the effect that Signalmen or others in the signal departments of railroads that for fifty per cent or more of their time were engaged at work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers should come under the jurisdiction of the Electrical Workers, and such men should not be represented by the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen; and

WHEREAS, Ever since the action of the 1924 convention the Electrical Workers have used every means known to them to have the Signalmen comply with the El Paso decision; and

WHEREAS, The Electrical Workers have brought this refusal of the Signalmen to comply with the decision of the convention to the attention of the Execu-

tive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and they held a hearing on the matter, and, at the request of the Signalmen, ordered another conference held between the officials of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America, to be called by the President of the American Federation of Labor, and presided over by a representative of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This conference was held as ordered, and at this conference the officers of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America definitely and positively refused to agree to settle this matter on the basis of the El Paso decision, and have since that time been solicited by the President of the American Federation of Labor to agree to a settlement on the basis of the El Paso decision, and have persistently refused up to the present time to give any recognition to the decision of the American Federation of Labor, and continue to claim jurisdiction over all electrical workers in the signal departments of railroads, many of whom do work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers all of their working hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention order the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America to transfer to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, or disassociate from their membership, all men who for fifty per cent or more of their time do work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in accordance with the decision of the El Paso convention, within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That, in cases where it is not definitely shown as to whether men claimed by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers are employed fifty per cent or more of their time at work properly coming under their jurisdiction, the case be referred to a tribunal or umpire designated by the President of the American Federation of Labor, and the decision of such tribunal or umpire shall be final; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That, if the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America falls or refuses to comply with this decision within the time specified the charter and membership of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America in the American Federation of Labor shall stand suspended until full compliance with this and the El Paso convention decision can be shown by them; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall accept such members as are properly transferred to them by the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America, on payment of current monthly or quarterly dues, plus the regular charge for insurance benefits, but without charges as initiation fees.

Referred to Committee on Adjustments.

Application to Change Term "Typewriters" in Title of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Unions to "Typists"

Resolution No. 69.—By the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16304, Seattle, Wash.

WHEREAS, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, while probably a technically correct name for those engaged in the general branches of office work, is nevertheless capable of improvement by substituting the word "typist" for the word "typewriter"; and

WHEREAS, The word "typewriter" is ambiguous in that it can properly be applied to either a machine or an individual using such machine; and

WHEREAS, The unnecessary use of this ambiguous word is obnoxious to office employees generally; and

WHEREAS, The word "typist" is much more explicit and definite in designating the operator of a typewriting machine, is acceptable to the highest authorities in the science of words, and much more acceptable and desirable from the standpoint of union office employees; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the names of Federal Unions of office employees, affiliated directly with the Federation, be changed at the earliest date practicable to read "Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union."

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

To Assist Campaign for Eight-Hour Day and Six-Day Week for Oil Workers

Resolution No. 70.—By Delegate H. C. Fremming of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, There are employed in the petroleum industry of the United States approximately 200,000 workers; and

WHEREAS, The State of California is the only part of the industry that operates upon an eight-hour day in all of its divisions; and

WHEREAS, In California, as well as the rest of the nation, workmen are required to work seven days per week; and

WHEREAS, In the other several states where oil is produced and refined other than California, the general basis of employment is upon the time worn 12-hour day, and in many instances workmen required to remain upon the job the entire 24 hours; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its forty-seventh annual convention assembled, that it goes upon record as being definitely opposed to such a condition as stated in these resolutions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Coun-

cil of the American Federation of Labor put forth their best endeavors to assist in bringing about an eight-hour day and a six-day week in the petroleum industry of these United States.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Opposing Navy Department Adopting Central Drafting Office Method for Plans for Ships and Urging Stipulation in All Contracts That Only American Citizens Shall Be Employed Upon Public Works

Resolution No. 71.—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The managements of the privately owned ship yards, have instituted a central drafting office to prepare the plans for the cruisers authorized by the Sixty-ninth Congress; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department has become a party to this arrangement to the extent of agreeing to purchase plans therefrom instead of preparing them at the government yards; and

WHEREAS, The centralizing of drafting work presumes that the final word in the art of shipbuilding has been spoken and that the industry can be organized on a production basis, and tends to discourage originality and professional rivalry in design; and

WHEREAS, Such procedure will further deplete the ranks of the men engaged in the technical branch of shipbuilding, which have for some time been recognized as too thin: in 1921 the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation imported 150 marine draftsmen from Europe; moreover, the spokesmen of the ship yards use the scarcity as an excuse for centralization, increasing the evil they profess to be endeavoring to cure; layoffs having already occurred in both private and Government drafting rooms; and

WHEREAS, This country with its extended coast line and island possessions, with its wealth at home and heavy investments abroad, must at all times be ready to defend itself against foreign aggressions; and

WHEREAS, An adequate navy and merchant marine are means to afford this protection; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the pooling of marine drafting work constitutes an unpatriotic monopoly distinctly to the disadvantage and a menace to the safety of the nation; and be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposed to the central drafting room idea and instruct its President to again take this matter up with the Secretary of the Navy and vigorously prosecute it to a definite conclusion; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all contracts calling for the expenditure of Public Funds shall contain a clause stipulating that only American citizens shall be employed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Contracts of Federal, State and City Governments Should Stipulate Employment of American Citizens

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The shipbuilding industry is slowly being set aside and the building of ships is coming to be a lost art to the American trade unionist; and

WHEREAS, The government has set aside moneys to be used for building up a merchant marine and ships of the navy; and

WHEREAS, After careful investigation we find that in all of the foremost shipbuilding yards, American mechanics and trades unionists are being discriminated against in the interest of low priced and foreign labor; and

WHEREAS, The outlook for the future of the American shipbuilding industry is surely lost unless immediate action to prevent it is taken; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a campaign be started at once with the purpose in view of preventing the further expenditures of public moneys in industrial establishments that are known to discriminate against the American trade unionists and other citizens; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare its purpose to have all contracts calling for the expenditure of public money, be it city, county, state or the federal government, contain a clause stipulating the employment of American citizens to prevent the unjust exploitation and competition of low priced foreign labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Endorsing Welch Salary Increase Bill for Government Employees

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald and Gertrude McNally of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, There has been no increase in the pay of government employees commensurate with the increased price of commodities, and the high cost of living, together with the low purchasing price of the dollar, effect, in reality, a reduction in salaries; and

WHEREAS, There was pending in the Sixty-ninth Congress of the United States a bill known as the Welch Salary Increase Bill, which provided for a revision upward of the rates in the Classification Act of 1923 and carrying a minimum rate of \$1,500 per annum for all adult federal employees who work full time, which bill will be re-introduced in the Seventieth Congress therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the payment of more equitable salaries to employees of the United States government and instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to lend their support toward the accomplishment of this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Declaring for Abolition of and Transfer of Functions of the Personnel Classification Board to the United States Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald and Gertrude McNally of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The principle of collective bargaining has been recognized and accepted by all agencies of the executive branch of the government of the United States except the personnel classification board; and

WHEREAS, The personnel classification board has arbitrarily refused to consider questions involving the pay of groups of employees except on an individual basis; and

WHEREAS, This reactionary attitude of the board is entirely out of harmony with the recognition generally accorded the organized federal employees by the executive of the federal government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor denounce the action of the personnel classification board and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to formally request the President of the United States to take the necessary action to insure the application of the principle of collective bargaining in all federal personnel matters; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor continue its efforts to secure the abolition of the personnel classification board and the transfer of its functions to the United States civil service commission.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Endorsing the Struggle of the Molders, Stove Mounters and Metal Polishers Against the H. Wetter Manufacturing Company, South Pittsburg, Tenn.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates M. J. Keough, William Huplits, Patrick McCarthy and Robert T. McCoy of the International Molders' Union; Frank

Grimshaw of the Stove Mounters' International Union, and W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The H. Wetter Manufacturing Company of South Pittsburg, Tenn., locked out all union molders, polishers and mounters on December 31, 1926; and

WHEREAS, The action of the H. Wetter Company is in line with the attempt of stove manufacturers of the southern states to destroy all unions in the stove industry in the South; and

WHEREAS, The ranks of the union molders, mounters and polishers remain unbroken since being locked out December 31, 1926; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the position of the unions of Molders, Polishers and Mounters in their controversy with the unfair H. Wetter Manufacturing Company and that the matter be given all possible publicity.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Stove Mounters Request Reaffirmation of Action Declaring Estate Stove Company of Hamilton, Ohio, Unfair

Resolution No. 76 — By Delegate Frank Grimshaw of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Estate Stove Company of Hamilton, Ohio, manufacturers of Estate stoves, ranges, furnaces and a parlor heater known as the Estate "Heatrola," continues to operate its mounting department on a non-union basis; and

WHEREAS, The Estate Company is sending out false and misleading statements to the effect that this trouble is settled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its action at the Detroit Convention in 1926, in declaring the Estate Stove Company of Hamilton, Ohio, unfair; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled direct the secretary to give this matter full publicity, by circular to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor immediately after the close of this convention.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

To Support Union Label of the Journeymen Tailors' Union

Resolution No. 77 — By Delegates Gust. Soderberg and C. N. Bolander of the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America has through many years of strenuous effort and sacrifices on the part of its members succeeded in establishing the eight-hour day, abolishing sweat shops, home work and tenement house work in practically every city of the United States and Canada with the exception of New York City, Philadelphia and Baltimore; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America have made continued efforts to organize the Journeymen Tailors of the above named cities without satisfactory results, due mainly to the organized opposition on the part of the merchant tailors in these cities; and

WHEREAS, The merchant tailors of the above named cities through salesmen or agents sell their products in other cities of this country in competition with fair employers and Union labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such methods are not only an imposition on the purchasing public unaware of the conditions under which these products are being made, but unfair to honest employers of Union Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we request the officers of the American Federation of Labor to communicate with officers of State Federations in New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland and also to officers of central bodies in New York City, Philadelphia and Baltimore, with the end that the now existing laws against tenement house and home work be more rigidly enforced; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask members of Organized Labor everywhere to request the Union label of the Journeymen Tailors on custom made clothes wherever possible.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Reaffirming Opposition to Fascist Principles of Government

Resolution No. 78 — By Delegates Gust. Soderberg and C. N. Bolander of the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

WHEREAS, The Italian government, through its semi-official Fascist League of North America, is attempting to establish its autocratic philosophy among Italian-born citizens and Italian aliens who reside in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Fascist philosophy has no place in the American theory of government. It is the kingly theory under another name. The Fascist government has destroyed Italian trade unions, has suppressed free speech, press and assembly, outlawed strikes and endorsed compulsory arbitration. It has made the Italian parliament impotent, and Mussolini boasts his hatred of representative government; and

WHEREAS, The Italian government, through Mussolini, is calling upon Italians in the United States to renounce democratic ideals and pledge allegiance to the autocratic ideal. To assist this propaganda, the Fascists have organized the Fascist League of North America and the Fascist Militia, an armed body. Both the league and the militia have repeatedly avowed their allegiance to Mussolini and his principles; and

WHEREAS, The Fascist League of North America is led by one Count Ignazio Thaon di Revel, who has publicly proclaimed that he will never become a citizen of the United States, although he has lived here five years, and who for that period has carried out the Mussolini policy in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Count Revel is now in Rome to receive instructions as to the best methods to extend the vicious Fascist propaganda in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor re-affirm its opposition to Fascism and call the attention of the proper government officials to the work and purposes of the Fascist League of North America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Disapproving Contract System of Employment of Municipal Governments Which Fails to Pay a Living Wage to Employees

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates John F. McNamara, C. L. Shamp and Jos. W. Morton.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its Thirty-fifth Annual Convention, held in the city of San Francisco in November, 1915, approved the resolution introduced by the delegate from the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers which had for its purpose the abolition of the contract system at that time in force by the Board of Education in the city of Chicago, Ill.; the aforesaid system deprived the firemen, the janitors and janitresses employed under the contract system of receiving the prevailing rate of wages at that time in force in the various branches of the municipality of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, After a persistent fight covering a period of fifteen years the above named organization has succeeded in the complete abolition of the contract system, which was known as the "Square Foot Contract System," which had for its purpose a low wage; and

WHEREAS, Over four thousand employees of the Board of Education who are now members of respective unions are now employed directly by the aforesaid Board of Education and receive the prevailing rate of wages, the same as all

other branches of the municipality; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., Oct. 4, reaffirms its former declaration of the 1915 convention, namely, that we disapprove any municipality, county or state adopting any contract system of employment which fails to observe a fair and living wage for its employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring National and International Unions Establishing Funds for the Support of a Chain of Broadcasting Radio Stations Operated by Organized Labor

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates George L. Berry and Clayton A. Pense of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union.

WHEREAS, WCFL, the "Voice of Labor," owned, controlled and operated by organized labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, on a wave length of 483.5 meters, or 620 kilocycles, by authority of the Federal Radio Commission, and located on the municipal pier at Chicago, one mile out in Lake Michigan, where the deep waterway to the Gulf begins, has demonstrated by two years' experience that radio transmission is one of the most potential and scientific, useful, helpful inventions ever discovered, is controlled and being fast monopolized by capital and vested interests, in addition and supplementary through the control of industrial product and distribution by mass production and mass distribution;

WHEREAS, by censorship, as permitted by law and so construed by the Federal Radio Commission, big interests are able to control free air and use it for their own interests to the exclusion of the rights and interests of organized labor and others, and by this action will prevent organized labor from transmitting over the air its rights, interest and action during a crisis, real or created, by this wonderful means of transmission, such as radio telephoning, radio telegraphing, transmission of power, education, moving pictures, entertainments, political action, economics, trade union matters, or other events and things that make for a richer and a better life for labor, or any information affecting labor, its program and its activity, and for carrying to the public its side in any great controversy or question that may arise in any emergency;

WHEREAS, It is essential that the labor movement of our country should in the interests of self-protection guard the rights of the union by the use of free air, uncensored and at all times. Moreover, it is necessary that the labor movement should, and it must, protect the

rights to the use of free air as zealously as we have the rights of free speech and a free press;

WHEREAS, The establishment of radio broadcasting stations throughout the country to be owned, controlled and operated by organized labor is necessary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, October 3, 1927, recommend to all national and international unions that in their forthcoming conventions, or in such other way as its laws and customs will permit, the establishment of a radio fund maintained by 25 cents per member per quarter for this purpose, and that said fund remain the property of the national and international unions creating it, and to be by them expended in maintaining a chain of broadcasting radio stations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is, hereby authorized to make or cause to be made, and in its own way and time, an investigation of the subject matter of this preamble and resolution, and submit its findings and report to the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WCFL Radio Magazine

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Anton Johannsen of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has caused to be published the WCFL Radio Magazine, issued quarterly, beginning with October, 1927, containing the official list of radio broadcast stations, the co-operative farmer-labor radio activities, and published for radio information exclusively in the interest and of the Co-operative Farmer-Labor Listeners' Association; single copies, 35 cents; yearly subscriptions, \$1.25, including Annual Membership Card in the Listeners' Association; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in Forty-seventh Annual Convention assembled, commend this publication, the only one of its kind, for subscription to all those interested in radio.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Amendment to Constitution Providing That Members Under Sixteen Years of Age of Directly Affiliated Unions Shall Pay Five Cents Per Month Tax

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Ely Caston of the Newsboys' Union No. 15834 of Seattle, Wash.

WHEREAS, At the 1926 convention held at Detroit the convention changed the constitution (Article X, Revenue), leaving out "Local unions, the majority

of whose members are less than 18 years of age, five cents per member per month," and

WHEREAS, This clause affects Seattle Newsboys' Union, Local No. 15834, making it impossible for us to function if we must pay 35 cents per member per month per capita tax, as a majority of our members are under 16 years of age and their earning power is small, and they cannot pay over 50 cents per month in dues; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution, Article X, Revenue, Section 1, of the American Federation of Labor, be amended as follows: Inserting the words "Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than 16 years of age, five cents per member per month—" after the words "strike or lockout."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Flint Glass Workers vs. Machinists

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates William P. Clarke and Gus Weltz of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The long standing controversy over the making of all moulds to be used for moulding glass wares still exists, due to the International Association of Machinists failing to observe the numerous decisions of the American Federation of Labor on this dispute; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to review the record as published in the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor from 1912 to 1921 and that they endeavor to prevail upon the officers and members of the International Association of Machinists to conform thereto.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Request That International Unions Assign Organizers for Special Organizing Campaign of United Textile Workers

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Thos. F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Southern Textile Workers and others are now ready for organization; and

WHEREAS, We believe that to be successful in bringing trade unionism to these Southern Workers it is necessary for the Executive Council and officers of the American Federation of Labor to formulate the plans of campaign, if in their opinion they believe as we do that the time is at hand to start; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this forty-seventh annual convention request that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at their earliest opportunity notify the International and National unions to place under the disposition of whomsoever the Executive

Council designates as the representative of the American Federation of Labor to carry out the plan formulated by them at least one organizer for an indefinite period to assist in organizing the unorganized workers of the South, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International or National unions so requested to send a representative to the South be responsible for the expense incurred by said representative or representatives.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing That Post Office Department Establish a New System of Accounting, Discontinuing Charging Public Welfare Work of the Department Against Postal Revenues

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Chas. Englehardt, E. L. Chapman, Frank Willis, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The United States Post Office Department has never segregated, in its annual reports to Congress, the cost of varied services of a public welfare nature which are not properly chargeable to postal service operating costs; and

WHEREAS, In the aggregate the cost of these public welfare services now exceed one hundred million dollars annually, causing a nominal postal deficit, which creates the widespread erroneous impression that the postal service is being operated at a loss; and

WHEREAS, Under a system of accurate accounting, whereby the Post Office Department would be given proper credit for the vast amount of public welfare services it now renders for nothing, or practically nothing, the postal system would show an imposing surplus and thus would be reflected in the public mind in its true light, as a wonderfully efficient and highly profitable public business institution; and

WHEREAS, The existence of this alleged postal deficit, due entirely to the inequitable methods of fiscal accounting, reacts against the public in retarding the introduction of timely service improvements; against the employees in delaying wage revisions, and employment betterments; and against postal patrons in preventing readjustments in postage rates, which in some instances should be revised downward; and

WHEREAS, It is opportune, in the interest of the postal service and the public, that the Congress of the United States now declare a definite postal policy, to the effect that the postal service be hereafter considered an institution for service and not for profit; and that a new system of accounting be established in the Post Office Department, under which the public welfare work of said department shall be no longer charged against postal revenues; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, reaffirming its repeated pronouncements that the postal service should be operated for service and not for profit, hereby records itself in favor of legislation, sponsored in the Sixty-ninth Congress by Representative Clyde Kelly, to have the Congress declare a definite postal policy to such effect; and the Executive Council is hereby instructed to co-operate with the affiliated postal organizations in aid of the enactment of this proposed legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Authorizing Provision for Regional Directors for Workers' Education Bureau

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates John E. Gross, Colorado State Federation of Labor, and Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at previous conventions has given its whole-hearted approval of workers' education and of the program of the Workers' Education Bureau; and

WHEREAS, Further experience offers convincing evidence of the value to the workers and their movement for emancipation from low wages, untoward working conditions and long hours of labor, of that knowledge to be secured by the formation of workers' study classes and labor institutes; and

WHEREAS, Such a movement to be wholly successful requires the services of regional or state directors, men or women who are qualified both from the standpoint of acquaintanceship with the real problems of the worker and with the unions of workers and their programs; and

WHEREAS, In most instances city and state central labor bodies, being voluntary associations of delegates representing affiliated local unions, are without the power to assess their affiliates to carry on this very important work of education; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this work can best be conducted with regard to the proper selection of such regional or state educational directors by some central agency, whether that agency be the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or the Workers' Educa-

tion Bureau acting under and with its authority and with the approval and support of the various national and international unions comprising the American Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the forty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1927, that we again voice our approval of workers' education and authorize the President of the American Federation of Labor, in conference with the Workers' Education Bureau, to devise ways and means by which State and Regional Directors may be selected; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give careful consideration to the raising of any additional funds made necessary by this designation of Educational Directors, such directors to be financed only for localities or states where it is impractical for any reason for the state or locality to finance such undertaking; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That any regional or State Director so chosen shall be qualified to interpret the principles of our recognized labor movement as well as qualified from an educational standpoint, shall become members of the American Federation of Teachers and maintain such membership while employed in that capacity, and shall be designated as Volunteer Organizers of the American Federation of Labor—to receive such stipend as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor may determine.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Organized Labor Should Be Properly Represented on Administrative and Advisory Boards Directing Vocational Educational Programs

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always advocated adequate provision under public control for the education and training of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was largely instrumental in the initiation of publicly-controlled programs of Vocational Education; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has continued to support and to cooperate in the development of such programs; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always stood for the maintenance of the standards of the trade and for the proper selection and further training of those preparing to enter the trade, as well as for the widest opportunity for those already employed, to secure additional education and training at public expense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses such programs

of vocational education wherever such programs are so organized and conducted that organized labor is properly represented on national, state and local administrative and advisory boards directing such educational programs.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Urging Organizations to Deposit Records of Trade Union History at A. F. of L. Headquarters for Availability to Students and Authors

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, It is important that histories, text books and other literature which have a formative influence on national life be written so as to give due weight to economic, industrial and labor developments, as well as political events, and that the panorama of history be so presented as to give a true picture of social development; and

WHEREAS, Adequate records of trade union history are essential to furnish material for this literature; and

WHEREAS, Numbers of valuable union records are now unavailable to students and authors because they are scattered among innumerable local and international unions, city central and state bodies, and private individuals, where their existence is known only to a few; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Education be authorized to provide for the safekeeping of these records in American Federation of Labor headquarters and to urge all unions and individuals to send to this central repository their records of union developments, whether in the form of letters, clippings from periodicals, publications of their unions, literature for distribution, etc.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Education be directed to maintain its work of examining text books for use in the public schools and conferring with authors so that it may further a fair and fully-rounded presentation of social, economic and political history; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Workers' Education Bureau be requested to arrange for the compilation of histories of the different trade unions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

A. F. of L. to Initiate Effort to Have More Adequate Appropriations Allotted to the Bureaus of the Department of Labor

Resolution No. 89 — By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry Schmal of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, There are in the executive branch of the federal government three service agencies for the purpose of developing and promoting special fields which are basic in national growth and progress,

These departments must plan their service activities within the limits of appropriations provided for them by the Congress of the United States and it is needful that those who benefit by the service shall endeavor to persuade Congress and the Budget Bureau to make funds available for constructive work.

There exists a decided inequity in the funds allotted to the Department of Labor as compared with the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. For the year 1927 there were appropriated for the respective departments: Labor, \$9,561,305.00; Commerce, \$30,632,847.00; Agriculture, \$139,635,823.00; for 1928, Labor \$8,558,540.00; Commerce, \$35,240,430.00; Agriculture, \$144,487,820.00.

The difference unfavorable to Labor is clearly shown by reducing the appropriations to a percentage basis. Of the total amount appropriated for the three departments, Labor got in 1927, 5.3%; Commerce 17.1%; Agriculture, 77.6%. In 1928 Labor will get 4.5%; Commerce 18.7%; Agriculture 76.7%.

Obviously there has been a definite policy of discrimination against the Department of Labor, which is contrary to the best national development. Wage earners need facts and information in order to plan policies and make their decisions wisely. They need more service from the Department of Labor, especially from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Conciliation Division, the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau. If these bureaus give more service they must have more adequate appropriations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the President of the American Federation of Labor to initiate sustained efforts to have more adequate appropriations allotted to the bureaus of the Department of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Executive Council to Consider Rehabilitation Plans for Mississippi Flood Sufferers for Labor's Support

Resolution No. 90—By Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The worst flood disaster within human experience has brought loss and suffering to thousands in the Mississippi Valley, and this disaster causes deep concern to labor and to

all interested in human and national welfare; and

WHEREAS, This concern can express itself most constructively in measures for rehabilitation of homes, financial assistance to those who suffered losses and in effective measures to prevent similar disasters; and

WHEREAS, The determination of plans and policies to accomplish these ends must wait upon the reports of experts and surveys; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to consider this problem, reports and proposed plan, and to determine upon a course that will give labor's support to proposals that will most effectively furnish control over flood waters and constructive help to the Mississippi flood sufferers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Co-operation With Farmers

Resolution No. 91—By Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The far reaching economic changes that have reconstructed industrial and economic life, are reflected in agricultural methods and organization; and

WHEREAS, Farmers as individuals have not been generally able to make the necessary plans and adjustments that would enable them to fit into present day developments and enterprises with the best profit to themselves and to society; and

WHEREAS, Methods and channels must be developed to put farmers in control of the means to enable them to keep pace with the progress of modern civilization and to share in its improvements and benefits; and

WHEREAS, General progress is retarded when any one group is in financial and economic straits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to consider the farmers' problems and to take such counsel as may be necessary in order to cooperate with farmers' organizations in finding constructive plans and policies and in putting these into effect.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organizations Should Obtain Information From the President of the American Federation of Labor Before Responding to Requests for Contributions From Other Than Affiliated Organizations

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal of the Photo-Engravers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The number of requests for financial aid made to union organiza-

tions increases in proportion as the labor movement grows in importance and substantial service; and

WHEREAS, it is difficult for individual organizations to keep informed upon all the agencies that make requests; and

WHEREAS, Union funds should be contributed only to organizations and causes that are worthy and make proper accounting of funds; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That before moneys are appropriated to other than union organizations listed in the official directory of the A. F. of L., that information with regard to the organization making the request and the purpose for which the money is to be used be sought and obtained from the President of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Condemning Secession Movement
Among Iron Workers on the
Pacific Coast**

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, John O'Brien and George McTague, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, During the past two years there has been a secessionist outlaw movement among the Iron Workers, especially on the Pacific Coast, where dual outlaw groups of iron workers have been formed for the sole purpose of destroying the bona fide local unions of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, which movement is being fostered and promoted by the enemies of our organization, and against all building trades craftsmen and organized labor in general; and

WHEREAS, Strenuous efforts are being made to further this dual outlaw movement and to extend its activities to other building trades organizations by the leaders of this dual outlaw movement, which are aided by the arch-enemies of organized labor and the advocates of the open shop; and

WHEREAS, Many members of our organization are being misled into this dual secessionist movement by the false propaganda and promises of these union destroyers, representing to them that they will be later recognized by the other building trades organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn this outlaw secessionist movement and call upon all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions and Building Trades Councils, especially on the Pacific Coast, and also upon all International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to do everything within their power and to render all possible assistance to the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron

Workers and all other building trades affected by this secessionist movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Protest Against Seattle Labor Temple
Association Housing Dual Group
of Iron Workers**

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, John O'Brien and George McTague of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, The Seattle Labor Temple Association is at present, and has been for over the past two years, renting offices and a meeting hall to a dual outlaw group of Iron Workers, to the detriment of the bona fide local Union No. 86 of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, and to all organized labor in general; and

WHEREAS, All efforts on the part of our organization to have this outlaw group of secessionists expelled from the Labor Temple have been ignored, as well as similar requests from the officials of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department have not been complied with; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor severely condemns this attitude and policy of the Seattle Labor Temple Association, and that they instruct them to at once cease housing and harboring this dual outlaw secessionist group of Iron Workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure on the part of the Seattle Labor Temple Association to immediately comply with these instructions to have this outlaw group of Iron Workers removed from the Labor Temple at once, that all International Unions be requested to instruct their local unions in Seattle to immediately remove their offices and meetings from the Seattle Labor Temple until these instructions are complied with and the outlaw Iron Workers removed from holding meetings or occupying office space in the Seattle Labor Temple, and that the Building Trades Council and Central Labor Union of that city be requested by this Convention to take similar action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Abuse of Artists' Clause of the
Immigration Act**

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Jos. N. Weber, Chauncey A. Weaver, Edward Canavan, John W. Parks, Charles L. Bagley, William J. Kerngood of the American Federation of Musicians.

WHEREAS, Under the present definition of the artist clause of the immigration act, many emigrants are now

admitted without being subjected to the quota; and

WHEREAS, The government issued permits to such emigrants, permitting them to remain in the United States for a period of six months; and

WHEREAS, These permits are generally renewed, enabling the holders thereof to remain in the United States indefinitely; and

WHEREAS, This policy has led and now leads to the loss of employment opportunities of American workers, as was and is the case with musicians in Chicago, New York, Washington and other cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor are hereby requested to call a conference of national and international organizations interested, for the purpose of bringing to the attention of Congress the abuse in the defining of the artists' clause of the immigration act and in having Congress amend the said clause so as to make its future application and interpretation more just to American workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Investigation by Department of Labor Into Economic Conditions and Their Relation to Social and Industrial Problems

Resolution No. 96—By the International Typographical Union delegation.

WHEREAS, We believe authoritative information should be available at all times to deal with social, economic and industrial problems which confront our people and which they are endeavoring to solve by legislation and otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor call upon the Congress of the United States of America to provide ways and means and direct the Department of Labor to make full and satisfactory investigation of the following questions:

1. Do abnormally high retail prices adversely affect the working people by unnaturally reducing the demand for necessary products?

2. What effect has faulty distribution on opportunity for employment?

3. Would it be possible to so regulate production and consumption within the United States that it would be unnecessary to export competitive products in such quantity as to adversely affect wage levels in other countries?

4. In what way can displaced labor be quickly reabsorbed into industry where the displacement results from

use of machinery which increases the output of the individual?

5. Would it be possible to reduce hours of labor, thereby balancing production and consumption to such an extent that the supply would equal the demand without creation of a surplus which eventually becomes detrimental to both capital and labor?

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Old-Age Pension

Resolution No. 97—By International Typographical Union delegation.

WHEREAS, We believe it is becoming more generally accepted that public charities are a travesty upon present-day civilization in the United States, and that the expense of maintaining such public institutions as county homes, poor houses, etc., is becoming an enormous burden upon counties and states without affording the relief originally intended when the system of establishing and maintaining such institutions was inaugurated; and

WHEREAS, Reports based upon public and private surveys have established that liberal pensions could be paid for lesser cost than the expense in connection with the maintenance of such institutions; and

WHEREAS, The seventy-second annual convention of the International Typographical Union unanimously instructed its delegates to the American Federation of Labor to introduce and support the proposal to pay old age pensions to veterans of industry to the end that aged and incapacitated men and women who have contributed their lives to producing for the nation shall not become objects of charity, but that they shall be supported during their non-productive period by industry to which they have made contribution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs its Executive Council to have prepared the draft of a general bill for adoption in the several states, the purpose of which shall be to establish uniform old age pension laws to replace county homes, poor houses, county farms and like institutions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That State Federations of Labor, city Central Bodies and local unions be directed and urged to use their energy and influence to have old age pension laws patterned after the general bill adopted at the earliest possible time.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

At 4:30 o'clock p. m., the rules were suspended and the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday, October 5.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

SESSION

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Belair, Tracy (Wm.), Perkins, Schulte, Coulter, Gilboy, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Baer, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney (T. J.), Brock, Gainer, Duffy (C. D.), Askew, Bock, Ryan (J. P.), Kelly (M. J.), Kennedy, Nesbit, Golden, Cappellini, Hughes (Frank), Lewis (G. W.), Weaver, Fremming, Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Wilson (James), Hannah, Peterson (F. A.), Coefield, Rau, McQuade, Berry, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Suitor, Strickland, Grimshaw, Cashen, Perry, Johnson (R. H.), Spencer, Atkins, Johnson (E. A.), Brande, Stroud, Studdard, Fox, Kosta, Buckland, Martel, Barnes, Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, Augustino, Rice, Contner, Brady (P. J.), Draper, Wickert, Crowell, Bower, Tosh, Reagan, Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Dean, Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller, Ruben, Graham, Campbell (A. C.).

President Green: The Chair desires to plead guilty this morning to a sin of omission. My intention yesterday was to have my good friend, Brother Tighe, president of the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, to serve on the reception committee to escort Secretary of Labor Davis to the convention, but, in the press of business, I overlooked it. I am going to have the records show, however, that Brother Tighe was a member of the reception committee, and this will appear in the minutes of today.

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from the president of the Chamber of Commerce of Columbus, Ohio, urging the Federation to come to Columbus for its convention in 1931.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gibbs, chairman of the committee, presented the following report:

The following credentials have been examined by your committee and we recommend that the delegates be seated:

As third delegate to represent the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen—W. E. Raynes, 26 votes.

Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Wash.—Ely Caston, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union 17662—Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—William McGuern, 1 vote.

San Bernardino, Cal., Central Labor Council—C. O. Whitlock, 1 vote.

Chairman Gibbs moved the adoption of the report of the committee and the seating of the delegates. The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: In conformity with the announcement I made yesterday, we will hear the addresses of our visiting brothers, the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We have maintained fraternal relations with unbroken regularity with the British Trades Union Congress for many, many years, and we are very happy to have the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress practically directly associated with us. It was one of the most gratifying achievements and accomplishments of my distinguished predecessor, President Gompers, and the leaders of the British Trades Union Congress to establish a relationship between the great labor movements of the English speaking world. We have sent our delegates to Great Britain each year and in return our fellow trade unionists in Great Britain have sent their representatives here. All of this has tended to promote understanding, solidarity, good will, fraternity and brotherhood.

We have with us this morning two outstanding trade unionists from the British Trade Union Congress. They are coming here with a message of very great interest and I am sure that it will be instructive and inspiring. They traveled across the Atlantic Ocean and from New York to Los Angeles to bring to the trade unionists of America this message of fraternal greeting.

The first delegate to be introduced to you will be Brother Arthur Pugh, J. P., vice-president of the British Trade Union Congress, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Federation, president of the Workers' Educational Association and the Workers' Educational Trades Union Committee. You can see by this explanation I have made that Brother Pugh has had a wide experience in the work of the trade union movement of Great Britain. Out of that ripened experience he will bring to us a message of cheer, fraternity and brotherhood. It affords me very great pleasure to present our fellow trade unionist, Brother Arthur Pugh.

ADDRESS BY MR. ARTHUR PUGH
(Fraternal Delegate from the British
Trades Union Congress)

In addressing the convention Mr. Pugh said, in part, as follows:

For a period of 33 years it has been the custom for elected representatives of our Congress to attend the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and for representatives of your Federation to appear at the British Trades Union Congress. It is a great pleasure to me to have this privilege along with my colleague, on this occasion.

Chief among those from your Federation who have visited our shores during that period was your late President, Mr. Sam Gompers, who first attended our Congress at Cardiff in 1895, a man who in this country was venerated by the Movement to which his life was devoted, and who also commanded the respect and admiration of our British Movement which, perhaps, next to your own, was best able to understand and appreciate his sterling qualities. From the statement made by yourself, sir, at the opening of this convention we are able to gauge the quality of his successor and so congratulate the Federation upon the excellence of its choice.

The wish of your late President at our 1895 Conference, that the two Movements would work hand-in-hand towards the accomplishment of Labor ideals, has at least been acted upon in the sense that the bond of sympathy and understanding has developed between our two Movements to a greater extent, probably, than between the Trade Union Movements of any other two countries; but we have both had to adapt our methods and shape our policies according to the special circumstances in which we have been placed, and the conditions with which we have to deal.

On our side, British Trade Unionism, having after a century of struggle attained the right of collective action and expression in the sphere of industry, and the power of political franchise—utilized what it had gained to enable the workers through trade union organization to limit the autocracy of capital in deciding the terms and conditions under which Labor shall be applied to the means and machinery of wealth production and distribution. In order to give practical effect to this, joint machinery of negotiation and collective bargaining has become an established condition of British industry. In that respect it may be said that British trade unionism has a record which has fully justified its policy.

In the political sphere, our political institutions and traditions along with the hard realities of our social life, necessitated the growth of an organization of a character independent of the orthodox political parties who for over a century had in turn dominated the legislative machine, and checked the efforts of the organized workers to secure that Parliament should express in practical legislative measures, the human aspirations of the laboring masses of our country, as against the preferential claims of property and privilege. This led to the formation of a Political Labor Movement to assert the rights of Labor to a definite and direct participation in every form of local and national government and administration.

At the same time, in the social sphere of development British Trade Unionism accepted as part of its historic task, the general raising of the standard and status of working-class life.

The problem that now confronts us, however, lies in the fact that, while we have established the broad basis of a political democracy in Great Britain, we are still a long way off from realizing an economic democracy, and our troubles—as in other politically advanced countries—are combined with the fact that a political democracy and an economic autocracy are incompatible, and that the effort to run a system on such lines involves inevitable waste and friction. More than ever it is borne upon us that political power alone is not sufficient, but that parallel with our development in the political field, we must attain greater power in the economic sphere, and for that purpose must evolve a constructive economic policy that will recognize problems that are both national and international in character, some of which as a result of the world war of 1914 onwards, have evolved much earlier than might otherwise have been the case.

As concerns the British Labor Movement, we are undoubtedly passing through a period of reaction. The

acute depression in the great metal, textile, engineering and shipbuilding industries of the past six years, culminating in the events of last year and arising from the conditions and relationships in the mining industry, has produced a situation for our Movement without parallel in its history. The real nature of the situation is probably not apparent to outside observers, and is perhaps not fully comprehended even inside the organized Movement itself. It has coincided with the development of an acute and widespread crisis in the economic life of Britain, but it is primarily the difficulties in the mining industry that have involved the British Trade Unions in perplexities and entanglements which have subjected the workers' organization to abnormal strain, and in the conflict of last year compelled the unions to pursue a path not of their own seeking.

For generations past the mining industry has, in combination with our iron resources, been literally the foundation of British national economy. It is next to agriculture the largest of our industries, taking the scope of its operations, the number of workers employed, the value of its product and the amount of capital invested, as a measure of its importance. Upon coal and iron we have built up our whole industrial system, not only our productive enterprises, but our export trade, our shipping and our financial institutions. British prosperity has rested in a very large degree upon our ability to find a market abroad for the vast quantity of raw coal produced in our coal fields surplus to the requirements of our own industry and population, and the manufactured products which our coal resources enabled us to develop.

And when the future of the British mining industry as an industry organized for the extraction and sale of raw coal was compromised by the development of other sources of supply and the adoption of new forms of power, oil and hydro-electric power especially, the entire economic outlook of the country was necessarily changed. It is not too much to say that the failure of the mining industry to adapt itself to the new post-war conditions has been one of the chief causes of the economic troubles which brought the trade unions into the conflict of 1926, and has produced a situation potent with grave complications during the next few years.

Many people believe, or profess to believe, that the national strike of last year was the outcome of a revolutionary spirit in the British trade unions. It is an entirely mistaken view. The fundamental cause of the upheaval last year was the state of affairs in the mining industry. Had we been able to overcome the prejudices, the stupidities and vested interests which stood in the way of such a reorganization of the coal industry as would enable the miners' standard of life to be preserved and the balance of prosperity restored, the whole situation

would have been entirely different. But as events actually developed, what should have proved a solution of the mining problem became in fact a stumbling block in the path.

By common consent the report of the Coal Commission offered a practicable solution of the mining difficulties. But it was wrongly handled. The recommendations of the commission were sound and statesmanlike, but they called for a common effort and a common sacrifice, and unfortunately in the negotiations which followed the production of the report, the sacrifice demanded from the miners was isolated, emphasized and thrust into the foreground, and the responsibilities and obligations of other parties were forgotten.

It seemed to be the object of the ministers who had charge of the negotiations to wring from the miners' representatives an undertaking that they would accept the Coal Commission's recommendations concerning wage reductions in the coal fields before any real attempt had been made to give effect to the schemes for a reorganization of the industry on the lines provided in the report, or any clear understanding as to the fulfilment of its primary conditions as a preliminary to whatever sacrifices were necessary during the period of adjustment. This, despite the very definite principle laid down by the Royal Commission that "before any sacrifices are asked from those engaged in the industry, it shall be definitely agreed between them that all practicable means for improving its organization and increasing its efficiency shall be adopted as the circumstances in each case will allow."

The deadlock that arose was one that in my view could and ought to have been avoided. What the Coal Commission said in effect was, that the mining industry was suffering because the former customers who bought British coal were impoverished and because there had been an enormous development in the use of substitute fuels. It pointed out that the product of the industry was used wastefully and unscientifically. It urged that the industry could be reorganized by the amalgamation of existing undertakings, the elimination of small-scale production, the co-ordination of mining with the other coal using industries, and the development of methods of pre-treatment of coal. The way to prosperity, said the report, lay along three lines of advance; through the application of more scientific methods in the winning and using of coal, through larger units of production and distribution, and through fuller partnership of employers and employed.

The report of the Royal Commission set up in 1925 was a confirmation of conclusions arrived at by previous inquiries as to the unorganized and economically wasteful methods under which the industry was conducted, and recommendations which, while they looked for co-operation on the part of the miners and some sacrifice from the more highly

paid men during the period of transition, were to a very substantial degree favorable to the men's side of the case.

The subsequent blunders in handling the situation by the government, which brought them ostensibly behind the mine owners in their policy, provoked a crisis despite the strenuous efforts of the general council of the T. U. C. to avoid it, and find a means of settlement, and the unions decided that if the miners were locked out on the mine owners' proposals, that the movement should stand behind the men in opposition to a form of settlement dictated by the mine owners on the basis of longer hours and reduced wages. A condition of this support, however, was, that the dispute must no longer be regarded as one affecting the miners alone, but one to be placed in the hands of the general council of the Trade Union Congress to conduct as representing the whole movement.

The effort at settlement failed; the lock-out notices took effect and the unions in railways, transport and the chief productive industries, called a stoppage which was responded to by nearly 100 per cent of the unions' membership. The fundamental purpose of the unions in thus standing behind the miners was to resist a dictated settlement on the coal owners' terms and to secure an equitable adjustment of the dispute on the basis of the report and recommendations of the Coal Commission. When, therefore, the general council of the T. U. C. had evolved an attainable scheme of settlement which they regarded as one that faced up to the facts of the position and gave due protection to the miners on the basis of the report, and this was refused, the general council promptly terminated the national stoppage and the miners continued their dispute with consequences as disastrous as their outlook was deficient in failing to recognize that they had missed an opportunity greater than any organized body of men ever had or are likely to have again in similar circumstances, for taking a definite part in the progressive organization of their industry and securing their present and future interests.

The policy which the unions had pursued right up to the moment when the national strike started was in line with the traditional action of the trade union movement in such circumstances; that is to say, we sought a settlement by consent, and resisted a dictated settlement.

There was nothing in the nature of a conspiracy to overthrow constitutional government or to subvert established political institutions, or to dictate terms to the country, or to substitute the authority of the T. U. C. for that of Parliament. All that has been said on these lines in condemnation of the British unions is part of the propaganda we had to meet whilst the struggle was in progress. It is part of the case which the government and the coal owners put forward to

justify themselves at the bar of public opinion for the role they played in the mining dispute.

I have thought it necessary to emphasize these aspects of the events of last year, because they explain why the government has been able to legislate against the trade unions in a way that no other government in Great Britain has presumed to do for a hundred years.

The act passed this year is the only example of **repressive** legislation which the trade union movement has known since the repeal of the combination laws in the first quarter of the last century. Legislation of a restrictive character has not seriously limited the action of the trade unions since they were legalized in 1824-25, or forced them to move in any pre-ordained path. Until this Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1927, the unions developed practically without interference from the government.

Earlier legislation was not in fact of a repressive character, but, rather, took the form of acts which sought to define the powers and legal rights of the unions. The unions have grown up inside the state, but in a very definite sense outside the law. Parliament has taken cognizance of them only to the extent of remedying admitted grievances in regard to the protection of their funds and the immunity of their officers, and in respect of their action in trade disputes and their intervention in political affairs. The series of acts which were put on the statute book between 1871 and 1876, constituting the legal charter of trade unionism in Britain, along with the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 and the Trade Union Act of 1913, did nothing to restrict the powers of the unions or to illegalize any of their functions; on the contrary, in some respects these acts added to the recognized powers and legal rights of the unions.

Thus the Trade Disputes Act of 1906, which undid the mischief caused by the decision of the courts in the *Taff Vale* case, enlarged the rights of the unions in industrial disputes; whilst the Trade Union Act, 1913, in like manner reversed the legal decision in the *Osborne* case and defined the legal rights of the unions with respect to political action and the use of union funds for political purposes.

A review of the legislation affecting the unions from 1825 to 1913 shows that Parliament has regarded the unions as possessing the status of voluntary unincorporated bodies, and has only interfered to alter the status as the growth of the unions and the extension of their influence and authority revealed anomalies, injustices and grievances which legislation alone could remove.

The 1927 act stands in a totally different category. It marks a reversion to the reactionary and discredited pol-

icy of the governments which produced the combination laws. Its purpose is definitely hostile to trade unionism. The act is aimed at the fundamental principle of working class organization, and is intended to restrict the scope of trade union action in specific ways.

The ostensible purpose of the act is to protect the community against alleged abuse of power by the trade unions. Nobody can study the record of the discussion, however, without realizing that the act invades the sphere of trade union action in unprecedented ways. Broadly, it makes illegal any stoppage of work which may be held by a court of law to have any other object than the furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workers within the trade or industry in which the stoppage occurs, if the stoppage can be held to be designed or calculated to coerce the government either directly or by inflicting hardship upon the community.

The avowed object of the government in framing this provision of the act is to illegalize anything in the nature of a strike having a political object, or a strike that is not confined in intention and effect to the furtherance of a dispute with employers. It is to give an appearance of validity to this distinction between "political" strikes and strikes which have a legitimate industrial object that the events of last year were misrepresented, as I have tried to show, as an attack upon the authority of the government and a challenge to parliamentary institutions.

Thus the new act rests upon a demonstrably false proposition. It is a barrier against an imaginary peril. But it is in fact and, as I believe, in intention, designed as a barrier to the further development of the organized power of the workers of Britain, both in the political and the industrial sphere. That can be proved from the text of the act itself. If it was intended only to illegalize a general strike, as its authors professed to desire, it would have been a different measure altogether. It would not, as it does, seek to proscribe the sympathetic action of unions in support of workers involved in a trade dispute; it would not have offered to individual workers the encouragement and incitement it actually gives to be disloyal to their unions and to "scab" on their fellow workers; it would not have restricted the right of the unions to picket in industrial disputes and to use lawful means of persuasion to prevent a strike being broken by disloyal unionists or non-unionists. It would not have stretched the definition of "intimidation, molestation and obstruction" to such fantastic extremes that it becomes impossible for a union picket to approach a strike-breaking workman unless that workman is willing to be picketed. It would not have

interfered with the political fund arrangements of the unions and thus have introduced an entirely new principle, which enables an objecting minority to nullify a majority decision arrived at by democratic procedure. It would not have denied to the workers in government employment the full rights of citizenship, including the right to associate with their fellow workers outside the state services by the affiliation of their unions to the Trades Union Congress and the labor party. It would not have placed in the hands of a party politician, the attorney general, the power to go to the courts and demand an injunction against any union or group of unions to restrain them from acting in defense of their members' interests in any strike which the government may choose to consider an illegal strike within the meaning of the act. It would not have given to the judges the power to decide on their sole discretion whether any action of a sympathetic character which a union or group of unions may take in furtherance of a trade dispute in which their members are not directly concerned as employees of the employers who are in dispute is a criminal offense. But the act does much more than that. It actually lays it down that a worker who refuses to accept employment under a common understanding with other workers in any strike which under its provisions may be deemed to be illegal becomes guilty of a criminal offense. It is almost unthinkable that a British government should go so far in the direction of re-establishing industrial serfdom. But they have pursued their reactionary policy even to that frantic extreme. And they have done so, let me repeat, on the wholly unjustifiable plea that the unions have abused their power by using industrial weapons for political ends.

It is perfectly true that the aims of British Labor are in a sense political; that is to say, the Movement has identified itself with policies which have for their object, fundamental changes in an economic system based on the private ownership and control of the means and machinery of production. Labor has adopted a policy which aims at transforming that system into one based on public ownership, and in the past fifty years material developments in one form or the other have taken place in that direction.

Further, there is perhaps some ground for the criticism that the British Unions have somewhat neglected the necessity of developing a central co-ordinated policy in the economic sphere, in their anxiety to establish a strong and independent political party. The tendency, however, to neglect the obligation to formulate a definitely trade union programme and policy in relation to industry and economic affairs in general, is, I trust, likely to

be corrected in the light of our later experience.

In the past the trade unions have lived too much from hand to mouth as it were in meeting concrete questions of wages and working conditions as they arose, without any clearly formulated and logical theory in mind as to the place of the unions in the life of society, the economic functions they are qualified to fulfill, and as to the methods by which an extension of their authority and power in industry is to be brought about.

The history of British trade unionism is that of an organized movement which has developed side by side with the growth of modern capitalist economy. For two or three generations the efforts of the workers have been directed towards the development of their organization so as to establish something like an equality of bargaining power in their dealings with employers. It is only within comparatively recent years that the British trade unions have established the right to represent the workers in collective bargaining. Right up to the outbreak of the Great War, "recognition" of the unions was in a great degree still the main preoccupation of the union leaders. Today the unions are established as an integral part of the economic system, and there has been a significant extension of their influence over the whole field of industry. They are discharging administrative and regulative functions, many of them under statutory authority, which beyond all question have helped to stabilize and tranquilize the industrial system.

But I do not think that any experienced trade union leader will be disposed to deny that the time is now ripe for the unions to frame a more positive policy, and to assert a claim for larger functions and greater authority in the economic sphere than those they have hitherto exercised. That, as I see it, is the problem confronting the British trade unions, and it is one that is likely to be more urgently impressed upon us as a result of the passage of the Trade Disputes and Trade Union Act.

I believe that the unions have a positive contribution to make towards the attainment of what is known as the rationalization of industry. It may be recalled that at the International Economic Conference held at Geneva, which I had the honor of attending as representative of the British workers, and at which my friend John Frey was present as a representative of this country, the policy of rationalization was commended on a number of grounds. The conference declared its view that rationalization aims at securing the maximum of efficiency of labor with the minimum of effort; at simplification and standardization of process and products; at the elimination of waste of both raw materials

and power; at more effective methods of distribution which will obviate unnecessary movement of goods and duplication of services and relieve industry of the burden of superfluous charges by middlemen whose existence no longer serves an economic function.

We are watching with much interest the line of thought and policy which appears to be disclosing itself in your country. The entry of the trade unions into different channels of the domain of capitalist control; the ownership of productive undertakings; the control of banking interests, and developments on the lines of adjusting industrial relationships and advancing the status and power of the workers in the economic life of the country by a combination of the intelligence, skill and capacity of manual and mental labor in co-operative endeavor, as in the case of the Baltimore and Ohio railway undertaking, and by the new conception of the functions and responsibilities of industrial management with particular regard to the human factor. Such developments of trade union organization and policy have a great deal of interest for us.

What, may I venture to ask, is the thought of American labor behind these developments, and what is the end in view? Is it a conception that capital should be, not the controller, but the servant of labor—labor of hand and brain united to obtain the most efficient industrial system with the elimination of waste of material and human effort? And is the ultimate object one of service to the common good, or is the objective such as may lead to a mere intensification of the competitive struggle in domestic and international relations on the 19th century principle of every group for itself, whether of trade or nation, and the devil take the hindmost?

Another development in thought which would appear to be finding expression in your country, however tentative it may be at the moment, is towards a recognition of the principle that, to attain healthy economic progress, you must relate production to consumption, and that the traditional idea that bad trade can be made good, national vitality and progress attained, and industry placed in a sound and stable condition by the mere expedient of degrading the standard of life of the working people and reducing their purchasing power, is a fallacy.

To whatever extent the lines of advance I have indicated are showing themselves in the United States, they are potential of great changes in economic and industrial policy. What do these things portend, and what part is your Western democracy going to play in the altered scheme of things? Is it consciously working towards economic freedom, or, as your late President termed it in 1895,

towards the emancipation of labor. The answer to these questions is a matter of very great interest to our British labor movement.

In no country in the world, it would seem to me, is the opportunity so great and the circumstances so propitious for broad practical experiments in national economic policy. But there are also international considerations to which I shall refer later.

The United States at the present time is being watched with much interest by other countries, and with a good deal of speculation as to its future developments. Deputations varied in character and with different kinds of credentials, have visited your shores for the purpose of investigation into your industrial methods and policy, and their conclusions have varied according to the impressions they have gained, or have sought to convey in order to account for the different degree of prosperity alleged to exist between the United States and the countries of western Europe. Some of those deputations have come from Great Britain, but I venture to assert that no real comparison can be made between the continent of America—with its great federated but largely autonomous states; its aggregation of peoples of different races and languages; its enormous internal resources, and scope for development, and a country like Great Britain. The nature of our respective problems, economic, industrial and political, are hardly the same.

International trade union organization and policy in Europe at the present time is somewhat disordered.

In my view it is a case of a machine, the form and operation of which is unequal to meet the international needs of today. I venture to express the doubt whether the one big international is likely to be the most effective form of organization.

I believe we should get more practical results if we developed our international organizations on industrial lines, as this, it seems to me, would more accord with the developments of capitalist economy. Such forms of organization with a co-ordinating secretariat engaged in practical co-operation with the International Labor Office at Geneva, appears to me to offer the best means of effective international work.

For that reason it is a source of satisfaction to myself as one directly connected with the British metal industries that your metal section has decided to link up with the International Metalworkers' Federation.

In the international labor organization I am convinced we have an instrument with tremendous potentialities. The I. L. O. and the conferences held under its auspices give us a sounding board for the discussion of international labor problems and for creating a world public opinion on indus-

trial questions which, if fully and rightly used, can be of immense value in raising the standards of life of the work people in the different countries, and for preventing the exploitation of those workers in countries where there is not yet that conscious recognition of the value of working class organization and the necessary assertion of the right of the working people to have a voice in deciding their conditions of life.

In view of the great tendencies of capitalist development to the making of international agreements, it is of the greatest importance that there shall be means for the workers to obtain adjustments of an international character.

The international organizations of labor have done little up to the present except, perhaps, to create an international sentiment on the part of the workers of the different countries. Their tendency has been rather of a theoretical than a practical character. The I. L. O. provides a center towards which their influence can be directed and from which can be obtained decisions and conclusions which the different governments can give effect to by legislative enactment, provided there is a sufficiently conscious public opinion in their respective countries.

The I. L. O. exists because of an oft-repeated demand on the part of the organized workers that such an institution should be set up, and that it exists is evidence of the increasing power and influence of organized labor in national and international affairs. It is the one outstanding provision of the Versailles peace treaty based upon the ideal of human co-operation, and the one labor is able to defend.

In this matter of world relations, as well as in our national policies, we have a great educational work to perform and here may I, as one who is closely associated with the workers' educational movement in Britain, express my appreciation of the encouragement the American Federation of Labor is giving to the development of educational work amongst the trade unions. That work, so ably represented by our good friend, Mr. Spencer Miller, is but another thread which binds our movements in a common aspiration. For if the world is really to be saved for democracy it can only be by an educated, intelligently organized and constructive labor movement.

So much of human time and effort has been applied to organizing for war, for the wholesale destruction of wealth and life, that it has reached a degree of perfection without parallel in the world's history. Half the amount of such effort applied in promoting the economic health of nations would remove the principal causes of war.

But how and by what means can organized labor play its part in the direction of affairs by which human exist-

ence can be justified? Not by a merely negative policy of organized antagonism to existing systems and institutions, for organization is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end. Just as there could be no war without the active co-operation and participation of the working millions, so equally their active co-operation and participation is necessary if the world is to escape from its present economic disorder and peaceful progress and security be attained. Organized labor is becoming increasingly conscious of the need for fundamental changes in the organization and control of industry; it must equally think out the means to be adopted to bring the workers into closer association with the conduct of industry.

In the changes that are ahead this great but comparatively young nation of the United States of America has an important part to play. It cannot separate itself from world developments, even if it would, and in that respect the American labor movement holds within its hands potentialities of the utmost significance.

The interdependence of nations becomes increasingly apparent, and artificial boundaries, political or economic, are being demonstrated as a futile method of securing national interests. The problems of time and space are being overcome by the discoveries of science and mechanical invention which, so far as intercommunication between peoples is concerned, is shortening the circumference of the globe and transcending the physical obstacles which separate nation from nation.

The troubles of trade and commerce, the waste of natural and human resources, the unemployed wealth producers, and the social degradation of the peoples is still due to a false conception of the true meaning and purpose of wealth production in relation to human needs. The eternal truth, uttered by Ruskin half a century ago, has never been gainsaid: "There is no wealth but life. That country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of happy, healthy, human beings."

President Green: It affords me a great deal of pleasure to introduce to you the other fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. Brother Will Sherwood is the national industrial officer of the General and Municipal Workers. He is president of the shipbuilding and engineering trades. With his colleague, Brother Pugh, he comes clothed with equal authority to speak to you in the name of and on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress.

I take great pleasure in introducing to you Brother Will Sherwood.

ADDRESS BY MR. WILL SHERWOOD (Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. Sherwood, in addressing the convention, said in part:

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen—With my colleague, Brother Pugh, it is a great honor and privilege to be sent from the British Trades Union Congress, representing over four million organized workers of our country, to convey to you fraternal greetings. This election by our congress to come to your country has given to us an opportunity to see your great country, with its diversity of races and with all the opportunities of development of a great country.

It is very difficult in our old country to realize what America means. When Pugh and I sat down to plan out the details of this great and glorious trip we had to talk in terms of comparison. We said when we left London and arrived in New York, "Do you realize that you will be then farther away from the meeting place than we are from London to New York?" We said when we got to New York, "We have got to realize we will be further away from Los Angeles than if we set off to a meeting in Constantinople, at the other end of Europe." It is so difficult to visualize your great continent, with its natural grandeur, its wonderful plains and mountains, its fertility and its riches in metals and in coal.

We come from an island with an intensified industrial population, with class and craft distinctions, even right down to the lowest level of organization under organized labor.

We are old in trade unionism, and we still cling, as I believe even in your country you cling, to many wasteful anomalies in our trade union organizations. I feel sometimes that we trade unionists have not kept pace with the great industrial revolution that has taken place in the past fifty years.

In our country we have a problem not unknown in this great country of yours—the problem of organization of men and women who live by the labor they have got to sell, and our general council, representative of the great movement in the country, set up a committee to investigate and report to the congress on this great problem and to advise us as to the right kind of organization best fitted to meet modern conditions in industry.

After many, many sittings and after nearly two years had elapsed we find that the problem is almost impossible of solution. The present growth of unions of general workers, who represent nearly one-fourth of the organized workers in our country, greatly complicates this problem. What we need to do is to strive to grow through

amalgamation and federation, so that we will avoid the wastefulness of competition between union and union and by a simplicity of organization build one great movement representative of or within industry.

Right away, my friends and colleagues, we are engaged in a great national campaign to make our unions one hundred per cent strong. We in our country believe we are part of the national life of the nation. We have been observing that there is an inclination, at least on the part of the American employers, the press and public statesmen, not to give to American labor the status and authority you deserve. In our country today no government dare deal with industrial problems without coming to the British trades union movement and asking for co-operation and advice. In our country we have been able to so establish our organizations that no body of employers, no isolated employer, dare today to deny to workers their right to organize or their right of collective bargaining.

Public opinion, in spite of political influence, in spite of a subsidized press, will not stand for any attempt by organized capitalists to prevent workmen having their right to organize. Even in our coal troubles local agreements have been arrived at when national agreements have not been found possible. Even when the miners were beaten they retained their rights of combination and of collective bargaining.

I come from a mining county, away out in the north of England, where our greatest proportion of those in the County of Durham live their lives and earn their livelihood from the bowels of the earth. I have been wondering, when looking into your great problem, as shown to us by the dispute in Pennsylvania, what our British miners would have thought if, in a country where you can help to control the legislature, laws were on the statute books that gave to any state authority—as I am informed they do give police power under your act of 1894—to organize private police with all the powers of state police, even with the power to kill. And then with the addition of the appointment of deputy sheriffs paid by companies, working in conjunction with the employers and, I am informed, paid by the employers. In our country we must hold our police neutral. In the great miners' strike in Great Britain the miners in the various communities could be found almost day by day playing football with our police.

This problem of coal is a world-wide problem. I was very much interested in listening to Secretary Davis yesterday on this problem of coal production and distribution. The introduction of machine tools and the utilization of

electrical energy, scientifically controlled and directed, has created entirely new problems. When I was appointed by the government to sit on an inquiry on this question in 1895, why it brought about the subsidy of our people, accompanied by my colleague I found, on examination of the records of the president of the Mine Owners' Association, that 64 per cent of our three thousand odd collieries in our country were producing at a loss.

We live by export. All our export coal at that period was causing the industry one shilling and two pence per ton dead loss, and when our Chancellor of the Exchequer altered our currency to the gold standard he automatically increased that loss to two shillings and four pence per ton. Then the great problem arose, how to maintain our industry.

The financial interests in our country called upon the miners, through the Mine Owners' Association, to meet that loss by working longer hours and taking less wages. They sought to obtain for themselves out of the proceeds of the sales of the coal a guaranteed 13 per cent profit before wages were paid. They laid down in their demand before the 1925 inquiry, the destruction of a principle hitherto accepted, that wages were the first charge upon an industry. They demanded the abolition of the minimum wage that safeguarded our miners, and this industry, my friends, affords a living to one-tenth of our population. There it is a basic industry. Its product is absolutely indispensable to industrial, commercial and domestic life. If we can't produce and sell cheap coal we can't live. We have got to send our coal to the furthest ends of the world so that we may get back food cheap enough that our people may be able to live.

In this industry we were told that only by drastic reductions in wages could the problem be met. I hope, before I finish, to agree with your President on the fallacy of such a contention. I find that your coal problem is almost similar to our own. When we chatted this problem over with your mine leaders in Pittsburgh they said, "Our problem is that of under-consumption." And so it is the problem across in the old country. If you can produce, as stated by Secretary Davis, yesterday, enough coal for the needs of the nation by working your miners 190 days per year, then it means as it does in our old country, a complete scientific reorganization of that industry, it means a proper utilization of your coal.

If you came with me into the county of Durham I could show you as an example one of the most highly scientific mines in our country, where the cost of getting a ton of coal at the face would be ten pence, ha'penny, or about twenty cents. By the time that

coal comes up bank and passes through the screens it has then reached a value in English coinage of a cost of 13 shillings. Put it on the rail and charge your clerical cost, your handling cost into trucks, and you add another five pence farthing per ton. The cost of transporting from the coal field into London would be two shillings, eight pence. When it reaches the depot in London the operation that cost five pence at the pit head now reaches five shillings, nine pence. Unloading, clerical work and distribution costs in London run it up three shillings and a penny, and if you add that sum together you will find that whilst they are charging 54 shillings a ton for coal to be burned in our grates and our homes, somebody has lifted 25 shillings and nine pence that we can't find in the industry.

That is our problem, that is your problem, and that is the world's problem—the unfair share taken by the capitalists and financial interests that control us.

We have also had trouble in our other industries. We, like you, were cursed by the need of increased facilities in industry to help us win the war. I wonder who did win the war, sir. I have heard many claims, but in the war expansion of the facilities of production we find today the want of opportunity of the great mass of our people—more than a million boys, men and women unable to get employment. When the politicians sat down to work out the meed of reparation they demanded in payment for our ships that were sunk two and one-half million tons of shipping from Germany. They compelled Germany not only to give two and one-half million tons of shipping, but for five years they have compelled them to contribute for the mercantile marine 150,000 tons. Do you wonder, Mr. President, that we are looking for jobs in our own yards? It would have been better for us if those ships had been taken to sea and sunk than to have cast the blight of unemployment over a great basic industry of this kind; and the politicians, the newspapers and the publicists, all those who attempt to influence public opinion, have ever since been trying to claim that the cause of the depression in this great industry is not the taking from our one-time enemies this huge shipping total, but it is due to the shorter hours and higher wages paid to our people by our continental friends—the same old tale as you are told here.

I have had an opportunity of testing it from every standpoint. When the newspapers shouted we were losing orders because we would not work longer hours than our competitors, or when they said we were too expensive in a competitive market, the owners of the shipyards and the representatives of the workmen's organizations within that industry got together

and, Mr. President, for fifteen months, with governmental and departmental aid, with the help of the British government placed at their disposal, with consular aid and all other help, with a personal investigation of these industries on the spot, we found, as your President stated at the opening of this convention, that we were prosperous to a greater degree because the wages of our shipbuilding workers under comparable conditions, doing comparable work, were 55 per cent higher than those on the continent, and the English workman, in spite of high wages, was a cheaper workman because of his greater productivity and the low cost of such product.

We have been cursed by a school of economists who believe that low wages mean the only way out of the depression in industry; in other words, a complete reversal of the policy of this federation and of those in authority in Washington. I am inclined to preface anything I have to say on this question by remarking that this great continent of yours is not entirely comparable with our old country. But what did we find? The first thing our employers did when the war was over was to set about to form a reorganization of industry. When the war had finished it had brought into the industrial arena many new problems which had come about by the dilution of skilled workmen and the development of a mentality among the younger workmen, who seemed to believe that any demand made upon the profits of an industry could be justified until profits were extinguished.

On the other hand, intensified organization of employers' unions and federations began to take advantage of the economic position of the country, and instead of calling into consultation leaders of the workers' organizations, the wiser and more experienced heads of the trade union movement, and thus endeavoring to find mutual agreement in the reorganization of industry, they commenced at once to cut wages. It is the old fallacy that Britain has ever been committed to, and instead of bringing us prosperity it intensified our problems.

When I heard figures quoted in that remarkable address given to you yesterday afternoon on wages, of the share of profits you were enjoying, my mind went back to the decreases in wages that our working classes suffered as their contribution toward the re-establishment of industry in a competitive nation. We suffered in five years a decrease in the spending capacity of our peoples, due to lessened wages, the sum of 523,000,000 sterling, 887,000 pounds, taken in the wages of the men and women in industry in our nation.

The argument was put forth at all the national conventions of employers and workmen that if we, as workers, as leaders, would help get a lessened

cost of production we would be able to meet the intensified competition abroad. We were face to face with exchange, currency problems, money today worth so much and next day worth nothing at all. We were face to face with problems of reorganization in our continental neighbors, but the greatest mistake ever made was that made by the British organized employers' associations and federations when they sought to bring about prosperity within their industries by this reduction in wages.

What I have said must not be taken to mean that the old country is played out. We are as strong today as ever and we will go on reorganizing and re-establishing our key industries, and where they fall we will invent new industries. Our great electrical undertakings today are doubling and trebling their export trade, we are slowly but surely recovering from the effects of our political and industrial mistakes, and our trade union leaders, in the main men with responsibilities, are shaping their policies today to the creation of industrial peace.

And in doing so we have got our critics—and they are called by many names. They join what they call minority movements, prisoners of war aid movements, and all sorts of movements with fancy names, but they all get their instructions from Moscow—and I think the Communists are not unknown even in your country. You will be interested to know that they have really no power in our great movement. Our political movement expelled them two years ago. The British Trades Union Congress at Edinburgh this year, by a resolution, said that it would not even recognize trades councils, let alone trades councils having any one representing them as members of trades councils.

My own organization, this great General and Municipal Workers' Union, by reason of the variety of occupations in which our men and women were engaged, seemed to be the set object of attack by the Communist element in Great Britain, and my general council went out and cleaned up what was a very dirty mess. First we said to every national, every district and every branch officer in the union, from the general industrial officer, general secretary and general president down to the shop steward in the works, "You cannot be a member of this union unless you agree that you will sign a declaration that you are not connected with the Communist party."

Branches of our organization in London, over 15,000 strong, refused to comply with the instructions of our general council. Well, Mr. President, we simply smashed the branches. We reformed branches of loyalists inside of our own movement. We had on our general council two men who repre-

sented great areas in our country, but they were going to minority meetings, and we said, "Sign a declaration or get out." Well, they had to get out, they were expelled, because they said they could not disobey the instructions of their central body. We said, "There is no room in this union for two central bodies. If you can't agree to obey the decision of this central body, the supreme governing authority of the trade union, out you go." And out they went.

But the sequel to the Communist party was that we stood to break or make our great trade union in one great center. They had their representatives in most of our branches. We reformed the branches and new officers were elected, and today I am happy to say those branches are stronger financially, they are stronger numerically than they ever were in the history of the organization.

One last point, and that is the question of internationalism. I stand, Mr. Chairman, for what I think is rightly described as a sane internationalism. I want, first of all, to develop my own country, the industrial, the political, the social, the commercial life of my own country. I want my countrymen to get in touch officially with all those in other countries working for the same ends. I believe not in dictation from any one nation, but I believe that each country can, out of this evolution of its industrial, social, political and other institutions, arrive at a form of government most suited and best suited to its inhabitants.

While I ask you to give that right to me, I at once grant the same right to you to evolve your own. It is not possible, said our great movement, to recast British institutions on lines of revolutionary methods adopted in countries thousands of miles away. It is not possible to sit down and be dictated to by one country without even friendly discussion as to the right method by which we can achieve our ends.

I look to sane internationalism, sir, to prevent and make impossible ever again to have war between the nations of the earth, and I look to this great democratic nation to help us in that work—the prevention of war between nation and nation. Those of us in that little island, brought face to face with the horrors of war, those of us who have been privileged to go across the channel into France, into Belgium and into Germany, there to see the horrors and the ravages of war—we come to you and plead with you, for the sake of humanity and the salvation of the world, that you will help us in this great work, build up a brotherhood of nations of the world, so that war can never be possible again.

I plead with you, so that you might help us, either by an understanding, if

not by formal treaty, to cut down the cost of our armaments that is sapping the money taken away from us—money we need in social service. Can you realize, my friends, with a debt of eight hundred million sterling, of every twenty shillings raised in our country by taxation, twelve shillings and six pence, more than two-thirds of it, goes to pay for war, past or possible future, and when there is any proposed reduction for saving a child, money for education, money to take care of expectant and nursing mothers, for welfare centers, for helping the unemployed working men and women, it is not the war money they talk of—it is taking the money from the cost of social service.

We are dealing with the war mongers. I am afraid we are not yet too far away from the mentality of those who think in terms of war. I believe we can win out in our time and generation by insisting that there shall be no war. We who represent organized labor, you in this country, we in our little island, those in France, Germany, Holland and Belgium, all the states where we can get them together, if they work together toward the realization of that ideal—if our visit has done anything to contribute toward impressing you with that idea, then we shall feel that our visit to this great and glorious country will at least have compensated us for any inconvenience we may be put to—and no inconvenience have I suffered, and I can speak for my friend, Pugh.

I want to finish by thanking you here as a convention and, through you, those comrades in the cities where we stopped, for the wonderful hospitality, the kindness given to us and to our wives, not merely of gift, of lodging and of food, but in good nature and

helpfulness to make this visit to your convention one of the most memorable outstanding features of one's life, crown of one's social service to those we represent.

President Green: The local committee has called the attention of the Chair to the necessity of terminating our morning session, so that they may carry out their plan of entertainment for the afternoon. That being the case, we must necessarily forego hearing from Brother Fermilo and the others until tomorrow morning. I am very sorry we cannot have these go on in consecutive session, but you know the committee on arrangements in a city has certain prerogatives and powers that nobody can interfere with, even the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Garman, of the local committee, announced that arrangements had been made for the drive, to begin at 12:30.

President Green announced that the portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the caption "Mexican Immigration" would be transferred from the Committee on Executive Council's Report to the Committee on Resolutions.

At 11:30 o'clock the rules were suspended and the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 6.

Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Los Angeles, California,

October 6, 1927.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m. by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Tracy (W.), Anderson (R.), Gilboy, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Baer, Silberstein, Luchi, Sigman, Mahoney (J. J.), Brock, Askew, Bock, Ryan (J. B.), Fry, Flgozda, Hogan (S. C.), Strother, Kelly, Nesbit, Cappellini, Hughes (F.), Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Hannah, Peterson, Britton, Kelsay, Doggett, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Strickland, Cashen, Perry, Johnson (R. H.), Kohn, Spencer, Atkins, Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Brandle, Stroud, Studdard, Kosta, Buckland, Martel, Barnes (H. H.), Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, Augustino, Rice, Contner, Coulton, Draper, Wickert, Crowell, Bower, Reagan, Hopkins, Wood, Dean, Trimmer, Fitzpatrick, Ostron, Miller, Graham, Campbell (W. A.), Elliott, Fitzgerald.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gibbs, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

We have received a wire from Roscoe H. Johnson, president of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, requesting that Wesley Russell be seated in his place. We would, accordingly, recommend that the request be granted and Wesley Russell be seated.

Your committee has also examined the following credentials and recommends that the delegates be seated:

Central Labor Union of Orange County, California—Robert M. Conkey, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Portland, Me., Oct. 5, 1927.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Portland Central Labor Union sends greetings to the convention now as-

sembled in Los Angeles and best wishes for a pleasant and profitable session, which will still further advance the great work of the American labor movement. We would ask that during the coming year some attention be given to movement here in Maine by the Executive Council.

Fraternally yours,
HOWARD C. WOODSIDE,
Secretary.

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 4, 1927.

The Officers and Delegates of the
American Federation of Labor
Convention,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Greetings. We, the wives, daughters, mothers and sisters of members of various trade unions, extend our greetings and best wishes for a successful convention. We beg to call your attention to the work being done by the women's auxiliaries for the promotion of the label, shop card and button and the formation of joint councils of these women. We earnestly urge that you consider the question of permitting these women to be seated as fraternal delegates to your next convention, in order that they may profit by the wisdom and experience their association with you in convention would give. May we hope that this request will be granted, and again extending our best wishes, we beg to remain.

JOINT COUNCIL OF WOMEN'S AUXILIARIES OF ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, AND DENVER, COLORADO.

Mexico City, October 4, 1927.

William Green, President,
Convention,
American Federation of Labor.

Executive committee Mexican Federation of Labor sends fraternal and earnest felicitations to the delegates of the convention. Wishing for you all success in your labors, with our most dearest greetings in the name of the workers of Mexico.

BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
JUAN B. FONSECA,
Secretary.

The following communications were received from Columbus, Ohio, requesting the American Federation of Labor to hold the convention of 1931, the golden anniversary of the Federation, in that city: Telegram from James J.

Thomas, mayor of Columbus, on behalf of the municipal authorities and citizens; Governor Vic Donahey, on behalf of the state; Irvin Nusbaum, for Photo-Engravers' Local No. 14, and Harry H. Turner, city clerk. The letter of Mr. Turner had as an enclosure a resolution adopted by unanimous vote of the city council of Columbus, September 16, 1927, and signed by Scott Wehe, president of the council; James J. Thomas, mayor, and Harry H. Turner, city clerk, in which the Federation was invited to hold the 1931 convention in that city.

Secretary Morrison read a letter from Charles J. Francis, representing Phoenix Central Labor Union, in which he asked to be excused from attending the convention after the Thursday morning session, as he was leaving to attend a convention of the Arizona State Federation of Labor.

Secretary Morrison moved that the request of Delegate Francis be granted. The motion was adopted.

President Green announced the appointment of Delegate Bert M. Jewell, representing the Railway Employees' Department, as a member of the Committee on Education.

President Green: The Chair desires to call the attention of the delegates to an answer prepared by the Seamen's delegation to the chairman of the United States Shipping Board, Washington, D. C. I have briefly examined this answer prepared by the Seamen's delegates, and I find it most interesting and profitable reading. It is a document wonderfully well written and wonderfully interesting.

This printed pamphlet has been sent to some representatives of all national and international unions and central bodies, and I respectfully request that those who have received this pamphlet will read it and study it closely. The Seamen's delegates are prepared to supply interested parties with copies. I suggest that anyone who wishes to have a copy apply to Delegate Andrew Furuseth or Delegate Victor A. Olander.

In continuation of our general rules and order of business, I will present to you this morning the Fraternal

Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Brother Alfred Farmilo. He is alderman, deputy mayor of the City of Edmonton, Alberta; he is a member of the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America; he is president of the Edmonton Trades and Labor Council, and is a volunteer organizer for the American Federation of Labor.

Brother Farmilo comes to us with a greeting of the men and women of the labor movement of Canada, a thorough-going trade unionist and, as you will observe by what I have said, he has been honored by his own city and his own community; he has been called by the people who know him well to assume responsibilities in civic and political affairs. I am pleased, indeed, to present to you such an outstanding citizen of the Dominion of Canada and such a tried and true trade unionist as Brother Alfred Farmilo.

ADDRESS BY ALFRED FARMILO (Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Fraternal Delegate Farmilo, in addressing the convention, said in part:

Mr. President, Fellow Trade Unionists: It is indeed a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity at this time to convey to this great convention of yours the fraternal greetings of the trade unionists of the international trade union movement of the Dominion of Canada.

Quite recently in the City of Edmonton we were honored by a visit from the Trades and Labor Congress who were holding their annual convention in that city. I am able to tell you at this time that the unwavering loyalty that was shown at that convention by the various assembled delegates of the international trade union movement towards the American Federation of Labor was one of the most outstanding points during the whole proceedings of the convention.

Many of you will remember that during the past ten years in the Dominion of Canada and particularly that part known as Western Canada, that we have been faced from time to time with crises in our movement so far as the international trade unions were concerned. It was my privilege at the request of the late Samuel Gompers, to be called upon with a view to endeavoring to re-organize that movement after the great struggle of the One Big Union to secure control, so that it was more than gratifying to myself particularly to see the move-

ment we are all interested in continue its unwavering loyalty to the American Federation of Labor and the international trade union movement.

Our progress is steady and sure. It could not be anything else, because the working men and women who compose our organizations there have their very lives bound up in those trade unions. Their troubles, their grievances, their desires and aspirations flow as through a natural channel when they flow through the international trade unions. Secretary Draper, in his report to the recent Congress, was able to report an increase in our membership of some 11,325. And when you realize that the whole population of the Dominion of Canada is only around 9,000,000 and that our total membership is only around 114,362, you will readily understand that during the past year that is an excellent report relative to the growth of our movement. And, as Secretary Draper sets out, it is an all-sufficient answer to the substitutes for the labor movement that have come into existence for the purpose of challenging and disrupting the Trades and Labor Congress, which still remains the supreme legislative mouthpiece of the labor movement of the whole Dominion.

It is interesting as well as informative to note that our increase in membership is more than any one unit existing in any rival organization that might be affiliated with the new All Trades Union Congress that has come into existence for the purpose of endeavoring to disrupt our movement.

One of the trade unions of the Province of Alberta, prior to the organization meeting of the All Trade Union Congress of Canada, informed me that a meeting had taken place between three people, Tim Buck, a member of the Communist Party, Lavofsky, the chief of the trade union movement of Moscow, and a man from the Province of British Columbia, in the City of Moscow, and discussed, if you will, the program and policies for the formation of this All Canadian Congress which was held a year ago last March.

You people may not realize the extent of the machinations that have been adopted from time to time by various sections of the movement for the purpose of destroying it; but I want to draw this particularly to your attention in order that, should you have communications or come in contact with the representatives of the All Trade Union Congress, you will remember that the policy and the inaugural meetings were held in the City of Moscow by two distinguished representatives of the Communist Party of Canada, and Lavofsky himself, and I will leave it to your imagination to determine what may be expected from that All Trade Union Congress and any unions that may be affiliated.

We on the Canadian side are faced with the company union question similar to yourselves. In the Province of Alberta we have an organization known as the United Mine Workers of America. That organization functioned excellently for many years; in fact at one time they had one of the finest agreements on the whole American continent, or, for that matter, an agreement that would compare favorably with any agreement in any portion of the world. They were doing well under the guidance of the United Mine Workers; their work was secure; their grievances were well handled; their wages were excellent, and the conditions under which they worked were at least equal to the conditions of any other portion of this continent; but the disruptives sought to get in their work, and at the given time the companies, under the guise of offering more work and greater continuity of work, used their agents to advise the workmen to relinquish their affiliation with the international movement and that they join employers' or company unions.

It has been my sad experience to witness, since those organizations have come into existence—the employers' organizations, if you will—to see delegation after delegation soliciting relief from our provincial government because most of their members were unemployed, but the guile and guise under which they were brought together was that they were to be given more continuity of employment.

I have come to this conclusion relative to the question of company unions and the employers who advocate this spurious kind of organization. I am convinced that those employers are suffering from an inferiority complex. They are fearsome of meeting the representatives of organized labor to discuss the question of employment of working men and women, the matter of wages, the matter of conditions that shall regulate and govern. Why are they afraid? Because from within the ranks of the working men and women of this continent have been developed men who are capable of understanding the cost of production, men who understand the administration of industry, and business men who are able to present a case and lay it definitely before an employer, if he has an open mind, to prove conclusively and effectively that the working man is entitled to a portion of the increases that have occurred within the given industry.

And those employers who today stand out and say, "We will govern our plant the way we want to" are no other than men who are not of that state of mind capable of meeting the representatives of the working men and women of this continent, who are capable of placing their affairs in a proper and reasonable manner in order to secure the redress that is necessary.

I desire to speak upon some of the progress that has been made in legislation in our country. I have read in past years of your President's activities relative to compensation legislation. We are and have been particularly interested in developing our compensation legislation throughout the Dominion of Canada. The first laws dealing with compensation in Canada, particularly in the Province of Ontario, which is the industrial section of our country and naturally a section where one would expect these laws to be developed, came in 1889, when a law was brought down, based upon the Employers' Liability Act of Great Britain. We had legislation brought down in Manitoba in 1893 of a similar kind, and from that time on we find that amendments have been made from time to time with a view of bringing that legislation into more effect. We secured legislation in New Brunswick in 1903. In 1908 in the Province of Alberta, and in 1909 in the Province of Quebec.

Though all those acts were amended from time to time they failed to provide sufficient compensation or assurance of the same being received by the victims of industrial accidents. A strong agitation was started by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, assisted by the railroad brotherhoods, and as a result the Ontario government in the year 1910 appointed Sir William Meredith as chairman of a Special Commission to deal with the subject. His final report included a proposed draft bill which was submitted on October 31, 1913.

What are the actual benefits that have been derived from these new classes of legislation that we have succeeded in having enacted? The establishment of a Provincial Board to administer the act, with labor representation thereon; the elimination of costly court proceedings; the abolition of contributory negligence.

The new compensation act passed by the Ontario legislature went into effect in January, 1915. Nova Scotia passed an act in 1915 similar to that of Ontario, British Columbia in 1917, Manitoba in 1920, and Alberta in the year 1918. I have not mentioned Saskatchewan and Quebec. They are in the process of evolution, and we anticipate that before long they will bring down the necessary legislation similar to the legislation we have in Ontario.

Since the date of the new Ontario act, in the year 1915, over 585,000 accidents have been dealt with and more than \$59,000,000 awarded in benefits—and this was secured without the expenditure of any money whatsoever in litigation. What a commentary upon the old method!

What I have said relative to compensation legislation also applies to such legislation as factory acts, minimum wage legislation for women and boys, coal mines regulation acts, mothers' pensions and old age pensions. Quite recently the Federal House brought down legislation that will guarantee pensions

to the old men and women in our country. The provinces of British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Yukon territory have already signified their willingness to pass the necessary enabling legislation in order to make effective that old age pension legislation.

We have ever been trying to get away from the idea of charity, we have ever been trying to overcome the need of people having the finger pointed at them that they are receiving paupers' relief.

There is another piece of legislation that has been brought into existence in the Dominion of Canada through the efforts of the trade union movement. Other organizations have come to their assistance from time to time, the church has helped us, there are reformists who are ready and anxious to put their shoulder to the wheel and bring forward legislation of social benefit, and they do it out of the goodness of their hearts, so I would not detract one iota from anything these agencies might have done in helping forward this class of legislation, but the trade union movement, in fact, I myself, a few years back, had a great deal to do in the creating of the necessary atmosphere for the bringing down of mothers' pensions. What do mothers' pensions mean to the women of our country? They mean that if the bread winner has been taken away from the family by an accident, if he is sick from tubercular disease or any other disease that makes it practically impossible for him to carry on his work, then the woman can apply to the provincial government, usually through the cities, for the purpose of receiving at least \$50 a month in order that she might continue her home and look after her children. That is the fundamental basis of this movement—to preserve, to conserve the home life of the nation. Such a thing is the reply to any of those who would oppose this great organization of men and women throughout the world today—to do good to mankind and not to do ill.

Another piece of legislation in which you are particularly interested is that which makes legal the registration of the labels, shop cards and shop buttons. It is looked upon as the most advanced legislation of its kind on the American continent. We have all been struggling in order that the label shall be recognized as the trade mark of all good trade unionists, that it should be safeguarded, that there is a degree of sanctity behind it and that it represents many fundamental things. It bespeaks of the factory, the workshop and the office that the people who are working there are receiving proper wages and that they are working under splendid working conditions, the best that can be negotiated at this time.

We have a guarantee that this label will be respected in the Dominion of Canada and that those who would take advantage of this label and use it for their own selfish interests will be prose-

cuted if they persist in that method. I would not overlook the fact that when our Trades Congress was bringing forward this legislation your executive council of the American Federation of Labor assisted us through your Labor Trades department, you put at our disposal the ablest men at the heads of that department, with the object of helping us to secure the passage of this legislation.

Another thing that was particularly endorsed by our conference recently was that we would continue to fight all secessionist movements that were seeking to disrupt. Quite a debate upon the question took place.

I would like to quote from an editorial in the American Federationist, written by your President, relative to the expression of the relationship that should exist between the Canadian section and the American end of our movement. It is as follows:

"Between labor of the United States and labor in Canada there are even closer ties than between our nations. Economic development on the American continent has followed geographic divisions and natural resources. Regardless of boundary lines, United States enterprises extend into Canada and Canadian enterprises extend into the United States, each following business advantages. Workers of both countries recognize the identity of industrial interests and unite into international trade unions. Industrial practices are practically the same on both sides of the boundary, and union co-operation is necessary to maintain equality of working standards.

"The organizations of workers of the United States and Canada do not attempt to interfere in each other's national political issues. The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress legislates for Canadian unions on national issues while the American Federation of Labor determines industrial policy.

"Relations between Canadian labor and British labor have a historic basis, even as the ties between labor of the United States and of Great Britain. Both countries owe much to British institutions and traditions."

Could the fundamental relationships of our organizations and nations be better stated? What surer foundation could we hope for, for forwarding the spirit of fraternalism and concord among the workers of the great nations?

In conclusion, may I quote the last verse of a poem to a builder, also appearing in the American Federationist:

"Where once a hillock was but small,
I build a city towering tall,
The peasant's hut, the marble hall,
With men from many a foreign strand,
I build with heart and soul and hand,
America—the Promised Land!
Build all for each, build each for all."

RESPONSE BY PRESIDENT GREEN TO ADDRESSES OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: I doubt the necessity of making formal reply to these addresses of welcome so earnestly and eloquently delivered by the fraternal delegates, but it has been the custom of the presiding officers to make some appropriate statement containing within it an expression of appreciation of these addresses. So in line with custom, I want to officially and personally express my very deep and sincere appreciation of these messages brought to us by the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. They will form a most valuable addition to our trade union literature.

I know that all of us were profoundly impressed yesterday by the scholarly and dignified address delivered by Brother Pugh, and we were deeply stirred by the enthusiasm manifested during the sincere and instructive address of Brother Sherwood. This morning we have received from Brother Farmilo a most helpful, constructive and inspiring message.

My mind goes back to the Atlantic City convention. Many of you, I am sure, instinctively made comparison of these addresses delivered by the British fraternal delegates with the address made by another outstanding fraternal delegate from Great Britain who attended the Atlantic City convention in 1925, and particularly when you listened with rapt attention to the address of Brother Sherwood. You recall how yesterday he referred to the destructive influence of Communism in Great Britain and how the British Trades Union Congress, during this year, had arisen to the occasion and had driven out the Communist, root and branch, from the British trade union movement. We were made happy when we listened to those words. We felt that our own position had been thoroughly vindicated, that the traditional course of the American Federation of Labor had found additional approval from our older brothers across the sea.

Do you recall when, in 1925, at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Albert Purcell, representing the British Trades

Union Congress, gave advice to the delegates in attendance at that convention and recommended that we affiliate with the Russian Red Internationale trade union movement? He suggested that we become a part of it, that we recognize it, that whether we wished or not, it was an integral part of the world movement. You will recall that I arose, and in a simple and earnest way told him that while we appreciated his advice, while we placed great value upon the information he had given us regarding the trade union movement abroad, the American Federation of Labor would have nothing to do with the Russian Red Internationale, and I suggested very modestly that he take this message back to Russia, that the American Federation of Labor would never have anything to do with Communism or Communistic activity.

Now we watched with deep interest the developments in the general strike in Great Britain. While we may have been mistaken to some extent, nevertheless I know, if I sense the judgment and the feeling of a great many of the outstanding trade unionists of our country who have studied current events and watched with interest current developments, that a number of Communists in Great Britain had much to do with the development and with the continuation of that great industrial conflict in Great Britain. We believed, some of us at least, that it was due to the activity of some of these men who seized upon that occasion, that the industrial struggle that cost so much was launched and continued in spite of the judgment and opinion of many outstanding trades unionists in Great Britain.

So as we watch not only our own developments, but world developments, we believe that the Communist organizations in the different lands of Europe and on our own continent receive instructions from Moscow, and that in season and out of season, unrelentingly and all the time, they are continually trying to carry these instructions into effect.

But the American Federation of Labor will accept no dictation from Moscow. We will not compromise with Communism or Communistic philosophy. We believe in the philosophy of Gompers, of McGuire,

of McBride, and many other tried and true trade unionists whom I could mention. We rather believe in that than in the philosophy of Stalin, of Lavofsky, of Lenine and of Tomskey, because we don't believe that the philosophy of these gentlemen can have any harmonious relation with the philosophy of Gompers and the others I have named.

I want to reiterate now, on this great occasion, that this great American labor movement is a trade union movement. It had its birth in the throes of trade union hopes and aspirations. It is grounded securely, firmly and deeply in the principles of trade unionism. These principles have been tried, they are a part of our life, they represent the cause that lies deep in the hearts of working men and women, and we are not going to listen to the call of any siren, we are not going to experiment with the lives of working men and women, we are not going to risk their fortunes in some experiment that found its birth in the basis of class hatred, in a country that was ruled by a dictator for centuries.

We are happy indeed to note the progress in Great Britain. We freely concede that the British worker has a perfect right to shape his trade union policies, along with his colleagues, in accordance with the needs and the requirements of the occasion. I presume if we were a part of the labor movement in Great Britain we would be members of the British Labor Party politically, because we believe that British trades unionists know what is best for them along political lines as well as along industrial lines, and in view of the fact that circumstances and conditions in that country are suited to the policies pursued by the movement of Great Britain, we are happy to observe that the British trade unionists are carrying out the policies enunciated by their supreme tribunals, having as their ultimate aim and purpose the advancement and promotion of the highest and best interests of the worker.

We are happy to see that they are rising and making progress along economic lines. We want to assure them of our deep and sympathetic interest. Anything we can do to help will be gladly done and any assistance we can extend

will be most cheerfully given. We want to develop the bonds of fraternity and good will and brotherhood and common understanding among the working people of all nations in the world. We want to contribute our efforts toward the promotion of peace and understanding and good will, and we want to strengthen this custom of exchanging fraternal delegates between the organizations of the American continent and Great Britain.

In conclusion, may I express to all of you our very deep appreciation of your visit here, and of your messages? We want you to take back to the workers of your respective countries fraternal greetings from the workers of this great continent, and with that the double assurance of our good will and our intention and purpose to assist whenever we can.

I hardly know what to say in presenting to you our next speaker. It is unnecessary for me to introduce him. He has been a figure in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many, many years. He has been one who has rendered distinct service in the cause of the American Federation of Labor. I want you to hear his message. I always listen to what he has to say anywhere or any place with rapt attention. I have always been benefited by his addresses.

He is with us this morning in a little different capacity than he was at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, he is here as the secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and I feel like personally congratulating the Metal Trades Department and the membership that that department represents upon being able to secure the services of this outstanding trade unionist.

I present to you this morning our fellow worker, tried and true trade unionist, Brother John P. Frey.

ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN P. FREY
(Secretary, Metal Trades Department,
A. F. of L.)

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: My thought this morning is in connection with the action of the convention in Atlantic City two years ago. At that time the American Federation of Labor adopted a principle or a basis for wages which has brought a new element into the consideration of that all-

important question, the wage rate which should be paid. It has developed several important angles. One we have heard of considerably, even from this platform the other day—the great prosperity of our country—and there is a large measure of truth in the statement that our country is the most prosperous in the world, that it has within its borders more wealth than any other country or any other empire has ever had since the world's beginning.

Our wealth is untold. In natural resources no other land compares with our own. In the amount of gold within its vaults no country equals ours. In the potential power which exists to produce wealth no land is equal to ours. Our newspapers tell us of our banking business, of fabulous loans, of savings accounts; they report the enormous dividends which have been declared by many of our principal corporations during the last few years, and they endeavor to leave with us the thought that everything is so prosperous that we need give no further concern to our economic welfare as wage earners, that the nation's prosperity is guarantee enough.

But probably there is another side to the shield which it is our responsibility as trade unionists to examine at least to a small degree. Just before going to the International Labor Conference in Geneva early in the year I went to Washington to secure some reliable information. I went to that bureau of the government where this information is collected, and I learned that in this wonderfully prosperous country of ours there were over 1,000,000 unemployed wage earners, that there were over 3,500,000 wage earners employed only part time. While Secretary of Labor Davis was addressing you he gave you some information concerning idle plants.

Much of the wealth of our country is found in our manufacturing establishments, the machinery which fills them, and he informed you that our shoe manufacturing factories are running half of the time, that our garment making plants are not operating half of the time, that some of our glass working plants are not operating more than one-third of the time—and he might have added that one-half of those who dig coal in the United States for many years, except during the war, have not been able to get in one-half of the working days in order to make a living. Certainly it is some reflection upon the intelligence of those who conduct our industries and those who boast of the nation's prosperity when so many of our basic industries are only able to give employment one-half of the time during the year. We are also told that the wage rates in this country are so high that we are the most fortunate workers in the world.

The institutions of our country make us the most fortunate workers in the world, but there are not those wages being paid except to the well-organized which would reflect the degree of prosperity which we are told

exists. The Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics only a few weeks ago published the statement that there are over 200,000 common laborers on our railway systems whose wage averages \$17.00 a week. We are told by the same authority that in the lumber camps of our country, the Pacific Coast, the Central States and the Southern, the average wage is about \$17.00 per week. This same authority which collects and gives us this information states that the average wage of those who work in the textile industries is less than \$22.00 per week. I presume in that industry the wages are abnormally low because of the large number of children and underpaid women in the Southern textile plants. So we are not enjoying that degree of prosperity, we are not without the most serious problems concerning employment and the payment of adequate wages.

I recall well how we discussed this wage question years ago and how utterly inadequate were the facts which we had to guide us. We were not assisted by the economists, we were not assisted by the government's statistical departments, we were forced to depend upon the small degree of reliable information which we had at our disposal.

A great change has taken place. We begin to understand this question in a different way and with more reliable knowledge of what we are doing and what we should do. This is very largely, if not wholly, the result of the action of the Atlantic City convention in 1925, upon the question of a basis for wages, a principle which should guide us in their consideration. We declared at that time that, due to the marvelous change which was taking place in our capacity to produce, which means the creation of wealth, commerce and industry would be fatally injured unless the wage earner's wage increased in proportion to his increasing capacity to produce, and at that time some reference was made to the wonderful increase in our power to produce, which means our power to produce wealth.

It was not a theory which we adopted at that time, it was not a theoretical conception. It was merely a conclusion which we had reached after years of dealing with the question which gave us a basis upon which to proceed. The action of that convention has not only had a remarkable influence upon thought in our country, but the idea, the basis, the principles by which to measure wages has received the endorsement of some of the largest financial institutions in this country. Not only has it received the warm endorsement of the leading economists of this and other countries, but it has been endorsed and approved in a number of books written by economists in our country and in Europe. Probably no new conception of dealing with a problem has received such international recognition in such a short space of time as the action we took upon

the question of wages at our last Atlantic City convention.

It has gone further than that. It has given us new instruments by which to measure this question of wages, by which to discover whether the wage rates being paid were economically adequate, not only to our own rights as producers, but to the economic welfare of the country as a whole.

Shortly after our Atlantic City convention had adjourned I met that very remarkable man who for years has directed the work of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, Mr. Ethelbert Stewart. He was good naturedly provoked. He said, "What did the convention mean by adopting that wage policy? They have ruined much of the work which I have done for a lifetime." I wanted to know in what way we had disturbed the work of his department. He said that for years he had been collecting data concerning the cost of living and the officers of the trade union movement had used this information in connection with their wage discussions with employers. He said, "Now you have done something which destroys the value of cost of living statistics. Now I will be compelled to begin to gather information concerning man's increasing power to produce."

Mr. Stewart was informed that the cost of living statistics would be as important in the future as in the past, that in addition our movement required information which would tell us accurately what changes were taking place in the real wage, that is, the purchasing power of wages, but that a knowledge on our part of the cost of living, of the real wage, was insufficient, as neither gave us a definite rule or measure by which we could determine with intelligence whether the wage rate was adequate or not, that we must know the changes taking place in per capita production, the changes taking place in the amount of wealth which was created as the result of our labor, so that we might have some idea how much the Oriental cools created in the way of wealth as a result of his day's labor and the amount of wealth which we created in this country with our modern conditions of production as a result of the day's work.

And so the first government in the world to undertake practical, exhaustive studies of this wonderful change taking place in our power to produce was our own, and these studies were undertaken by our Department of Labor Statistics. We have been receiving the benefit of those studies for the past year and a half. They have shown most remarkable changes. They indicate that we are producing wealth as the result of each day's labor at such a rapidly increasing amount as to create an entirely different problem from that with which we ever dealt before when considering wages and production.

May I use a simple illustration? Wages of course are something which we understand in a way. They are something

which we are always discussing. Might I liken them to water? If we lower the temperature very slightly the water has changed into an entirely different substance, creating a new problem. It becomes ice. If we leave water in the open and the temperature is dry the water will all disappear into mist, and if we heat that water a little more then we have steam.

And so with this question of our increasing power to produce, the result of new methods of production. The work being done by the trained engineers who direct it, the invention of new and more wonderful machinery, the application of power units such as we never dreamed of before, have created a problem which is almost entirely new, and it is our movement through its declaration in Atlantic City which first adopted a basis by which we could proceed to measure the influence of these new industrial methods, this marvellous increase in our power to produce wealth, so that we could understand its effect upon us, upon industry, and upon the nation as a whole.

May I for a moment pass from industry to emphasize perhaps a little more clearly this problem, to indicate what a great change has taken place? At the end of the Civil War 70 per cent of the population of our country was agricultural. They were food producers. A change has taken place. Our cities, largely because of our methods of production, now contain the majority of our population. We have ceased to be an agricultural and we have become an industrial country. From 70 per cent of agriculturists in 1865 we now have but 30 per cent of our population producing food. Under the old method of understanding such a change the economists would tell us that the farmers of our country should be the most happy and the most prosperous in the world, because instead of having but themselves and 30 per cent of the population to feed they now have themselves and 70 per cent of the population to nourish, that the ordinary laws of supply and demand which the economists had told us so much about would make it possible for the farmer, because of the greater demand for food to secure higher prices than he had ever dreamed of.

We know something of the farmer's problem in our country. We know that he is endeavoring to solve his basic problem very largely through legislation. It is my opinion that until he approaches his problem in the same manner we did by adopting the Atlantic City declaration upon the question of wages, that all of the politics and all of the laws will not help, because he also is either the victim or the beneficiary of these new methods of production which have come since the beginning of the present century. As a result of the knowledge acquired and distributed by the Federal Department of Agriculture, as a result of what has been going on in the experimental stations of the state colleges

of agriculture, as a result of the more practical knowledge which the farmer has secured, plus the use of marvellous machinery for planting and harvesting crops, the farmer has been doing the same as we have in industry—enormously increasing his per capita capacity to produce.

As yet he has no reliable statistics to guide him. In offering the statement which I do now I want to qualify by saying that the man who made it can only approximate, but one of the nation's leading authorities in agriculture made the statement a little over a month ago that as a result of more scientific knowledge and the use of modern farm machinery, the farmers of our country have increased their production per man, have raised so many more bushels of wheat, and so many more pounds of pork and beef per man employed than he used to, that today he produces 300 per cent more than he did at the beginning of the century, so that, although the population has changed from 70 to 30 per cent agricultural, the present agricultural population produces much more than the 70 per cent did at the close of the Civil War—unfortunately for them, much more, because they failed to solve their own economic problem.

The other departments of our government have also been influenced by our Atlantic City declaration and the work being done by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The United States Census Bureau has recently informed us that, as a result of its own data during the period from 1899 to 1925, the industrial workers of our country as a whole have increased the amount of their per capita production 49 per cent. In other words, taking our workers as a whole in industry, they are producing almost 50 per cent more as a result of each day's work than they did in 1899.

To have the statement convey the significance which it should it is necessary to add that the most reliable information which we have would indicate that the real wage paid to the American workman has only increased approximately 5 per cent during the same period. It is the application of this fact to those given us the other day relative to the number of unemployed, relative to the great industries which can only operate one-half of the time, which brings out very clearly and forcefully this fact: that wages in the United States have failed to keep pace with our increasing power to produce wealth—a problem which goes much further than the trade union movement itself, and our duty to secure and receive the wages we are entitled to, a problem which goes to the very base of the prosperity of our country, because we are building up industries which cannot function, because we lack the wages to purchase their product.

The other day, while the Secretary of Labor was addressing us, he called attention to a wonderful machine which he had recently seen. This machine replaces 700 men. He then referred to the moral obligation which the employer had to provide some labor for those men who were thrown out of employment. Secretary Davis was fully justified in his position, but I am not discussing moral obligations at the present time — merely the economic obligation. If industry is to function safely and sanely in this country and men are to be displaced because of improved methods of production, paternalism or humanitarian motives will never solve the problem. Those who operate these improved methods of production must receive a sufficiently adequate wage to put those displaced at work at something else which the machine operators and others are able to buy.

Let me now very briefly refer to some other evidence of this marvelous increase which has developed in our capacity to produce wealth. Since 1914 the men employed in the iron and steel industry have increased their per capita production, the amount of tons which the man produces per day, 50 per cent. Since 1914 these men in the iron and steel mills have been turning out 50 per cent more than they ever did before, with this remarkable change—that previous to 1914 one-third of them worked a 12-hour day and they are now working only nine and eight hours, so that, with this reduction in the hours of labor, they still produce much more than they ever did before.

Perhaps there is no industry in our country with which we are more deeply concerned at the present time than coal mining. The data which we have been able to secure from governmental sources throws at least one valuable side light upon the problem. We have the statistics of coal production of our own country, we have those of the leading countries of Europe. On the basis of computation adopted in the United States we find that, taking all of the men employed in our bituminous mines, the average production of coal per day per man is 4.56 tons. That is not the number of working days in the year, it is the number of days worked—an average of a little over four and one-half tons produced per man per day.

In Great Britain the production during the last time that the miners were all at work, leaving out the disturbed conditions since the strike of last year, the average produced there was approximately one ton per day per man.

In that great coal district of the Ruhr in Germany it was slightly less than a ton per day per man, and in France approximately three-fourths of a ton per day per man. The European statisticians in coal have taken a somewhat different basis of computation

or of records than we have, although the results are the same. They take the number of tons mined per year for number of days worked per man, and from their statistics this is what we learn: that in this country the average production of coal per miner in the bituminous fields is 781 tons per year. In England it is much less, it is 246 tons per year, in Germany 234 tons, and in France 167 tons.

The European miner has his attention called to the much higher wages paid to the American miner, and the American miner continually has his attention called to the much lower wages paid in the coal industry of England and of Europe, but when we take the cold statistics supplied by the representative governments, what do we discover? That the American miner mines his ton of coal for a lower actual dollar and cent wage than is being paid in these low rate countries in Europe.

The increased per capita production of our railway men is equally impressive. The government's reports indicate that, including passenger miles and ton miles, the per capita production of railway employees has increased 4½ per cent since 1914.

You might be burdened with more statistics if it was necessary, to indicate the same condition in other industries, but the object I have in coming before you this morning was to discuss what we did in Atlantic City, so that we would be better prepared from now on to deal with this question of the wages which we should receive and to have the facts as well as the arguments which would convince all right minded men that when the American Federation of Labor encourages men and women to demand a higher wage rate, they are not only asking for something for themselves to which they are entitled, they are doing much more than that, they are asking for something so that our nation may be truly prosperous instead of having idle factories, idle men, and low wages.

We owe the economists a very important debt. Many of them have not agreed with our movement. Many of them have advanced economic theories which would indicate that our movement was unsound in its principles and its methods. At least we owe the economists this very great debt—they have compelled us to think for ourselves, and as a result of this thinking the American trade union movement has placed itself in a more advantageous position to consider this question of the wages that we should receive than we ever enjoyed before.

We now have a rule of measurement to guide us which we did not have before. There is an unsound idea in the minds of a good many that the prosperity of our industries depends upon the amount of manufactured goods which we export to other lands.

I have no data at the present moment indicating the amount of manufactured goods exported last year, but from the highest authority in the government I have this information, that taking our industrial history since the close of the Civil War, the period during which we have built up the enormous wealth which our country now contains, but 7 per cent of our manufactured goods have been exported.

The manufacturer in this country must depend upon the home market for his prosperity. We, the wage earners, the mass of the people, are the ones who must purchase the shoes and the clothing and the pianos and the victrolas and the thousands and thousands of other articles which keep our industries going. If it is true that our home market is the most important one, it is equally true that our wages must be sufficient to enable us to use and consume the products of our industry, because if they are not sufficient then our industries must lag and suffer and there must be idle investments, idle plants and idle workers who must suffer because there is no pay envelope on pay day.

I want to thank you for having given me this opportunity of calling to your attention once more the importance of the principle of wages which guides us at the present time and to congratulate you upon being the first trade union movement to open the book of sound and true economics. The economists themselves now recognize the fact that both of our feet are on solid ground when we say that the worker's wages must keep pace with his increasing powers to produce if commerce and industry themselves are not to be seriously or fatally injured.

President Green: The very splendid, scholarly and instructive address of Brother Frey will appear in full in the daily minutes of the convention. It will be incorporated as a part of the permanent proceedings of the convention.

I feel inspired to say a word, and that word will be to quote from an address delivered by a great American capitalist. I want to quote from his address at this time so that it can be incorporated in our proceedings following the splendid address made by Delegate Frey. I am going to quote from the address of Owen D. Young, representative of the General Electric Company, a man who represents one of the greatest industries in America, a capitalist, a man whose judgment is respected by millions of people in America, a man who was selected by the President of the United States to

serve on the Dawes Commission, an economist and a man for whom I have profound regard. I quote from the address of Owen D. Young delivered at the dedication of the new buildings constructed under the George F. Baker Foundation for the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and if I did not tell you in advance that this address was delivered by Owen D. Young, you might have thought it was delivered by some labor representative. He said:

"As business widened in area it increased in size. It was no longer possible for one man to be the whole business. His capital was not enough—his labor was not enough—his knowledge was not enough. For the individual, we substituted the partnership, and finally as the enterprise grew, we displaced the partnership with the modern corporation. Into those we have brought together larger amounts of capital and larger numbers of workers than existed in cities once thought great. We have been put to it, however, to discover the true principles which should govern their relations. From one point of view, they were partners in a common enterprise. From another, they were enemies fighting for the spoils of their common achievement. In dealing with this problem, there has been much misunderstanding and frequently want of sympathy. The organization has not always functioned well, and even today in that field we have great problems yet unsolved.

"Gradually we are reducing the area of conflict between the two. Slowly we are learning that low wages for labor do not necessarily mean high profits for capital. We are learning that an increasing wage level is wholly consistent with a diminishing commodity price level. We are learning that productivity of labor is not measured alone by the hours of work, nor even by the test of physical fatigue in a particular job. What we need to deal with are not the limits to which men may go without physical exhaustion, but the limits within which they may work with zest and spirit and pride of accomplishment. When zest departs, labor becomes slavery. Zest is partly a matter of physical condition, but it is also largely influenced by mental reactions. These are common to all of us in every position. Are we doing well with our lives? Are we providing for our families—not merely clothes and food and shelter while we are working, but an insurance of them when our working time is ended by age, disability or death? Are we providing more cultural opportunities for ourselves and our children? In a word, are we free men? Here in America, we have raised the standard of political equality. Shall we be able to add to that, full equality in economic opportunity? No man is wholly free until he is both politically and economically free."

I pause there and leave it rest—the address of a man who represents millions of capital, a man who, in most eloquent and convincing language, has perhaps unconsciously endorsed the wage theory of the American Federation of Labor.

All I wish to say in conclusion is this: after reading some of the editorials of the Los Angeles Times which were published during the sessions of our convention, which says that our theories, and particularly the one enunciated by Brother Frey this morning, is an economic absurdity, I hope that the eloquence of John Frey and the words of Owen D. Young that I have read will penetrate the editorial sanctum of the editor of the Los Angeles Times.

President Green: We have with us another speaker whom many of the older members of our movement know quite well, a man who for years and years was a neighbor and friend, adviser and associate of my distinguished predecessor, the late Samuel Gompers. He served as an attorney for the American Federation of Labor. He was represented, with the late Judge Parker and others, in that famous Judge Wright injunction case, directed against President Gompers, the late John Mitchell and others.

He is now living in California. Like an old war horse, when he hears the bell ring he responds, so when we came here he came. I invited him to say a word to you and I know you will appreciate it. I have pleasure in presenting the Honorable Jackson Ralston, formerly of Washington, but now of "somewhere in California."

ADDRESS BY MR. JACKSON RALSTON

Mr. President, members of the convention—It is now approaching thirty years that the American Federation of Labor moved its headquarters to Washington, and it was about the year 1899 when your former President first came to me and asked me to prepare an act limiting the scope of criminal proceedings for conspiracy. I prepared that act, largely based upon English precedent and English law, and it was repeatedly introduced into Congress and some of its features finally embodied in the Clayton Act.

I think it is quite worthy of notice that at the time this was done there was no legislation worthy of the name upon the federal statute books. There was an inefficient eight-hour law, but

over and beyond that I don't recall anything. Since that time, since 1898 and down to the present time, we have had a whole list of acts gotten through Congress, very largely the result of the labors of the American Federation of Labor.

I cannot undertake to rehearse them, but I call your attention to one or two of the outstanding pieces of legislation. Let me mention, for instance, the La Follette Seamen's Act, which I have always believed would be known as the Furuseth Seamen's Act if it were properly named. I can call attention also to the Employers' Liability Act, which has served so largely to protect particularly all the railway workers of the country, and extended of late to the longshoremen as well. I can also call attention to the Clayton Act, at least so much of it as yet remains with us. The courts have done several things to it. In the course of all this period it has been my fortune, as the President has stated, for a period of seven years, to do my very best to keep President Gompers, the then Vice-President Mitchell, and Secretary Morrison, the only survivor, out of jail on charges of contempt of court.

This general subject, I may say to you members of the convention, is one which very strongly appeals to me and has at all times. I note with pleasure that the last report of your executive council has very much to say upon the subject. I want to say just a few words with regard to it and I shall detain you but a few minutes.

It has seemed to me always a matter of pure assumption on the part of the courts that the court, but one of the instrumentalities of government, should assume to itself the power of charging men with contempt of court, and itself, without even the intervention of a jury, convicting, and itself, as the party offended, inflicting the punishment. Why should this be?

If the executive passes an order within the scope of the powers of the executive, can the executive send men to jail of the executive's own option because of their action? Isn't he compelled to resort to the court, and isn't the question of guilt or innocence under the charges he may prefer determined by jury? We know that it is.

Let us take another illustration—and I believe it to be absolutely a fair one—that the legislature passes an act which, after all, is nothing but a permanent order as contrasted with the temporary, ephemeral orders which are passed by courts. If the legislature passes a law, a thing of a permanent nature, does the legislature, of its own option, declare the people who violate that law to be in contempt of the legislative authority? Of course we know it does not, and the question may seem a foolish one because we are so accustomed to another situation.

But when we come to a court which passes upon a question of contempt, as it is called, against its own authority,

when we come there we find the whole function of charging officer, of convicting judge, and of executing sheriff reposed in the hands of the man most interested in the case. Now I speak of this because it is a matter of extremely great importance to you all, and it is one quite important phase of the very fundamental right of freedom of speech.

I am going to venture for a moment upon something which may seem almost of a personal character in connection with the old Buck Stove and Range controversy. In defense of those who were charged with contempt of court I pled for them the statute of limitations, or prescription, as it is called. It came before Mr. Justice Wright for determination, and after long argument he indulged finally in an opinion taking over an hour to deliver, in which to his own satisfaction he demolished the proposed defense. When he finished I indulged in something which was considered contempt of court. I arose in the court, in the presence of Justice Wright and his associates and several hundred persons, and I suggested that, notwithstanding the opinion rendered by him, it seemed to me impossible that such an offense, for instance, as treason could be prescriptible and forgivable, and that there remained but one offense—contempt of court—which was neither forgivable or prescriptible.

Judge Wright was restrained by the Chief Justice of the Court from at that moment declaring me in contempt, and as the rules go I could have set up a very inefficient defense to the charge.

That case was appealed ultimately to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Supreme Court of the United States, in almost exactly the words that I had used before Justice Wright, declared that they could not conceive that there remained only the offense of contempt of court, which was not a fair subject of prescription. In other words, when the criticism was made by the Supreme Court of the United States, it ceased to be contempt of court. When it had been made by me it would have been absolute and fatal contempt of court, and yet the essence of the criticism, the foundation of it, the thought behind it, was exactly the same, in my own humble instance, as it was in the case of the Supreme Court of the United States.

That, I suggest to you, is a very obvious illustration of the fact that you have, and you must have the same right to criticize the actions of courts as you have to criticize the actions of any other branch of government, and unless you have that, whatever your constitution may say, unless you have that right you do not enjoy freedom of speech.

That presents an end to be sought for. The courts will tell you that the court always has a right to adjudge men guilty of contempt of court, that the right is innate and inheres absolutely to the very existence of courts. That has been said by very eminent authority, looked at from

the legal standpoint, but to my mind is absolutely without foundation.

The greatest court in the world is the permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, and it is utterly inconceivable that that highest court in the world should have or should exercise any process of contempt outside of the necessity for preserving order within the four walls of the building in which it sits. If the greatest court in the world can do without the process of contempt absolutely, and refer to other instrumentalities any possible violation of its orders, so can the courts of this country refer to a jury the right to determine whether an offense has been committed, whether it be by a labor organization or by any other organization whatsoever.

And again, if the power were inherent in the courts, if it were innate in courts that they should have the right to declare whomever they found so guilty to be in contempt, that power would not be subject to abridgement, as we know it was subject to abridgement in the case of the Clayton Act. The courts would be crippled if they did not possess it, and we know they are not so crippled.

So I say we ought to go just as far as we can—and that is a long, long way yet, the road is not a short one at all—to get rid of the idea that courts have an innate, inherent right to declare, of their own wishes, and I might say of their own passion, whoever it may be that they so declare to be in contempt, and for your own protection, for the protection of freedom of speech generally, for the protection of the liberty of the press, which has been violated time and time again by contempt processes, the American Federation of Labor can do no better work than to make a thorough study, as it has commenced to do, of this whole matter of contempt of court.

I have exhausted all the time it is within your power to grant me. It is a pleasure to look upon the faces of so many alongside of whom I have fought in so many difficult, and fortunately frequently, so many successful contests.

President Green: I want to express to Judge Ralston our appreciation of the message he has brought to us and the words he has uttered. It isn't all who belong to the legal profession who would come here and say in such a courageous way the things that he has said, but his training and his association with the late President Gompers and others in the famous Buck Stove and Range Company case seems to have left its deep impression upon his life. We want to thank you, Judge Ralston, for your remarks, and to assure you that they will be included as a part of the permanent proceedings of our convention.

Delegate Hanson, American Federation

of Teachers, Chicago, obtained unanimous consent to introduce the following resolutions:

Opposing Legislation Restricting Teachings In Public Schools

Resolution No. 98 — By Delegates Florence C. Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers and Mary C. Baker of the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

WHEREAS, There have been adopted in many localities measures which seek to prevent the teaching of factative data and the examination of theories in the natural and social sciences and in our public schools and colleges; and

WHEREAS, Such restrictive measures are a serious menace to our American traditions and our American constitutional principles, for they deny the right of freedom of thought and freedom of speech; and

WHEREAS, There is in these restrictions on academic freedom also a serious menace to the basic democratic principles upon which our government is founded, for such restrictions imply the right of those temporarily in control of the machinery of state to determine the social, political and religious views not only of the community as then constituted, but also, the right to prevent future citizens from forming their own views on these subjects; and

WHEREAS, Such academic restrictions are fundamentally unpatriotic in principle, unsocial in practice and unsound in educational theory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does oppose in principle the enactment of any legislation or regulation which would seek to prevent the teaching of true facts and the examination of theories in the natural and social sciences in our public schools and colleges; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it does pledge its active support to fight such un-American attacks upon our schools.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Federal Aid to Re-establish Public Schools In Flood Stricken Areas

Resolution No. 99 — By Delegates Florence C. Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers and Mary C. Baker of the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

WHEREAS, The great flood disaster has left many of our people homeless and in dire need; and

WHEREAS, Immediate relief may minister to the physical needs of these stricken people; and

WHEREAS, The general help which we feel the federal government should and will give to these poor people, may be delayed; and

WHEREAS, The schools and school children have suffered tremendously by this disaster; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledge itself actively to work to secure general federal aid from Congress for the sufferers in our devastated areas; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we work immediately to secure federal aid in building up the schools, and in securing the general re-establishment of the public school system in these areas to the end that permanent harm may not be done to the citizens of tomorrow as well as those of today.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Delegate Price, Bricklayers and Masons, obtained unanimous consent to introduce the following resolution:

To Endeavor to Have British Embassy Building at Washington, D. C., Erected by Union Labor

Resolution No. 100—By Delegation of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The British government has declared its purpose to erect an embassy building in the city of Washington, D. C., for which bids have been asked and received; and

WHEREAS, The Wardman Construction Company, of Washington, D. C., long unfair to organized labor, one of the bidders for the contract to erect this embassy, has been asked to revise its bid, while no other bidder has received such a request; and

WHEREAS, This indicates clearly that the British government, apparently badly advised, intends to award this important contract to this unfair contractor; and

WHEREAS, This would seriously handicap our efforts to maintain and improve that friendship between the two nations which our labor movement ardently desires, which the British labor movement has recorded itself as desiring and which British statesmen have expressed themselves as holding to be among the essentials of British well-being; and

WHEREAS, We, in the face of subtle but persistent anti-British propaganda, are desirous of doing everything possible to promote that desired cordial relationship; be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully present the facts to the British government, which, we know, cannot be unkind of the service rendered to it and its people by the late Samuel Gompers, to the end that nothing may be done to injure those who were its most loyal friends during the late world conflict and who are at all times its friends; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we direct our

officers to transmit these resolutions to the proper authorities immediately upon their adoption.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

Fourth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Myrup, Koch, Baker, Daley (M.), Haggerty (J. B.), Tracy (W.), Ornburn, Gilboy, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Baer, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney, Squibb, Brock, Askew, Bock, Ryan (J. P.), Fljoldal, Hogan (S. C.), McCrane, Strother, Kelly (M. J.), Hynes, Pattison, Rooney, Nesbit, Hall, Golden, Cappellini, Hughes, Smith (W. R.), Barry, Wilson, Hannah, McGivern, Donlin, Blehl, McDonough, Huebner, Pense, Doggett, Burke, La Belle, Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Olander, Scharrenberg, Maloy, Mitchell, Cullen, Cashen, Perry, Johnson (R. H.), Kohn, Spencer, Atkins, Walker, Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Brandie, Campbell, Mates, Stroud, Bennett, Studdard, Kelly (S. C.), Kosta, Buckland, Martel, Starkweather, DeVore, Sands, O'Dell, Rice, Contner, Coulter, Brady (P. J.), Draper, Wickert, Francis, Crowell, Young, Bower, Reagan, Hopkins, Doyle, Wood, Dean, Trimmer, Covert, Daly, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller (J. B.), Graham, Campbell (A. C.), Campbell (E.).

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Gibbs, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Auditing Committee, consisting of three delegates duly appointed by their respective International Presidents, at the request of President Green, in accordance with Section 4, Article 3 of the Constitution, herewith submit for your consideration and action the following report:

We have carefully examined and audited the books and records of the

American Federation of Labor covering all fiscal transactions for the twelve (12) months beginning September 1st, 1926, and ending August 31st, 1927, and found same to be correct in every respect.

The total receipts and disbursements for the respective accounts are as follows:

Receipts

Balance on hand, August 31, 1926	\$212,391.96
Per capita tax	\$343,300.06
American Federationist	107,498.61
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals	35,733.78
Initiation fees	10,029.65
Reinstatement fees ..	622.45
Supplies	6,388.92
Interest:	
Bank deposits \$6,249.84	
U. S. Liberty Bonds ..	548.20
Canadian Victory Loans ..	859.65
	7,657.69
Net profit on sale of \$40,000.00 U. S. Liberty Bonds ..	409.88
Net profit on sale of \$15,000.00 Canadian Victory Bonds	1,008.75
Received from International Fur Workers' Union on account of auditing books ..	1,200.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	7,374.30

Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued..	3,061.15
	<u>\$524,284.74</u>
Total Receipts...	\$736,676.70

Expenses

General	\$380,451.77
American Federationist	86,963.15
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions	10,990.00
Accrued interest on stock of Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (added cost, to par value, at time of purchasing shares of stock)	413.20
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions...	6,215.84
Total Expenses..	<u>485,033.96</u>
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1927	\$251,642.74

Recapitulation

In General Fund.....	\$ 33,803.18
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	217,839.56
	<u>251,642.74</u>
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1927.....	\$251,642.74

Where Funds Are Deposited and Invested

The bank balances of the secretary and treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories. We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Tobin in the Union Trust Company, Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates.....	\$100,000.00
Interest bearing certificates in the Indiana Trust Company, Indianapolis, Ind....	50,000.00
On deposit in the Indiana National Bank, subject to check	44,642.74
Interest bearing certificates in the Federation Bank and Trust Company, New York, N. Y.....	40,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Company, stock.....	15,000.00

On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison..	\$8,096.61
Outstanding checks..	6,096.61
	<u>2,000.00</u>
Total	\$251,642.74

Following the precedent established by the Atlantic City, N. J., 1925, and Detroit, Michigan, 1926, American Federation of Labor Conventions, in accordance with the instructions of the El Paso, 1924, American Federation of Labor Convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor authorized the appointment of a committee consisting of Frank Duffy, Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and General Secretary United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America: Thomas L. Hughes, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and James C. Shanessy, President of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union, to examine the bond, holdings and cash on deposit in Indianapolis, Ind., whose sworn report is herewith attached and which agrees with our examination of the financial records of the American Federation of Labor at Washington, D. C., and is herewith made part of this report.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 21, 1927.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In accordance with the established custom of the American Federation of Labor and the instructions of the Executive Council at last meeting of that body, held in Washington, D. C., September 13, 1927, the undersigned examined the accounts of Daniel J. Tobin, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, at Indianapolis, Ind., on September 21, 1927, for the year ending August 31, 1927, and certify to the following:

8 Certificates of Deposit, \$10,000.00 each, Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, In.	\$ 80,000.00
4 Certificates of Deposit, \$5,000.00 each, Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind....	20,000.00

10 Certificates of Deposit, \$5,000.00 each, Indiana Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind.	50,000.00
2 Certificates of Deposit, \$10,000.00 each, Federa- tion Bank and Trust Company, New York City	20,000.00
4 Certificates of Deposit, \$5,000.00 each, Federation Bank and Trust Company, New York City.....	20,000.00
300 Shares Capital Stock, \$50.00 per share, Union Labor Life Insurance Company, Washington, D. C.....	15,000.00
Checking account, Indiana National Bank, Indianapo- lis, Ind.....	44,642.74

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) FRANK DUFFY,
Second Vice-President, A. F. of L.
General Secretary, United Brother-
hood of Carpenters and Joiners
of America.

(Signed) THOMAS J. HUGHES,
Secretary-Treasurer, International
Brotherhood Teamsters, Chauff-
eurs, Stablemen and Helpers of
America.

(Signed) JAMES C. SHANESSY,
President, Journeymen Barbers' In-
ternational Union.

State of Indiana, County of Marion, ss.
Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 21st day of September, 1927.

My commission expires January 25,
1928.

(Signed) JOSEPH C. CARSON,
Notary Public.

Education Fund

Contributions to the fund for promot-
ing and advancing co-operation upon
the plan of the Rochdale Co-operative
Society System, in accordance with di-
rection of the Buffalo, 1917, American
Federation of Labor Convention, showed
receipts from April 1, 1918, to and in-
cluding August 31, 1927, \$4,432.41, and
expenses from February 6, 1919, to and
including August 31, 1927, \$3,331.92,
leaving a balance on hand August 31,
1927, amounting to \$1,100.49, which is
deposited in the Riggs National Bank,
Washington, D. C. The name of Fund
for Promoting and Advancing Co-opera-
tion was changed by order of the Ex-
ecutive Council to Education Fund.

Recapitulation

Total donations, including in-
terest, April 1, 1918, to Au-
gust 31, 1927.....\$4,432.41

Total expenses, February 6,
1919, to August 31, 1927..... 3,331.92

Balance on hand, August 31,
1927\$1,100.49

An itemized report of this fund, in-
cluding the receipts and expenses up to
April 30, 1920, has been printed and
copy mailed to each contributor. Since
1920 no contributions have been re-
ceived, except interest, which amounts
to \$208.83, and the only expenses paid
amount to \$1,243.30. Copies may be had
upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this
account and find them correctly re-
ported.

Woodrow Wilson Memorial Building Fund

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was is-
sued in accordance with instructions
from the El Paso convention, to all af-
filiated organizations for financial con-
tributions to be used for the construc-
tion of a suitable building on the
grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Mem-
orial College, to be used for such edu-
cational developments as may be de-
termined upon by the President and
Executive Council of the American
Federation of Labor, and that the same
shall be in memory of the late Pres-
ident of the United States, Woodrow
Wilson.

Contributions received from August
12, 1925, to August 31, 1927, including
interest, amount to \$1,606.06. This fund
is deposited in the Riggs National
Bank, Washington, D. C.

An itemized statement of the moneys
received and to whom paid will be
mailed to each contributor when this
fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this
account and find them correctly re-
ported.

Flag Fund

Receipts from June 10, 1918, to
and including August 31, 1927, \$542.54

An itemized statement of the moneys
received and to whom paid will be
mailed to each contributor when this
fund is closed.

This fund is deposited in the Mount
Vernon Savings Bank, Washington,
D. C.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Gompers' Memorial Fund

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1927. \$98.50

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

This fund is deposited in the Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

United Textile Workers' Fund

Total receipts (October 16, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927).....\$34,414.99

Total amount forwarded to Secretary-Treasurer Sara A. Conboy (October 23, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927) 34,414.99

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses, has been mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the record in this account and find them correctly reported.

Ladies' Garment Workers' Fund

Total receipts (October 21, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927).....\$24,806.37

Total amount forwarded to Secretary - Treasurer Abraham Baroff (October 23, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927) 24,806.37

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses, has been mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

Fund to Aid the Striking Miners of Great Britain

Total receipts (July 12, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927)\$ 83,869.33

Total amount forwarded to Secretary A. J. Cooke (July 30, 1926, to and including August 31, 1927)..... 83,869.33

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses, has been mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to headquarters.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

American Federation of Labor Building Fund

Balance on hand, August 31, 1926\$18,531.35
Receipts 31,254.03

Total Receipts.....\$49,785.38
Expenses 23,620.60

Balance on hand, August 31, 1927\$26,164.78

(See page 15, Executive Council's report, for itemized statement of receipts and expenses.)

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

We find the balance, \$26,164.78, invested and deposited as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates at 4½ per cent.....\$20,500.00
Federal Farm Loan Certificates bearing interest at 4½ per cent 5,000.00
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., at 3 per cent interest, subject to check\$704.78
Outstanding checks.... 40.00

664.78

Total\$26,164.78

We also personally inspected and counted the Federal Farm Loan Certificates in the same deposit vaults of the Mount Vernon Savings Bank of Washington, D. C., amounting to \$5,000.00, and the \$20,500.00 certificates of deposit and the bank book showing balance of \$704.78, and found them correct.

We draw the attention of the delegates to the fact that the surplus in the American Federation of Labor Building Fund on August 31, 1926, amounted to \$18,531.35, while on August 31, 1927, there is a balance of \$26,164.78, showing an increase of \$7,633.43. This is approximately 4 per cent profit on the money invested, and, considering the first-class shape in which the building

its kept and the excellent service rendered, shows that it was a wise move by those advocating the erection of a building in the headquarters city, of which the American Labor Movement may well be proud.

Your committee, under the guidance of Secretary Morrison, made a thorough inspection of the building, from cellar to roof, visiting the library, which was well stocked with books and back number files of the journals of different organizations, which would be of invaluable assistance to any one wishing to obtain data on labor subjects; the vaults, where all documents are properly labeled and safely stored for future reference; the file room, where all letters as received are properly indexed so as to be properly located; the work room, boiler and engine room, which we found to be properly stocked with an appropriate amount of union mined bituminous coal; the mailing-room, housing a machine capable of addressing and cutting 6,000 wrappers an hour; the storeroom, paymaster's department, bookkeeping department, and many others, which we found to be ably conducted by courteous and competent employees.

We desire to draw your attention to the condition of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, which is forging ahead in circulation and shows a steadily increasing healthy financial condition.

In the General Fund, which showed a balance of \$212,391.96 on August 31, 1926, and \$251,642.74 on August 31, 1927, there has been an increase of \$39,250.78 during the past financial year.

The committee considers that this record would not be complete without thanks being extended to Secretary Morrison for his courteous treatment of the committee and commendation for the excellent assistance rendered by those designated to help us in the compilation of this report. We found the books kept in an excellent and legible manner, and the officers of the Federation are to be congratulated on the choice of their assistants, especially in the case of Messrs. L. H. Nielsen and R. W. Talks, members of the bookkeep-

ing department, whose help was extended to us through our entire deliberations.

Respectfully submitted,
H. J. GIBBS, Chairman;
A. ADAMSKI,
WM. J. ROBINSON, Secretary,
Auditing Committee.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: I extend to the Auditing Committee the appreciation of the convention for the service they have rendered and the work they have done.

I understand the Committee on Building Trades is ready to make a partial report upon an important resolution that was introduced this morning.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate Madsen, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To Endeavor to Have British Embassy Building at Washington, D. C., Erected by Union Labor

Resolution No. 100—By Delegation of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The British government has declared its purpose to erect an embassy building in the city of Washington, D. C., for which bids have been asked and received; and

WHEREAS, The Wardman Construction Company, of Washington, D. C., long unfair to organized labor, one of the bidders for the contract to erect this embassy, has been asked to revise its bid, while no other bidder has received such a request; and

WHEREAS, This indicates clearly that the British government, apparently badly advised, intends to award this important contract to this unfair contractor; and

WHEREAS, This would seriously handicap our efforts to maintain and improve that friendship between the two nations which our labor movement ardently desires, which the British labor movement has recorded itself as desiring and which British statesmen have expressed themselves as holding to be among the essentials of British well-being; and

WHEREAS, We, in the face of subtle but persistent anti-British propaganda, are desirous of doing everything possible to promote that desired cordial relationship; be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully present the facts to the British government, which, we know, cannot be unkindful of the service rendered to it and its people by the late Samuel Gompers, to the end that nothing may be done to injure those who were its most loyal friends during the late world conflict and who are at all times its friends; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we direct our officers to transmit these resolutions to the proper authorities immediately upon their adoption.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

WM. J. M'SORLEY,
Chairman;
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,
Secretary;

W. A. CRISSMAN,
SAM SQUIBB,
ED RYAN,
ED SHAUGHNESSY,
JOS. V. MORESCHI,
EDW. J. EVANS.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate Conboy, secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Volunteer Organizers

On that part of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 59, the committee reported as follows:

The Volunteer Organizers of the American Federation of Labor are doing a great work. They have given their time and services willingly and unselfishly for which they are entitled to some praise and recognition. Your Committee therefore concurs in the Executive Council's Report on this matter.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Organizing the Unorganized

On that part of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 59, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee concurs in the action of the Executive Council in the various forms of organizing activities adopted and used during the past year.

Relative to the organizing Campaign in the Automobile Industry your Com-

mittee dealt with this subject last year. The Executive Council having carried out the instructions of the Detroit Convention and inaugurated an organizing campaign we recommend that the work be continued until that Industry is thoroughly organized.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Organization of Negro Workers

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate John R. Mates of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many of our unions exclude negroes from membership, sometimes by explicit constitutional provision, and sometimes by subterfuges and technicalities; and

WHEREAS, Such exclusion is contrary to the very fundamental of democracy and brotherhood, upon which our labor movement is built; and

WHEREAS, The negro has time and again shown that he can be a loyal union man, often more loyal than the white worker at his elbow; and

WHEREAS, If we bar the negro from our unions, he will work as a non-union man, for he must make a living, and the employers are hiring him in constantly increasing numbers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we declare in full favor of the open membership to the negro in all unions, on exactly the same terms as white men; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge ourselves to work for the removal of whatsoever discrimination prevails against the negro in our own locals and internationals; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of our American Federation of Labor be instructed to give this resolution the widest practicable publicity throughout the labor press.

The subject matter of this resolution was before the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1918, when lengthy hearings were held by the Committee on Organization, after which that committee submitted the following report:

"It is not the policy of the American Federation of Labor to grant charters along racial lines. We know that many international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor admit colored workers to membership, and in these organizations their interests can best be protected and taken care of. There are other organizations that have not as yet opened their doors to colored workers, but we hope to see the day in the near future when these organizations

will take a broader view of this matter. Until that time we urge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to organize the colored workers under charters of the American Federation of Labor."

After a lengthy discussion, in which it was shown that ninety per cent of the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor admitted colored workers to membership under the same terms and conditions as white workers, the report was adopted.

At the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1919, five resolutions, Nos. 76, 101, 118, 120 and 122, affecting colored workers were considered by the Committee on Organization. One resolution asked for an International charter for colored workers, another resolution asked for the services of organizers to assist in organizing colored workers, another resolution asked that a colored organizer be appointed in every state in the Union where necessary, another resolution protested against some International Unions of the Metal Trades in refusing to admit to membership colored workers, and the fifth resolution asked that a man be stationed at Washington, D. C., preferably a colored man, to look after the interests of colored workers. On these resolutions the committee reported that—

"Many International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor admit colored workers to membership, and in so doing protect their rights and interests. Other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor refuse admittance to colored workers, which brings about the present complaints. In such cases your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor organize these colored workers under charters from the American Federation of Labor.

"We further recommend that the Executive Council give particular attention to the organizing of colored workers everywhere and to assign organizers for that purpose wherever possible."

The recommendations of the committee were adopted.

At the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Montreal, Canada, in 1920, the subject again came up through Resolution No. 38

and was reported on as follows by the Committee on Organization:

"Your committee gave a lengthy hearing to all parties interested, on the subject matter contained in this resolution. In the course of the hearing it developed that some few international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do not as yet admit colored workers to membership. It also developed that the majority, and by far the greater majority of the international unions do not admit colored workers to membership, and that these colored workers are entitled to the same rights, benefits and privileges that the other members enjoy. On account of these few international unions refusing colored workers admission, exception is taken. Your committee, however, calls your attention to the action of the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor last year on this subject, that:

"Where international unions refuse to admit colored workers to membership, the American Federation of Labor be authorized to organize them under charters from the American Federation of Labor."

"We therefore reaffirm our former action on this matter, at the same time calling attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor does not organize workers of any trade or calling along racial lines."

The report of the committee was adopted.

In face of the action of these three Conventions of the American Federation of Labor on this matter your committee reaffirms its former action.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 4 was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee amended Resolution No. 7 by striking out the word "race," following the word "colored," line 6, the amended resolution to read as follows:

To Endeavor to Organize Members of Independent Organizations of Colored Workers in A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of the New York State Federation of Labor by delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association that large groups of colored workers are engaged in employment in New York City, that some have formed themselves into separate organizations, and that many remain unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to inquire into this situation by correspondence with the officers of Local Union No. 968, I. L. A., at 164 Maiden Lane, New York City, of which W. E. Carr is secretary-treasurer, with the object of organizing the unorganized workers described herein and of bringing within the American Federation of Labor those who have already formed themselves into organizations.

Your Committee recommends to strike out the word "race" in the sixth line of the whereas, and with this change we concur in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

To Assist Organizing Work Among Laundry Workers

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Harry Dubecker of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time will not warrant or permit in placing any additional Organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized Laundry Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all the State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Councils, and to all of the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the Laundry Workers in their districts and localities.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Organizing Work in Porto Rico

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Rafael Alonso of the San Juan, Porto Rico, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The temporary transfer of the organizer of the American Federation of Labor to serve in the capacity of secretary of the Pan American Federation of Labor in Washington, has considerably affected the organizing work in Porto Rico to the detriment of the working masses who see themselves now deprived of his services and long-earned experience and influence in all the local affairs affecting the people; and

WHEREAS, The social and economic task which is still necessary to carry

on in Porto Rico to better local conditions as a matter of protection for the workers of the mainland, against unfair competition of labor, for there are in Porto Rico many facilities for employers of a number of industries to go there and get cheap labor—cannot be left to local organized labor alone, on account of its too limited financial means and lack of opportunities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor proposes as it has been done in the past to continue to lend its worthy and unquestioned cooperation, influence, moral aid and all financial help possible to the mission of organizing the workers as represented by the Free Federation of the Workmen of Porto Rico affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and in their efforts to better conditions, to establish a decent scale of wages, a reasonable number of working hours, living conditions in harmony with civilization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Forty-Seventh Convention recommends that during the absence of the general organizer of Porto Rico, the necessary steps be taken by the President of the American Federation of Labor so that the above mentioned organizer be instructed to spend in Porto Rico, as much of his time as his new position may permit or whenever his new duties may allow him to spare any time to the benefit of the workers of the island.

For years Brother Santiago Iglesias has been the organizer and representative of the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico, but now he holds the important position of English and Spanish-speaking secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, with headquarters in the A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. As he is, therefore, employed by, working for and paid by the Pan-American Federation of Labor, it is not within our authority to direct or instruct him to spend part of his time in Porto Rico or elsewhere. That authority rests with the Pan-American Federation of Labor alone.

Your committee, however, recommends that the matter of organizing in Porto Rico be referred to the Executive Council, providing the funds of the American Federation of Labor permit.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

**Organizations to be Circularized in
Behalf of the Hotel and Restaurant
Employees' Organizing Campaign**

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski and Conrad Schott of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, at its recent convention, voted to carry on an active and progressive organizing campaign in the hope of establishing organizations of their calling in the several unorganized fields and to enlarge on the present activity in the organized field in order to develop stronger and more progressive trade unions of the workers under their jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend its full support to this membership drive and that it circularize its several affiliations—State and Central bodies, as well as organizers, seeking their co-operation in the organizing of all workers coming under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

**Application of International Union of
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers
for Assistance of Organizer
in Northern Ontario**

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates John McMullen and Homer Whitmore of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, There are thousands of men employed in the metal mining industry in Northern Ontario, Canada, being without organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is not in a financial position to meet the needed expense of a successful campaign in that district; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized and instructed to have one of the Canadian organizers of the American Federation of Labor (one who can speak French), act with a representative of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in an effort to perfect organization of the men employed in the mining industry.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers it to the Executive Council to carry into effect if the funds of the A. F. of L. permit.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

The committee amended Resolution No. 84 by striking out the words "and others," line 2 of the first whereas, and the words "for an indefinite period," in lines 11 and 12 of the first resolve, the amended resolution to read as follows:

**Request That International Unions Assign
Organizers for Special Organizing
Campaign of United
Textile Workers**

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Thos. F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Southern textile workers are now ready for organization; and

WHEREAS, We believe that, to be successful in bringing trade unionism to these Southern workers, it is necessary for the Executive Council and officers of the American Federation of Labor to formulate the plans of campaign, if in their opinion they believe as we do that the time is at hand to start; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this forty-seventh annual convention request that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at their earliest opportunity, notify the International and National unions to place under the disposition of whomsoever the Executive Council designates as the representative of the American Federation of Labor to carry out the plan formulated by them at least one organizer to assist in organizing the unorganized workers of the South; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International or National unions so requested to send a representative to the South be responsible for the expense incurred by said representative or representatives.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Delegate McMahon, United Textile Workers, stated that he was in accord with the action of the committee in amending the resolution. He stated that the United Textile Workers intend "to not only continue organizing in the South with the same purpose and determination as they have in the past, but to be successful they would need the entire accord and co-operation of

the national and international unions that have membership in the South."

Discussing the purchasing power of the workers, Delegate McMahon said in part: "I listened intently to the discussion on high wages and purchasing power that those high wages maintained, but there are no people more interested in high wages than those who have to contend with the problem of organizing the million textile workers in our country. What I say is with the entire accord of the executive board of my organization and the entire accord of the convention, and I would be remiss in my duty if I did not say to you individually and collectively that there is no group of people on God's footstool more appreciative of the assistance rendered us in the great fight of 1926 and continued into this year in Passaic.

"You do not understand as we do the abominable conditions existing within our industry. You can go into the South and there you will find the purchasing power of our workers reduced to a minimum, not because of the so-called 100 per cent Americanism, but because of the abominations practiced upon the workers by those who have control. Many, many times have the organizations of the American Federation of Labor felt the necessity of going into the South; many, many times have they been turned back, but we, during twenty-five years have endeavored to do our little bit to the conservation of the idea that prevailed and prevails in the American Federation of Labor.

"What can you do with people who are reduced, as were the workers in North Carolina recently, by the action of the employers who declared dividend after dividend, and yet placed their workers in a condition where the average wage in that vicinity was \$10 a week for 55 hours? Any purchasing power there? When I listened to our good friend the Secretary of Labor, talk about these things, and knowing the President of the American Federation of Labor and every member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, what they have done and are doing, I am carried away with the conviction that only by a collective institution of organization, only by co-operation be-

tween the organizations that now exist and that might exist, is it possible to arouse the feelings of those who lay claim to the chivalry of the South, who claim to place womanhood on a pedestal so high you cannot reach it, when in reality the condition is such that the women and children of the South are not protected industrially."

Delegate McMahon gave a brief outline of the work done by the United Textile Workers in the past twenty years, and among other things said that in those years \$1,400,000 of the money of the Northern workers had been spent to educate the Southern workers. He described briefly the conditions that prevailed in Passaic when the strike was called under communistic leadership, and the manner in which that strike was settled when taken over by the United Textile Workers.

Delegate Roland, Shreveport Central Labor Union, discussed the question briefly, and stated that the only building erected in that city in fourteen years by non-union building trades men is being erected by a cotton mill owner. He stated that a resolution had been introduced asking for an organizer in Louisiana to take care of that and other situations.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 84 was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Conboy: This completes the report of our committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed—

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman;
THOMAS S. FARRELL,
JOHN McMULLEN,
E. J. MANION,
JOHN P. BURKE,
MARTIN JOYCE,
GERTRUDE McNALLY,
D. W. HELT,
PHILIP BOCK,
E. E. MILLIMAN,
ROE H. BAKER,
C. J. GOLDEN,
AUGUSTA J. FRINCKE,
OSCAR NELSON,
SARA A. CONBOY, Sec'y,
Committee on Organization.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Delegate Doyle, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

**Proposing Amendment to Constitution
Providing That Members Under Six-
teen Years of Age of Directly
Affiliated Unions Shall Pay
Five Cents Per Month Tax**

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Ely Caston of the Newsboys' Union No. 15834 of Seattle, Wash.

WHEREAS, At the 1926 convention held at Detroit the convention changed the constitution (Article X, Revenue), leaving out "Local unions, the majority of whose members are less than (18) years of age, five cents per member per month," and

WHEREAS, This clause affects Seattle Newsboys' Union, Local No. 15834, making it impossible for us to function if we must pay 35 cents per member per month per capita tax, as a majority of our members are under 16 years of age and their earning power is small, and they cannot pay over 50 cents per month in dues; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution, Article X, Revenue, Section 1. of the American Federation of Labor, be amended as follows: inserting the words "Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than 16 years of age, five cents per member per month—" after the words "strike or lockout."

Your committee nonconcur in the resolution because we believe that it would be impracticable and unsatisfactory to adopt same, as it would necessitate changing the per capita tax now coming to the Federation; that if any change is made in accordance with this resolution it would be similar to class legislation, but your committee believes that the Executive Council should look into the matter, and if they can find that there is any way in which some relief can be given to this local union in accordance with the constitution, that said relief be granted.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Article IV.—Representation

Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and

Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage-earners who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

Resolution No. 101—By Committee on Laws.

Amend Section 1 of Article IV of the Constitution by adding the following:

Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies and State Branches shall be eligible as delegate to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Tobin: I move the adoption of Section 1, Article IV, as amended by the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I am not quite clear as to the purpose of the amendment. I would like to hear from the chairman or the secretary of the committee what the purpose of it is.

Chairman Tobin: As the constitution of the Federation now stands, and as have been the conditions obtaining in these conventions for years, any one who is a member of a trade union and whose trade union does not desire to elect him as a delegate can go to some central body or some state branch thousands of miles away, receive a credential, bring it in here to this convention, and under the rules prevailing be seated in the convention.

Under that system in recent years undesirables have come here as delegates who could not be elected in their own central bodies or in their own organizations. What the amendment proposes to do is to say that only those individuals can represent central bodies or state branches in this Federation whose local unions are affiliated with the central bodies or state branches in the districts where the individuals are delegates to such central bodies or state branches.

Delegate McMahon: As a member of that committee I want it understood that no influence emanated from the Executive Council on that proposition, and I want

to stand here in the name of the Committee on Laws and say that no more necessary thing was injected into the laws than this recommendation of the committee.

The motion offered by Chairman Tobin was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Doyle: This concludes all the work the committee has had referred to it up to the present time, and is respectfully submitted and signed.

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman;
DENNIS LANE,
L. D. BLAND,
A. J. KUGLER,
THOMAS McMAHON,
CHARLES ANDERSON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
FRANK DOYLE,
GEORGE JONES,
WILLIAM TRACY,
CHARLES W. FRY,
PAUL SCHARRENBURG,
CLAYTON A. PENSE,
J. REX ANDERSON,
LEON WORTHALL,
JOHN F. McNAMARA,
Committee on Laws.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

Mr. George Barnes, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Green Cross organization, was introduced by President Green, and addressed the convention on the subject of reforestation and conservation of the natural resources of the country. In addressing the convention, Mr. Barnes said in part:

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to come here before you today, and especially so after hearing your president's wonderful address at the City Club today noon. I wonder how many of you men understand the relation of the prosperity of this nation to the destruction of our forests? A treeless land is as helpless as a creedless land is hopeless, and never before in American history has the sinister meaning of that been illustrated as it has in the recent great disaster in the Mississippi Valley.

The American people have, in the most reckless and wanton waste the world has ever known, destroyed five-sixths of our forests with little or no thought of perpetuating what God had prepared for the human race of all ages. You can live less than five weeks without food, less than five days with-

out water and less than five minutes without air. The food you eat, the water you drink and the purity of the air is dependent upon the trees.

The wealth of every country comes solely from the soil, and experience on the farm in every country and every age has shown us that the productiveness of the soil and its continued fertility is dependent upon an adequate supply of water. When the forests go, fish and game go, flocks and herds go, birds go and crops go, and then after that come fire and pestilence and famine. It is a sad commentary upon our civilization that the trail of American civilization has been marked by stumps, yet along the highway of our progress there is a grim evidence of sacrifice and ruthless destruction of our virgin forests which we were put here to dress and keep.

That reforestation is the most vital problem before America today is overwhelmingly evident when one considers its relation and effect upon every phase of human activity; therefore every single one of us who has profited by American opportunity should pledge himself to the American Green Cross, which has for its object and purposes an adequate legislative program of reforestation, flood control and farm relief, not merely for sentiment, not merely for our commercial benefit, but for the very life of the United States.

The Green Cross is a non-political organization, with members in every part of the United States. For seven years it has been developing a national plan of reforestation and it is the hope that in presenting these facts to this great body, probably the most potential strength of any organized body in the world today, that you may take back to your members the fact that there will be completed within the next fifteen days the most comprehensive plan of reforestation which takes care of the four million acres of idle forest land, that has ever been conceived, and that is being done by the best available reclamation and forestry engineers in the United States. We hope to have that in shape so that when you go to the polls next year you

will have the opportunity of saying by your vote whether you will hand down to your children a fruitful heritage or an absolutely barren waste.

I ask you, for your children's sake and for the sake of posterity, that you help in every way you can from now on to conserve the natural resources of the greatest nation on earth.

President Green: I am sure we deeply appreciate the remarks of Mr. Barnes.

The Chair desires to submit the following supplemental report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The Executive Council submits the following report regarding the jurisdictional controversy which arose between the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees and the International Association of Machinists:

Agreement Entered Into Between the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees and the International Association of Machinists

The intention of the following agreement is to bring about harmonious understandings between the officers and members of these organizations to the end, that by co-operating and assisting each other, better conditions as well as control of our respective jurisdictions may be enjoyed by both organizations.

The jurisdictional authority of the two respective organizations, as set forth by the American Federation of Labor, is recognized by the representatives of both organizations. Neither organization will transgress upon the jurisdictional rights of the other. However, notwithstanding this definition of the rights of each organization, jurisdictional controversies have arisen in some localities.

In order to bring about a settlement of these controversies upon a fair and just basis and in accordance with the jurisdictional rights of both organizations a Committee of two representatives of each organization will meet for the purpose of making an investigation of said controversies and for the purpose of reaching an agreement which will be acceptable and binding upon both organizations. Said Committee shall be composed of International Officers of the two organizations.

The names of the Committee will be submitted to the president of the American Federation of Labor by the presidents of the two organizations not later than November 1st and the Committee thus named will meet at the Headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on November 7th for the purpose of instituting an immediate investigation of the jurisdictional controversies which affect the relationship of the two organizations.

Signed:

A. O. WHARTON,
International President.
JOHN T. THORPE,
Vice President.
CHAS. W. FRY.
DANIEL P. HAGGERTY.

For the International Association of Machinists.

WM. B. FITZGERALD,
First Vice President.
P. J. SHEA,
L. D. BLAND,
GUST. ANDERSON,
WM. WEPNER.

For the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

APPROVED:

WM. GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally submitted.

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.
JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice President.
FRANK DUFFY,
Second Vice President.
T. A. RICKERT,
Third Vice President.
JACOB FISCHER,
Fourth Vice President.
MATTHEW WOLL,
Fifth Vice President.
MARTIN F. RYAN,
Sixth Vice President.
JAMES WILSON,
Seventh Vice President.
JAMES P. NOONAN,
Eighth Vice President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer.
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

The report was referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

President Green: The American Federation of Labor has shown a very deep interest in the subject of workers' education. We have been working with this department represented by Secre-

tary Miller, and we have found that great advancement has been made in the cause of workers' and adult education. At each convention for several years Secretary Miller has delivered an address. These addresses have been instructive, inspiring and helpful. They have become part of the permanent literature of the American Federation of Labor. I have invited Secretary Miller to deliver an address at this convention. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau.

ADDRESS BY SPENCER MILLER, JR.
(Executive Secretary, Workers' Education Bureau)

In the days of the gold rush to California there was a favorite chantie that was often sung by the body of gold seekers, known as the "Argonauts" of 1849, which went as follows:

"Oh, California, that's the land for me!
I'm bound for Sacramento,
With a wash-bowl on my knee."

The wash bowl is no more. In its place there is the hydraulic pump, the electrically-driven dredge, deep mining machinery, the smelter, stamping and extraction mill, which produced 57.5 per cent of our total gold production, or over fourteen million dollars worth of gold in California in 1920. And the journey to Sacramento, which was the end of the trail in 1849, from Salt Lake, along which hundreds risked death from starvation, thirst, disease and exposure, is now a part of the roadbed of the Southern Pacific Railroad. But 79 years separate us from those early pioneers who pushed past Death Valley through the passes at San Bernardino into this valley of Los Angeles. Yet what changes have been wrought in this valley, in this state, in our nation, in the world! The migration begun to the Pacific Coast by the discovery of gold in 1848 was one of the most spectacular in our entire national history. In 1847 there were 17,000 people in California. By the end of 1849 there were over 100,000. In the decade to follow there were 380,000 in the state.

By the close of the nineteenth century we had reached our last frontier, the end of free land, and brought to a conclusion one of the most significant economic facts in our national history. It was in anticipation of this event that Macaulay, the English historian, proclaimed that "the test of American democracy would come with the exhaustion of free land." Yet we have pushed on toward our industrial development with irresistible energy from one technological triumph to another during the first quarter of the

twentieth century until today there are five million more people living in urban than in rural districts—and until we have become the greatest manufacturing nation in the world.

What is the explanation of this revolutionary change in our country from an agricultural people to the leading industrial nation in the world? The answer in part will be found in the vast natural resources of our country, the vast restless energy with which our people have applied themselves to the exploitation of our natural resources, the unprecedented demand for goods of all kinds in the greatest free trade market in the world, but, above all, to the marvelous development of technology—of our machine production. Behind the American worker there is from two to five times as much horsepower as there is behind the English worker; as much more again as there is behind the workers on the Continent, and as they, in turn, have as compared with Asiatic workers. It is the machine which has given the American laborer his unique position; it is the machine which has become the symbol of our age; it is the machine which has created some of the great industrial problems which confront labor today in our industrial age.

Back of the industrial age stands the machine, back of the machine stands the inventor, and behind him stands the scientist. In his keeping lie many of the secrets of our mechanical progress. What wonders he will perform no man can foretell. Darius Green prophesied that one day man would fly, and he was ridiculed. In 1903 Professor Langley of the Smithsonian Institution made two unsuccessful attempts to fly his man-carrying aerodrome after several successful flights of his model. His failure, which was due to an imperfect launching mechanism, brought certain public ridicule, and his machine was called "Langley's Folly." Yet in the twelve months since you met in Detroit an intrepid son of the West took off from a landing field in a neighboring city to Los Angeles on the first leg of what proved a record breaking and historic flight from New York to Paris. Others have followed his course to the continent of the Old World and equally courageous fliers have spanned the waters of the Pacific that lie between here and Hawaii. Less than a week ago in Italy a British flyer flew his plane at the rate of four and one-half miles per second, faster than man has ever traveled. And the achievements of the science of aerial navigation have just begun!

The story of the discoveries and achievements of modern science is almost a story without end. When Solomon proclaimed that there was nothing new under the sun he had not heard of the wonder-working of the modern scientist.

In the early days in September of this year the British Association for the Advancement of Science met in Leeds, England, the birthplace of James Watts, the inventor of the first steam engine. They reviewed the scientific advance for the year and on Sunday went to hear the Bishop of Ripon preach in the cathedral. His words are worth quoting:

"Dare I even suggest, at the risk of being lynched by some of my hearers, that the sum of human happiness outside of scientific circles would not necessarily be reduced if for, say, ten years every physical and chemical laboratory were closed and the patient and resourceful energy displayed in them transferred to recovering the lost art of getting and finding a formula for making the ends meet in the scale of human life.

"It would give 99 per cent of us who are non-scientific some chance of assimilating the revolutionary knowledge which in the first quarter of this century 1 per cent of the explorers have acquired. The 1 per cent would have leisure to read up on one another's work; and all of us might go, meanwhile, in tardy quest of that wisdom which is other than and greater than knowledge and without which knowledge is a curse."

This plea for a ten-year holiday from scientific research to give humanity a chance to catch up will appeal to many. Yet it is impossible. One may not arrest progress! The moment we attempt to limit science we limit ourselves. Science is not the slayer of mankind; it may be a great emancipator. Scientists are not our saviors, but scientific thinking may become our salvation.

Here, then, is the problem with which labor finds itself confronted today in industrial America. A complex industrial order, with constantly changing productive experiences, changing industrial relationships and changing social, economic and cultural values. How shall we be able to control and direct this changing industrial order unless we understand it? And how can we hope to understand it unless we give to it thought and study, which is the first prerequisite of education. Man, by taking thought—by obeying her laws—has subdued the forces of nature to his needs.

Labor, by taking thought, has built its institutions and organizations after the manner of its own desires. Labor alone, by taking thought, can meet all the changes of our modern industrialism, to which the Secretary of Labor referred in his address before the convention on Tuesday. To bring all the sources of knowledge into practical working partnership with labor's everyday concerns is one of the chief aims of the Workers' Education Bureau. That is the promise of the workers' education movement, to which you have

given your endorsement and your support at repeated conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

But we are practical men, "met to discuss and deal with the problems of life in a practical way," to quote President Green's opening address. And in coming before this convention as the secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, to render to you an account of our stewardship during the past year, I want to speak to you of practical needs, of practical plans and practical accomplishments. For you are entitled to know the exact nature of our work and of the educational service we have rendered to the working men and women of America. Let me illustrate by a few examples.

A year ago the delegates to the Detroit convention heard an impassioned plea for the striking textile workers of Passaic. For eight months thousands of these workers under communistic leadership had been subjected to the indignities of police persecution on the one side and to the demoralizing counsel of irresponsible leaders on the other. They had faced starvation and continuing unemployment made less burdensome by the public response to their distress. And yet the thing which these workers sought was what their leaders were totally incapable of giving them—a responsible union capable of negotiating and carrying out an agreement with the employers. Their leaders had led them out into what they said would be a promised land; it proved to be a land of poverty and desolation. Having led them out the leaders could not lead them back. When the United Textile Workers went into Passaic they were called upon to liquidate the mistakes and blunders of the United Front Committee; they found demoralization and disintegration on all sides. It is a story so characteristic of communist endeavor. They lack both the program and the integrity to build an effective labor union. They preach solidarity, but they practice disruption. There was an organization, but no union; there was control, but no direction.

When the United Textile Workers undertook the task of bringing into the union the 10,000 workers, many of them foreign born, some literate, but many illiterate, even in their own language, they were confronted with a problem in organization that required skill, tact and resourcefulness to meet. They had heard the Macedonian cry, but they found the Macedonians a varied group—a babel of many tongues.

So when the United Textile Workers took hold of the task they realized that it was in a large measure an educational job that required educational methods. They turned to the Workers' Education Bureau for assistance. A survey of the situation was suggested, made, and adopted by the United Textile Workers' Union.

Through the co-operation of the bureau an educational director was sent into the city of Passaic as local director

of workers' education. He began work quietly and laid his foundations on solid ground. At first his work was opposed by the old leadership who feared that their influence might effectively be undermined. They sensed what in fact did happen! But gradually the quiet effective work of our director began to bear fruit. Study classes were started to teach the purpose and function of organized labor, in English and in civics. At the union meetings an education hour was set aside to present the history and aims of the Textile Workers' Union and the A. F. of L. On Sunday a great public forum and mass meeting was held.

Gradually the attitude of the community, of the employers, and of responsible citizens began to change. They recognized a new leadership by labor and a new educational policy. They perceived of the trade union as a constructive agency to stabilize industry. In July of this year as a climax of the first six months of the educational program, a Workers' Education Week was held. It proved to be a great community achievement. City officials, police, employers, churches, the press, civic organizations—all joined in support of this week—the meetings of which were held in a public school building. The police who a year before had been charged with brutality to the workers on strike now gave them protection on parade; permits to speak on street corners which had been contested in the courts the year before now were given freely. Each afternoon and evening the hall was packed with eager workers who came to hear talks by city officials, labor representatives and lectures as well as a splendid variety of entertainment.

What were the results of this Workers' Education Week? New members were enrolled in the union; back dues were paid by delinquent members, a new enthusiasm was created for the aims and policies of the American labor movement. It marked the complete triumph of the United Textile Workers over the old leadership. And in the city of Passaic a new sense of community co-operation came to replace the suspicion and antipathy that had prevailed. Those who came to scoff at this educational program remained to be its warm supporters. The New Jersey State Federation of Labor at its recent convention has gone on record in clear-cut fashion as endorsing this notable achievement! The business agent of the local Teamsters' Union has stated recently that the Workers' Education Week had increased the community's respect for all workers in Passaic. That, gentlemen, is in brief the story of but one way in which our Workers' Education Bureau is serving the labor movement in meeting its difficult educational program.

Let me cite another concrete example of the way in which our workers' education movement is serving the membership of the American Federation of Labor. At the Atlantic City convention in 1925, the A. F. of L. declared by reso-

lution for a greater share of the profits of industry commensurate with labor's increased productivity. "We oppose all wage reductions," ran part of the resolution. "We urge upon management the elimination of waste in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher. To this end we recommend co-operation in the study of waste in production." President Green characterized this resolution as "the beginning of a new era—a position far in advance of any we have ever taken before."

At the Detroit convention last year the Federation went a step further and announced its determination to shorten the work week to an extent depending upon conditions and skill prevailing in each industry. Reporting on this matter the Executive Council said:

"It is useless to continue to use tactics and methods adapted to organization of industry and methods of opposition based upon conditions that existed in previous decades. The unions that make progress against existing difficulties must be able to match brains with brains. We hold that the best interest of wage earners as well as the whole social group, are served by increasing production in quality as well as quantity, by high wage standards which assure sustained purchasing power to the worker, and through (him) higher national standards."

To make practically possible the declarations proclaimed by the American Federation of Labor, a new attitude towards labor's position in industry and of its place in the productive field of the nation is absolutely necessary. If labor is to have a greater share of industrial productivity it must be mindful that none of its efforts are wasted. It must demand the setting up of machinery whereby such added productivity could properly be measured and translated in terms of added wages. It is to the advantage of labor everywhere to take the initiative in attacking the problems of industrial waste within the jurisdiction of the trade union local.

The first well conceived effort to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in giving practical application to its resolution and in focusing the attention of trade unionists upon a possible program was undertaken by the local workers' education movement in the city of Philadelphia, with the assistance of the Central Labor Union and the active co-operation of the A. F. of L. and the Workers' Education Bureau. To this conference were invited eminent engineers, economists, employers as well as national leaders of the A. F. of L. One hundred and fifty delegates and as many visitors were present at these meetings, which were held in the Labor Institute.

The conference began on Saturday afternoon and adjourned Sunday afternoon. It was opened by the local labor representatives and closed by an eloquent address by President Green. Engineers

presented their side of the question; economists discussed its relation to the general welfare and labor gave its testimony. It was a most impressive conference. Here was a real meeting of mind of the two groups in industry that can do the most to reduce industrial waste. The addresses on this occasion were of such permanent value that they were printed in full in the June issue of the American Federationist and reprinted for distribution. They received remarkable consideration both at home and abroad. This conference has received nationwide editorial comment and inquiry. It has been listed by the Executive Council as one of the outstanding achievements of labor of the year.

By resolution of the first waste conference in Philadelphia the bureau purposes to hold similar regional conferences in Boston, Chicago, Denver, New York during the next six months to bring to bear in each of these centers the best minds on this vitally important problem.

One conference does not eliminate waste any more than one swallow makes a summer. But it does take the important first step in surveying the field and in taking stock in co-operation with management on this vital problem. There is another result which does emerge out of such educational conferences which is nearly as important as the main purpose of such a meeting. They reveal labor unto itself. The specialist tendency is characteristic of us all. We all tend to know more of our own job than anybody else's; it sometimes seems to the exclusion of others. The value of such a conference is to make labor itself aware of what is being done by fellow workers to meet the problem. When, for example, William McHugh told in a most arresting fashion of the work of the Printing Pressmen in waste elimination through its Newspaper Engineering Service, it was a revelation even to those who follow in general the development of American labor. And in like manner when the hosiery worker told of some of the work of his Knitters' Union in co-operation with the management to maintain quality production and eliminate waste, it was an evidence of remarkable labor statesmanship.

Such conferences finally are of the greatest value because of the light they throw on the complex problem of industrial relations themselves. Union-management co-operation is not a formula but a plan of operation. It is an extension of the principle and technique of collective bargaining. But it will succeed in proportion as both management and men learn the art of effective dealing with common problems. These conferences on waste elimination to which I have referred may greatly assist.

Let me cite still another achievement of the year which illustrates the practical way in which our workers' education movement operates. It represents another type of our work and an interest-

ing trade union approach to the important problem of wages for the average worker.

In the city of Reading, Pennsylvania, there was a condition of general business depression. No one was building, said the contractors! no one was buying, said the salesmen. Business was bad. Demands for charitable institution services increased. What's the matter with Reading? was the question asked on all sides. The Federated Trades Council set about to find out the answer to this perplexing question. For a number of years they have had an active workers' education movement in that city. The State Director of Workers' Education, in cooperation with the local body, made an examination of the wages paid in Reading and compared them with those paid workers in other cities in the state and in the neighboring states of New York, New Jersey and Ohio. Three special meetings were held in the Federated Trades Council to hear these reports. A number of outsiders were invited to attend these educational meetings. A summary of these reports was subsequently printed, and distributed widely among organized labor, public officials and civic groups throughout the city.

What did this survey reveal?

It showed in the first place that Reading workers receive an average wage of \$22.55 compared with \$24.58, the average of the state as a whole, according to State Department figures.

Second: That, according to the study of living costs recently made by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, that the American standard of living for Reading is \$41.35 a week, that is a minimum health and decency budget, which would enable a family of five—father, mother and three children—to buy food, clothing, shelter, fuel, education.

Third: That workers in factories constitute the backbone of Reading. In a total population of 114,000—30,500, or 26 per cent, are factory workers, which is a larger proportion than in other cities of Pennsylvania.

Fourth: That the gap between the standard of living and the actual average wage paid is \$20.00.

Fifth: That this \$20.00 gap is filled in some cases by the employment of women and children. Child labor has increased in that city alone 28 per cent in 1925!

What remedy did they propose as trade unionists?

(1) For low wages they proposed higher wages, so that the workers of Reading as consumers and home-owners could purchase more necessities and provide against the child labor to supplement the family budget.

(2) They showed that the returns in dividends and profits from some of the industries in Reading proved an unmitigable capacity to pay higher wages.

They pointed out that a wage increase of \$2.00 all round would mean that three and one-half million dollars would be spent annually in Reading—increasing the

general prosperity. In other words, that while higher wages would be spent in Reading that excess profits would not be spent in the city.

The Reading workers' education movement does not claim any originality for the solution as proposed. But the fact does remain that our workers' education movement gathered these important facts, presented the facts, and purposes to co-operate with the Trades Assembly in bringing these facts to the attention of the people of Reading.

You will all agree that fact finding and fact presentation is an effective service to render the workers of Reading. It is a momentous event when any organization changes from a fault-finding to a fact-finding organization. In the city of Reading our workers' education movement has assisted this change.

These are but three examples taken at random out of our varied activities during the past year about the country. This educational program ranges from study classes held under the auspices of local unions up to resident instruction in summer schools, and labor institutes set up by international unions to discuss the intimate economic problems of its own industry. For the first time, for example, in the history of labor in the South a summer school for the industrial women workers was held for a period of six weeks. Those who have observed its operation, and are competent to speak for organized labor in the South, see in this project a hopeful approach to the organization problem among southern workers. One might refer as well to important educational work done among building trades workers in Wisconsin, New York and Pennsylvania during the past year, of similar work done with other crafts such as hosiery workers, bakers and street car men in different sections of the country. This constitutes a part of a fuller report of our work which was made to our national convention in April. Our work is the natural growth of a movement that is seeking to meet the needs of the worker for knowledge and understanding of his problems and his whole working experience.

Nor would it be out of place to call attention again to the important work we are doing to improve the character of our educational effort by a careful appraisal of it by our research department. This department, started a year ago, has proved of immense value in analyzing our methods as well as our materials of instruction.

We have made substantial progress as well in the development of our brief histories of the international unions and other industrial studies. Some of the studies have already been published, and we hope to issue this fall histories of the United Mine Workers, Post Office Workers, Photo-Engravers, and studies of railroad industry and the building trades. Each of these studies will be either the work of some responsible trade union official or of some student of the movement

whose work has been carefully checked by responsible officials. It is our desire that all these studies and all of our publications are authentic and factual statements of the labor movement. We shall spare no effort to make them so.

The brief outline of the structure, government and function of the American Federation of Labor prepared for us by Matthew Woll has been translated into German and Swedish and will be published, we confidently believe, by the responsible national trade union centers, in each of these countries. In this general connection we offer our services to any national or international in the preparation of such brief histories for the information of their own membership.

Let me turn at this point from a discussion of the practical application of our work to its constitutional basis as we defined it at our fifth national convention, which was held in the city of Boston during the month of April of this year.

In the first place, there is a fundamental recognition that workers' education is far older than our bureau that bears this name. Actually there has been workers' education ever since there has been a labor movement. Through trade union meetings, journals, addresses by organizers and officials the trade union movement has sought to educate its membership in the fundamental aims and policies of the labor movement. Each time an official has shared his experience with a younger worker and has given him counsel, he has been engaged in the process of workers' education. What is being sought by this movement is to make more systematic, more thorough and more effective that which has gone on in the past to keep step with the demands of the movement. Each year, as the early pioneers of the movement move off the active stage, there passes with them a vast storehouse of wisdom gleaned from varied experiences in the movement. You will agree that that wisdom should somewhat be preserved for future generations of labor. To make systematic this transmission of past experience is an important part of our activity; to take stock of new conditions and new situations, to forecast probable future developments—all of this constitutes an important part of the task of our modern workers' education. In this way it is felt that this movement can assist labor in meeting such problems as the organization of the unorganized, in wage negotiations, the adjustment of grievances and the passage of protective legislation. For without knowledge of the facts and proper training in their presentation there is a marked disadvantage for labor.

In the second place, the Workers' Education Bureau has from the start of its alliance with the A. F. of L. six years ago sharply defined the field in which it sought to operate. It has confined its efforts strictly to the field of education and research. It has never sought nor sanctioned any interference with the broad general field of

trade union policy. That field it regards as the field for the exclusive decision by the trade unionists operating through their own trade unions and the American Federation of Labor. We have refused to pass on labor legislation or in any wise intrude on the domain of trade union policy. Nor have we on the other hand advocated any goal or program as the special goal for Labor. We have not championed any "ism." We have not attempted to teach workers what to think, but how to think. But we have served what we have believed were the educational needs of the American labor movement. If we have made mistakes, it has been from no want of devotion to the ideals of labor. We exist to serve and not to direct; save in the field of education and research. This is the policy of the Bureau. We shall not be deflected from this course.

In the third place we have sought to so shape our Bureau as to preserve its essential integrity and yet provide a most useful medium for the promotion of workers' education among the membership of the A. F. of L. President Green has referred to our Bureau as an arm of the Federation; it has sought to be that in respect to the task over which it had authority. Let me briefly state for you its structure and control. Its direction is vested in an Executive Committee of eleven members—three elected by the affiliated internationals, three appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor, one elected from state federations and central bodies, two from workers' education classes and two at large. The chairman of our Executive Committee is Matthew Woll. At our last convention we created a new office of honorary president and provided that he should at all times be the president of the A. F. of L. We elected as the first Honorary President of the Workers' Education Bureau President William Green and he has accepted that position.

So much for these three points. Let me point out the manner in which I believe we can be of still further practical service to the American labor movement in its work.

(1) Extension of Organization

President Green is reported in the press to have said:

"If there is one thing that is more important than another in this program, it is organization and education to extend the power and influence of organized labor."

"The thing we need to do more than anything else is to map out a campaign to extend our organization."

One of the most promising fields for the extension of organization of labor is among the young workers. The appeal to youth must be a different appeal than the appeal to middle age.

Youth is enthusiastic. It will respond not to the appeals of middle age comfort but to the spirit of adventure and to idealism. They will join the ranks of labor as they see in it a great cause, as a great humanistic effort for unselfish service. That is why, Mr. President, we enroll in our workers' education movement so many young workers—because it satisfies the two great yearnings of youth—the sense of curiosity and the lure of adventure. The Workers' Education Bureau can be of very definite service in reaching youth with the message of Labor's great cause.

(2) The Challenge of the Company Union

If you would appeal to youth to join a trade union in preference to a company union you have got to present to him something more than the privileges of his membership. He will not be unaffected by the benefits that he will derive from association but if it is no more than that you may leave him cold. But there is one point upon which the challenge of trade unionism to company unionism is unanswerable. It is not its economic significance but its great human and spiritual appeal.

Youth is instinctively a great democrat; it practices brotherhood long before it can prove its existence. It believes in self-sacrifice, in service, in the protection of the weak by the strong.

To youth the company union is a narrow, parochial, selfish institution without tradition, vision or social outlook. It asks these questions:

What great human cause have company unions ever championed? Who ever heard of a company union spending their funds and their efforts in behalf of the great cause of child labor?

What company union ever would mobilize its economic strength in behalf of such humanitarian legislation as protective measures for women, as workmen's compensation, or old age pensions for all of the workers.

When have the members of company unions risked even imprisonment in behalf of free speech, a free press or any of the great constructive liberties contained in the Bill of Rights?

Have you ever heard of a company union assessing itself to relieve the distress of workers in another city, much less another country?

No. The company union can never appeal to young workers if the idealism of labor is presented to them—if it is set forth as the self-conscious expression on the part of the workers for a fuller and more abundant life.

The trade union will live because of its essential unselfishness. The company union will pass away because of its essential selfishness. The company union is as old-fashioned, as inappro-

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plate to a world of growing international relationship as the stage coach and the covered wagon for transcontinental travel.

No, men of labor. Present the appeal of Labor to young workers as a great human cause and they will join the ranks of organized labor with all the enthusiasm of their dynamic youth.

Conclusion

When the late Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, came to your annual convention in Buffalo in 1917 he held up a final test of an American to which we all can aspire. I know of no words which better express the fundamental aim of our movement than these words of Mr. Wilson when he said:

"Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to cooperate with all other classes and all other groups in the common enterprise

which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that as a final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy."

President Green: I am sure we were greatly benefited by the instructive address of Secretary Miller. He brings to us a message each year that is inspiring, instructive and helpful. This year is no exception to the rule. I am glad he was here to say to you the things which he said so sincerely and earnestly. On behalf of the convention I express my deep appreciation of his visit here and of his wonderful address.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 7.

Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

Los Angeles, Calif.,

October 7, 1927.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Mullaney, Koch, Tracy (W.), Gilboy, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Baer, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney (T. J.), Duncan (J.), Taughran, Brock, Askew, Bock, Fljozdal, Strother, Kelly (M. J.), Nesbit, Golden, Cappellini, Smith (W. R.), Barry, Hannah, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Cashen, Perry, Hanson, Johnson (R. H.), McCluskey (E. A.), Atkins, Walker, Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Brandie, Iglesias, Stroud, Studdard, Barker, Kosta, Malley, Buckland, Martel, Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, Rice, Contner, Coulter, Brady (P. J.), Wickert, Francis, Williams, Crowell, Edwards (E. W.), Young, Bower, Reagan, Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Dean, Trimmer, Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Ostran, Miller, Graham, Campbell (E.).

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from the following persons urging that the 1931 convention be held in the city of Columbus, Ohio: J. Frank War, Secretary-Treasurer of the Columbus Building Trades Council; Dale W. Stump, chairman of the Convention Committee, Columbus Federation of Labor; Frank White, president, and J. C. Dougherty, secretary Barbers' Local Union No. 204, Columbus; B. M. Good, secretary of Carpenters' Union No. 200, Columbus; and N. B. Allen, Executive Secretary of the Columbus Urban League.

R. J. Harrison, secretary of the Shreveport Typographical Union, sent a telegram asking that the 1928 convention be held in that city.

Secretary Morrison read the following message:

Long Beach, California.
The American Federation of Labor,
Los Angeles, California.

The Southern California Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in session at Long Beach, California, sends greetings to the American Federation of Labor.

From the days when early Methodist preachers preached to the miners and mill workers of England through the decades that have followed when Methodist local preachers became leaders of the British labor movement to

the present day when our church, through its supreme legislative body, has spoken in no uncertain terms relative to the advance of the working masses of the world, Methodism has sought to enthroned the essential ethical principles of Christ in the social order.

The rule of His principles, we are convinced, when men are put before things, is the basic goal toward which Labor moves. In all such endeavor we pledge our support.

We trust the convention in Los Angeles may mark such an advance in the achievement of Labor's ideals that tomorrow we may see the new Society, or as the preacher puts it "The Kingdom of God."

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gibbs, chairman of the committee, presented the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined the following credential and recommend that the delegate be seated:

San Juan, P. R., Central Labor Union
—Rafael Alonso Torres, 1 vote.

On motion of Chairman Gibbs, the report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

President Green: The chair desires to submit a supplemental report of the Executive Council, which contains within it the report of Thomas J. McQuade, fraternal delegate to the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada at Edmonton, Alberta. We will not impose upon your time and patience by reading this report, but will have it incorporated as a part of the daily proceedings.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Your Executive Council submit the following report of our Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada:

To the President and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—As your representative to the forty-third annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, I wish to state that I arrived in Edmonton on Saturday, August 20th, at 10:50 p. m. Your delegate was accorded a royal welcome at the station

and was escorted to the Hotel McDonald, where he had the pleasure of meeting the officers of the Congress.

The convention opened in Memorial Hall on Monday, August 22nd, at 10 a. m., Mr. Alfred Farmilo, president of the Edmonton Allied Trades and Labor Council, presiding. On behalf of the organized workers he welcomed the delegates from all parts of Canada and the fraternal representatives from Great Britain and the United States.

Addresses of welcome were delivered by the Hon. A. G. Bury, mayor of Edmonton; Hon. George Hoadley, acting premier of Canada, and many others.

Chairman Farmilo then presented the gavel to President Tom Moore, who expressed his appreciation of the welcome extended to the delegates by the speakers, and then officially declared the Congress open for business.

The report of the credentials committee recorded the credentials of 2 fraternal delegates, 41 international representatives, 34 delegates from Trades and Labor Councils, and 192 delegates from local unions—a total of 269 delegates.

P. M. Draper presented his twenty-seventh annual report as Secretary-Treasurer, his statement indicating the receipts for the year were \$27,759.25 and the total expenditures as \$22,330.07, leaving a balance of \$5,429.18, a net increase of \$1,602.29 over the preceding year. A very gratifying feature of his report was the information that the membership has increased 11,325 in the past twelve months.

Sixty-three resolutions were submitted to the convention, relating to a variety of subjects, including hours of labor and conditions of employment, fair wage regulation, workmen's compensation, mechanics' lien act, joint councils, unemployment, picketing, and injunctions, immigration and colonization, employment bureaus, health and safety, and other questions. A resolution to increase the number of executive council members from three to nine was defeated. Nothing of an unfriendly nature to the policies of the American Federation of Labor was introduced during the sessions.

The most important issues featured were the following:

1. Adoption of the report of the executive council requesting the federal government to renew the grant of \$1,000,000 a year to provincial governments to assist in the development of technical education and industrial training.

2. The exhaustive report on workmen's compensation legislation, with a view to uniformity of legislation in the different provinces.

3. Approval of policy of executive council to continue to use its influence to permit free access of Canadian citizens to the United

States (including naturalized citizens).

4. The passage of a federal old age pension bill and the assurance of four provinces that they will enact old age pension laws to avail themselves of the advantages offered in the federal act.

5. The enactment of legislation by the federal parliament making legal the registration of union labels with the full protection of the law.

6. Endorsement of the five-day week, in conformity with the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

7. The unanimous endorsement of the policy of fighting secession from the international unions and combating the influence of their rival, the newly-organized "All-Canadian Congress of Labor."

On Wednesday morning Fraternal Delegate John Cliff, representing the British Trade Union Congress, discoursed most interestingly on the labor conditions in Great Britain. While admitting that conditions were not all that might be desired, on the whole the situation called for optimism in regard to the future.

On Thursday morning Hon. Peter Heenan, Federal Minister of Labor, favored the convention with an illuminating address, explaining his position on old age pensions and other questions that he would be called upon in the future to help to decide.

Senator G. D. Robertson, vice-president of the Railroad Telegraphers, addressed the convention on the proper way to secure legislation and was given an enthusiastic ovation.

President Tom Moore and Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper were the unanimous choice of the delegates to succeed themselves, and all the officers of the executive council were re-elected: James Simpson, Toronto; J. T. Foster, Montreal, and R. J. Tallon, Calgary. Fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress, Fred Bush, Toronto, Ontario. Fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor, Alfred Farmilo, Edmonton, Alberta. Toronto, Ontario, was the city selected for the convention in 1928.

Your delegate was deeply impressed and cannot too strongly emphasize the impressions he received of the loyalty and admiration of our Canadian brothers for the American Federation of Labor. In all his contacts, official and social, every opportunity was taken advantage of to endorse and praise our Federation and, while your delegate was the recipient of many honors and endless courtesies, he was fully aware that in honoring him they were merely expressing the good will, friendship and esteem which they entertained for their brothers across the border.

Before concluding this report I wish

to convey to President Green and the Executive Council the greetings and best wishes of President Moore, Secretary Draper and the executive council of the Canadian Labor Congress, and to express my sincere appreciation of the honor awarded me at the Detroit convention, and to assure the delegates that it was a memorable and delightful experience, which I trust will prove beneficial and inspirational to me while memory endures.

Fraternally yours,
THOS. J. McQUADE.

President Green: We have with us this morning a very inspiring and instructive speaker. I know most of the delegates from the middle west know Attorney Hope Thompson, of Chicago. He has represented many labor organizations in a professional way. He understands the legal problems in which labor is deeply interested. I feel that the address which Attorney Thompson will deliver this morning will be an intellectual contribution, and that it will be instructive, inspiring and educational. I present to you Attorney Hope Thompson.

ADDRESS BY ATTORNEY HOPE THOMPSON

Mr. President, Delegates to This Convention, and Visitors—It is indeed an honor to address a body of men and women who are the vanguard of civilization. Not for very long have men worked for wages. Until comparatively recent times the work of the world was done by slaves. When Rome was at the height of her glory, with a million people, there were only about 30,000 persons who were not slaves or serfs.

Some three or four hundred years ago in England there were three women who were engaged in washing clothes. Their pay was a pittance, and together they went to their employer and asked for more wages. That was the first time in the history of court procedure, at least, when working men together joined in asking for an increase of pay, and the employer was so astounded and so outraged that he called in a police officer and had those three women arrested, and they were indicted, tried, convicted and imprisoned on a charge of conspiracy to increase wages.

Times changed little by little, and as the years rolled on men became a little more advised as to the fundamental rights which God had given to them, and eventually there developed some small forms of organization among men who toil. That old doctrine of conspiracy, which was the only means at that time that the em-

ployers had for attacking workmen, was continually invoked, and men who sought to combine to increase their wages or shorten their long hours were over and over and over indicted for conspiracy and sent to the penitentiary, perhaps for years.

As time went on and the human mind became clearer and freer from those old ideas, the organization of workers began to be permitted more and more, but not until recent years were there labor unions in the true sense and with the force that they are now beginning to have and to enjoy. The old doctrine of conspiracy, which simply held that if any two or more people agreed together to do some unlawful thing, or even to do a lawful thing and use some unlawful means in carrying it out, was a criminal offense, gradually lost some of its terrors, because these people were tried by juries, and juries did not like to convict their fellow workmen because they tried to get better wages and shorter hours.

So the employers were driven to seek for a new remedy. Being unable to check the progress of workmen by criminal prosecutions, largely because, as I say, the jurors would not convict their fellow workers, they conceived the brilliant idea that they could go into a court of equity, where there was no jury, and tell the chancellor, the judge, that these people were threatening the property rights of the employer and ask for an injunction.

About forty years ago the first injunction in this country was entered in a labor controversy. It was comparatively a new thing. Injunctions, of course, were old things in business affairs and in regard to property rights, but it was a new thing in connection with labor controversies. Gradually the scope of that injunction idea spread. Little by little the employers appreciated the possibilities of it, and judges who were willing to do as these employers desired reached out a little further and a little further from time to time.

However, there was one thing that the courts kept their hands off of until recently. With only a very few exceptions, and that only in a few states, the courts have not until recently said to a labor union, you cannot strike. Every labor union today has been built up, its very power has depended upon the right to quit work for any reason that seems sufficient to the workers, and the courts have said until recently that the Constitution of the United States guarantees that all men should be free from involuntary servitude, and they have said that an injunction which undertook to tell men that they must not quit work was an equivalent to a command which effected involuntary servitude.

And labor has gone on during the past forty or fifty years feeling secure that no matter what the situation

might be, no matter how serious their condition was, no matter what the basis of the controversy with employers might be, there was within their power and within their constitutional right one fundamental means of conflict, and that was the right to strike, the right to quit work when they saw fit, and most of the courts of this country have said that men may quit work, either singly or in a body, for any reason they saw fit or for no reason at all.

About five years ago one of the federal courts issued an injunction in a labor controversy forbidding the men from quitting work. There had been a few isolated cases before. Within the last five years, over and over and over the federal courts of the United States have issued injunctions which restrained labor unions from striking or threatening to strike.

Now, gentlemen and ladies of this convention, I submit to you that that is the greatest threat that faces organized labor today. The electricians of Chicago and a dozen other trades are told by the federal court in Chicago, you cannot walk off of a job when non-union electricians come on that job.

In the Bedford Stone Company case, with which you are familiar, and in other cases that are cited in the report of your Executive Council, over and over we see this tendency growing larger and larger until it looms before you today, my friends, as a threat to take away from you the only means that you have in any labor controversy, namely, the right to quit work when you please.

You might say, how can it be, how can such an unconstitutional decree be entered? I tell you it is entered, and the stone cutter today has to pack his tools and go out and cut the stone of this fellow over here, whether he wants to or not, because the stone came through interstate commerce—interstate commerce, the god of the courts! The Constitution is nothing, but interstate commerce, that gigantic, marvelous, wonderful thing that looms so high that its shadow falls across the land and tends to blight out the one great means that you and all workmen have for protecting yourselves in the struggle with employers.

The injunction is deeply imbedded. Legislators and constitutional conventions have sought time and time again to limit the injunction. When the State of Arizona adopted her constitution at the time she was admitted into the Union the Arizona convention imbedded in its constitution a provision limiting the power of the courts to issue injunctions in labor controversies, but no sooner had that been done and a statute passed by the legislature to support it than an employer grabbed that matter, ran to the Supreme Court of the United States with it, and the Supreme Court simply

wiped that out of the constitution of Arizona and out of our statutes.

Fifteen years ago or so, some eighteen states passed laws making it against public policy and illegal for employers to require employees to agree that so long as they were in the employ of that employer they would not join a labor union or continue as members of one. The Supreme Court of the State of Kansas held the law sound, but the United States Supreme Court, in the Coppage case, reviewing the whole history of legal matters connected with that principle, denounced the statute as unconstitutional, and with that fell all the statutes of a similar kind of these eighteen states.

Certain parts of the Clayton Act were passed largely at the behest of the American Federation of Labor and of its former great President. Labor believed, when Sections 6 and 20 were written into the Clayton Act, that it had secured the long sought protection, but when the Duplex case went to the United States Supreme Court the court said, it amounts to nothing, or substantially that, that it was merely a restatement of the law as it had been before, and in that case and in the Tri-Cities case the United States Supreme Court just practically wiped Sections 6 and 20 out of the Clayton Act, so far as they were of any benefit to organized labor.

Legislation is more friendly to labor than the courts, and the reason is clear. The legislators are elected and come among us with frequent short terms. They are more human. Many of them are not lawyers. You can get a lot through a legislature, but as a rule, if that law is humanitarian to any considerable extent, if it really protects working men, the courts will take a butcher knife and cut it all to pieces.

Why do they do it? Well, as I said before, the courts are all lawyers. They have been trained to look at the past, they have been trained to rely on precedent, and so they go back and see what was done last year and what was done the year before that, and what was done a century ago, and if it wasn't done then it can't be done now. That is their theory. So the courts are inclined all the time to hew away all of the progressive and advanced legislation that is possible.

Now, I should not say this, because pretty soon I will be coming before the court and some of those judges may possibly have heard that I said these things, but, my friends, these things are true. There is another reason why the courts are not, as a class, friendly to labor. In almost all cases, the judges are lawyers who have served capital and capitalist interests. They have had a lifetime of training in that point of view. It is not a matter of dishonesty with them, it is not a matter of any intention to be unfair, but it is a bias that has been born and trained into them through the years of their early life.

I say to you unless you can secure judges who are fair, judges who are humanitarian, judges whose faces are to the future and not to the past, you are going to find yourselves more and more hemmed in and tied and hindered by the issuance of injunctions.

Just a moment, now, that I may try to point out to you what I conceive to be the ultimate trend in this injunction matter. In every industrial center there are numerous judges. Among those you can always depend upon it that there are one or two who will issue an injunction any time they get a chance if employers ask for it.

Now imagine what will occur if it once becomes the established law of the land that an injunction may be issued to restrain a strike for any reason at all, whether it is interstate commerce or whether it is interference with property rights of any other kind—if it once becomes a law that a judge may issue an injunction to restrain a strike, I don't see where labor is going to get very far, because if you try to appeal it you are whipped before you ever get a hearing in the upper court. The very virtue and power of a strike is that it acts quickly, that it is of such a character that the employer cannot delay, but if the employer can go to a court and have him say to the labor union, you can't quit work, then you have the shoe on the other foot and the union is licked before it begins.

What are you going to do about it? You know better than I do, because you know your powers, you know the degree of your spirit, you know more as to how heroic and how determined you are. Will you get more legislation? Yes, get all you can. Probably most of it will be cut to pieces by the courts, but get it anyway, because it is educative if nothing else.

But more than anything else, I think, labor has got to give attention to the selection of judges. I recognize the vast service that the American Federation of Labor has rendered in aiding voters to select candidates who are friendly to labor, but I have not observed that there has been very much activity on the part of either local or national labor organizations in the matter of selecting judges. There is the fellow who can "do you" or help you, and I submit to you that you ought to give earnest attention and combined action to see to it that judges, both state and federal, are men of such character and fair-mindedness that you can expect to get a fair deal from them when you come before them.

There is one other thing I am going to say and this comes pretty nearly being personal. I have had occasion to watch some of the most important labor cases that have gone through the courts. Labor has not been as careful as it ought to be in defending those cases, which had great issues at stake. I have examined the briefs written and filed in

court by some of the attorneys for labor unions in some of these most important cases—cases in which tremendous principles were at stake, and I say to you I have found that some of those cases were not well defended.

I believe that the issue is so great that organized labor cannot permit a little weak union to fight its battles alone, but that it ought to see to it that when a case gets into the courts that threatens the very principles of organized labor, the whole body of labor shall lend its support to see that that case is adequately defended.

I read with great interest a little bulletin of legal information published by the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Woll in charge. That bulletin comes out from time to time and gives court decisions that are of interest to labor. I do think that that ought to be carried a little further, so that the leaders of organized labor have not only the actual court decisions, but that they have some interpretation, some explanation of their significance, in time of serious controversy, so that the great body of organized labor shall come to the aid of the weaker union that may not be able financially to finance the hard and costly bitter fight with the powerful employers.

I thank you very much.

President Green: I know we are all glad to listen to this instructive and educational address. We will give most serious and thoughtful consideration to the suggestions offered by our friend, Attorney Thompson. We realize that he discussed a subject that is very close to our life and work. It is pressing for consideration, it is an issue that cannot be evaded. We must meet it fairly and squarely, because in the ever-broadening interpretation placed by the courts upon the conspiracy sections of the Sherman law we find we are hampered and hindered and restricted in the exercise of our normal activity. We cannot begin to comprehend where it is all leading to. We find a constant encroachment upon the rights of labor.

I am very glad we had the pleasure of listening to Attorney Thompson. His address will be included in the proceedings of the convention.

Mrs. Ethel Holmes and Anna B. Fitzgerald come to us as fraternal delegates from the Women's International Union Label League. For many years fraternal delegates from the Label League have attended the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Miss Fitzgerald has spoken to us at

several conventions, and now it appears that the league is so much interested in its work that it has honored us by sending two delegates to this convention. Each of them will speak to you this morning. I call upon Mrs. Ethel A. Holmes to address you now.

ADDRESS BY MRS. ETHEL A. HOLMES

(Fraternal Delegate, Women's International Union Label League)

Mr. President and Delegates—I am very proud to have the honor of attending your convention, which is meeting in my home city, and to have been elected by the Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary to bring to you our greetings and appreciation of your co-operation with us in our work for the union label; to pledge anew our loyalty and support to the ideals and aims of the great cause you represent.

We realize that education in real trades unionism is one of our great needs today; lack of it is a weakness of our organization. This is particularly true in regard to the women in our homes. Trades unionists should take a deep interest in demanding the union label, and a still deeper interest in educating the women of their own immediate families to demand the union label, not alone as individuals, but as part of an organization.

So far only pioneer work has been done in this direction. Union men, in the ranks at least, apparently fail to realize women's influence in the industrial world today. With greater leisure than ever before afforded them, because of the many inventions for reducing labor in the home, our women who are the purchasing agents for their families, who spend the millions earned by our workers, do not realize the great power they can wield in labor's behalf.

If our demand for the union label were as great as the spending power of our union-earned dollars the greatest disgrace of our present-day civilization, prison labor and child labor, would cease. The bright-eyed, rosy-cheeked, care-free children in the homes of our union men today are the workers of tomorrow, the citizens of our country. If, in their early susceptible years, they are taught the history of trades unionism, its ideals and aspirations, would it not mean a tremendous strengthening of the labor movement of the near as well as distant future?

It is to the women that you must look for this aid, and these women need a better understanding of trades unionism themselves. Why not begin to build now, so that the labor movement of the next generation may be

as far ahead in strength and power of the labor movement of today as that of today is ahead of the movement of twenty years ago?

We feel sure that your efforts will bring a larger measure of happiness and well being to the millions of men and women wage earners, and we believe you could do humanity no finer service than to devise ways and means to educate the union home workers, the women in your own homes, in the history and ideals of real trades unionism, to teach them the power that is theirs, the power of the union label.

President Green: The next speaker scarcely needs any introduction. She is known to many of the delegates, and I have pleasure in presenting to you Miss Anna B. Fitzgerald.

ADDRESS BY ANNA B. FITZGERALD
(Fraternal Delegate, Women's International Union Label League)

In addressing the convention Miss Fitzgerald said, in part:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I would not attempt to take up the time of this convention from year to year if it were not that I realize that each time there are new delegates coming here, and we want you to know that there is an organization of women pledged to the support of the American Federation of Labor, the union label, the shop card and button, and we believe that no city has quite completed its activities in the labor movement until it has organized or helped to organize a branch of this organization.

In cities where our women are organized and co-operating with the labor movement we find that the label activity is much more effective than it is where the women have taken no interest. The women spend something like 80 per cent of the money, and it is absolutely necessary to interest them in this work if we hope to have the label stand for anything constructive.

With all the ups and downs that go with every organization in the beginning, we have been doing wonderful work for the union label, shop card and button. We could not have done this had it not been for the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and its departments, the state and city central bodies, and it is to those bodies in particular that I appeal this morning. We want your continued co-operation. We want to place an organization of women in every city and town, it matters not how small.

There is room for such activity. The products of organized labor should go into every home. There is no possible way this can be brought about unless we educate and interest the women in the home. It is the women who will educate the children and tell them

something of the principles of trade unionism. Each day the influence of the mother in the home is felt by the child, and we believe that if this generation can organize and educate the women to the true principles of unionism and the value of the union label, they, in turn, will teach the children and the next generation will place a greater value on the union label and its possibilities than we have.

I have attended every convention of the American Federation of Labor for twenty years, so you know the organization that I represent is not a fad organization that is here today and gone tomorrow. We are organized on the principles of trade unionism and, with that instilled in our hearts and minds, we feel as though we have some incentive to work for, and we are going to continue until every woman is in the ranks of our organization, demanding the union label, shop card and button, co-operating in every possible way with the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: We deeply appreciate these addresses from the fraternal delegates from the Women's International Union Label League, and they will be incorporated in the proceedings of the convention.

I now introduce Mr. J. D. Maddrill, Vice-President and General Manager of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. I know how thoroughly equipped Mr. Maddrill is to talk upon his work and about the matter of labor life insurance. I present him to you now for an address.

ADDRESS BY J. D. MADDRILL
(Vice-President and General Manager,
Union Labor Life Insurance Company)

Mr. President and Delegates: It is a pleasure to present to you a matter which is of vital interest to every man. You know it is characteristic of human kind that they think of disaster and even of death as a thing that does not touch them, but when they stop to reason it is perfectly obvious to every one that death will come to every one of us. Death is not the only disaster that can happen to a man. He may be struck down by disease or accident. He may by other means be prevented from earning his support and the support of his dependents.

One thing he is sure of, and that is that he is going to die some time. He never knows the day or the hour or the minute. Everywhere one reads of deaths that are unexpected. A man never knows when his entire earning capacity may be taken from him with one fell swoop of accident.

If he looks around a little bit and reads the labor press, if he reads

circulars, if he reads doctrines that are broadcast everywhere about what insurance will do for him, he learns that there is a way to take from his dependents and from himself permanently the overhanging question of danger, the hazard of death or permanent total disability to himself, which will put him out of the running and stop his earning capacity and put his dependents upon their own resources.

If he looks into this matter he knows that insurance, just as the word means in the dictionary, assures him that if he is taken out of the picture his dependents will not become destitute. All he has to do is to put something aside each year or each month, depositing it at intervals, according to the terms of the contract that he has with the insurance company. He knows when he makes those deposits that his dependents are protected against dire poverty and destitution that may follow his being stricken, either by death, disease or accident.

You folks have many problems that you are studying and bringing forward here year after year in your conventions. The particular thing I am discussing this morning is not new to you. You have heard it at several conventions. In 1923 the matter was presented by a committee of two, and thereafter President Gompers appointed a committee, Matthew Woll and George W. Perkins, to look into and make a study of the methods that were involved in taking care of these questions I have just been discussing.

The matter was up in the El Paso convention in 1924, and later a conference was called together by President Green in 1925 in the Executive Council chamber at Washington. At this conference something like fifty of the national and international organizations were represented, and they went into this problem concretely to see what could be done and what kind of organization could be effected, which could take up this problem and give to it the sound and permanent solution that union labor could look to—not a hit-and-miss plan, not every organization for itself, but combining their interests, putting into the plan those things which would make it a sound and permanent institution and not subject to the vagaries that do exist in some plans that are now before us.

Time will tell how some things will turn out, but time has told how this thing is going to turn out. It is based upon the experience of all life insurance practice from the very beginning, and that is something that is a hundred years old. Millions and millions of dollars are set aside and devoted to this business of insurance.

Occasionally you will hear something said about this being a financial proposition or a business proposition that union labor should not indulge in. Let me ask you, the man who feels

that way, how about taking a policy without a union label on it? Isn't that just as much a question of concern as taking a pair of shoes without the union label on it?

Now I could talk on this technical question here, but you don't want to hear about that, because it is a trying subject. You know the life insurance salesman is always looked upon with disfavor, and so I am not going to talk to you about that phase of it, I am just going to tell you who are in this thing.

The officers of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company are spread over the entire labor movement. Many organizations are represented on the Advisory Board of this company. This is an over-reaching plan for the adoption of anybody and everybody in the trade union movement who wants insurance.

Matthew Woll, President of the company, is one of its founders and one of those whose forethought and study brought it about. George W. Perkins, for many years President of the Cigar Makers' International Union, is a Vice-President. Thomas Burke, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, is a Vice-President. Luther C. Steward, President of the Federation of Federal Employees, is the secretary of the company, and Martin F. Ryan, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, is the treasurer. Hope Thompson, to whom you listened a little while ago, is the General Counsel. We have a chief medical examiner and we have technical men, and I happen to be one of them.

We have on the executive committee, besides the gentlemen I have mentioned, Mr. William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees; James Maloney, of the Glass Bottle Blowers; Elmer E. Milliman, Secretary-Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees; Thomas C. Cashen, of the Switchmen's Union, are directors; also James M. Lynch, of the International Typographical Union; Mr. William Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists; Joseph N. Weber, of the American Federation of Musicians; Andrew A. Myrup, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union; Thomas Flaherty, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Morris Sigman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers; T. A. Rickert, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, as well as President of the United Garment Workers of America; Philip Bock, of the Lithographers; William Bowen, President of the Bricklayers and Masons; Peter Brady, President of the Federation Bank in New York City, and Joseph H. Woodward, a technical man; Albert J. Klugler, Soft Drink Workers of America, and William P. Clarke,

President of the Flint Glass Workers. All these are directors of the organization.

On the Advisory Board are the following:

Fred W. Baer, President, International Association of Fire Fighters.

Felix J. Belair, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

John Bell, President, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers.

W. W. Britton, President, Metal Polishers International Union.

John P. Burke, President, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada.

William F. Canavan, President, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees of America.

C. A. Cardwell, Secretary-Treasurer, Alabama State Federation of Labor.

Anthony J. Chlopek, President, International Longshoremen's Association.

William Collins, President, Railway Mail Association.

C. C. Coulter, Secretary-Treasurer, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

E. Lewis Evans, President, Tobacco Workers' International Union.

Frank Feeney, President, International Union of Elevator Constructors.

Jacob Fischer, Secretary-Treasurer, Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

John Fitzpatrick, President, Chicago Federation of Labor.

Edward Flore, President, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

H. W. Fox, President, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

J. A. Franklin, President, International Brotherhood Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

John P. Frey, President, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

Frank Gillmore, Executive Secretary, Actors' Equity Association.

James E. Goodyear, Secretary-Treasurer, International Plate Printers and Die Stammers' Union of North America.

P. E. Gorman, President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Michael F. Greene, President, United Hatters of North America.

E. G. Hall, President, Minnesota Federation of Labor.

G. F. Hedrick, President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

D. W. Helt, President, Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America.

Earl R. Hoage, President, Colorado State Federation of Labor.

J. J. Hoban, President, Cleveland Typographical Union.

Arthur M. Huddell, President, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

J. J. Hynes, President Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.
Santiago Iglesias, Secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor.

B. M. Jewell, President, Railroad Employees' Department, A. F. of L.
Roscoe H. Johnson, President, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America.

Jerome Jones, Georgia State Federation of Labor.

Winfield T. Keegan, President, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America.

M. J. Keough, President, International Molders' Union of North America.

William Kohn, President, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

William F. Kramer, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

D. J. McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer, Boston Allied Printing Trades Council.

E. J. McGivern, President, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada.

Thomas F. McMahon, President, United Textile Workers of America.

E. J. Manion, President, Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

John J. Manning, Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L.

Frank X. Martel, Secretary-Treasurer, Detroit Federation of Labor.

James H. Maurer, President, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

Tom Moore, President, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Joseph V. Moreschi, President, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

P. J. Morrin, President, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

J. A. Mullaney, President, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers.

W. O. Murphy, Secretary-Treasurer, Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

James O'Connell, President, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

John A. O'Connell, Secretary-Treasurer, San Francisco Labor Council.

Henry Ohl, Jr., President, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Victor A. Olander, Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Joseph Orr, Secretary-Treasurer, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America.

Joseph Pelletier, Secretary-Treasurer, Montreal Trades and Labor Council.

J. M. Richle, Organizer, American Federation of Labor.

Joseph P. Ryan, President, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.

Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary-Treasurer, California State Federation of Labor.

C. L. Shamp, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers.

William M. Short, Washington State Federation of Labor.

George H. Slater, Secretary-Treasurer, Texas State Federation of Labor.

W. R. Smith, President, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

Sam Squibb, President, Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

F. G. Stecker, American Federation of Teachers.

John Sullivan, President, New York State Federation of Labor.

M. F. Tighe, President, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Daniel J. Tobin, President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

John Walker, President, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Frank J. Weber, Secretary-Treasurer, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council.

Charles L. Wiegand, Secretary-Treasurer, Baltimore Federation of Labor.

James Wilson, President, Pattern Makers' League of North America.

John T. Wood, President, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

Max Zuckerman, Secretary-Treasurer, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

They are truly of representative character, as indicated by the mere reading of their names. It sounds like a roster of the American Federation of Labor.

Now this company exists and is being built up to furnish this very greatly needed commodity to all trade unionists. It is not competing against any good thing that exists in the labor movement. It proposes buying a policy with a union label on it, from the company owned, organized and operated by the trade unions.

In this book I have a list from which I can indicate the general ownership of the shares of this organization. The American Federation of Labor holds 300 shares. Sixty national and international unions own 9,595 shares. Three hundred and sixty-seven local unions and forty-three miscellaneous bodies together own 3,676 shares. Three hundred and four individuals own 1,429 shares, and those individuals are all trade unionists.

Why does it have stock? It has stock so that the control and ownership of this company can be guaranteed to be permanently in the hands of trade unionists. It takes thirty days to dispose of a share of this stock, the Union Labor Life Insurance Company has thirty days' option to determine where that share may be disposed of. That is the means of guar-

anteing the perpetual ownership of this company by trade unionists.

There are twenty-three men on the Board of Directors, twenty of them prominent men and heads of international organizations. The arrangements are such that not more than one man from any one organization can represent that organization at one time. In other words, this thing cannot be in the control of any one organization, it cannot be controlled by a clique. All of these things have been introduced to protect this concern from becoming a one-sided or isolated thing. It is protected against that from every angle and it is provided by all these means that it shall be an over-reaching and far-reaching plan for providing insurance coverage such as is needed by the worker at cost—provided by those whom he trusts and on a sound and permanent basis which is insured by the method of organization of the insurance program.

What more can a trade unionist want, what better medium of carrying his insurance can he find than that provided by the Union Labor Life Insurance Company? I would like to talk by the hour, but I think I should perhaps retire before I weary you.

Mr. President, I thank you.

President Green: We very deeply appreciate the address of Mr. Mad-drill, and those of you who were not privileged to hear what he said will have the pleasure of reading it in the minutes of the convention. This subject of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company is one in which we are all deeply interested.

The Chair will now call for reports of committees.

The chairman of the Label Committee announced that its report was ready for presentation.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Delegate Weaver, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 9 by adding, after the word "collars," last line, "and all other products of union labor where procurable." The amended resolution is as follows:

Urging Purchase of Union-Made Collars

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegate T. P. Hollcraft of the Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.

At a regular meeting of the Women's Union Card and Label League, of Olympia, Wash., held Sept. 16, 1927, the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the officers and delegates attending the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be requested to wear union-made collars and all other products of union labor where procurable.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Support of Label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union Urged

Resolution No. 11.—By Delegation of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The campaign against the Ward Bread Trust, unanimously approved at previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, has been successful to the extent of forcing a partial dissolution of that monster combination and thus destroying the dictatorship which William B. Ward, the "Bread King," sought to establish over the entire baking industry; and

WHEREAS, The three great corporations into which this trust was dissolved, namely, the Ward Baking Corporation, the General Baking Corporation, and the Continental Baking Corporation, are each capitalized at hundreds of millions of dollars, and are therefore in a position to establish a substantial control over prices, wages and working conditions in the baking industry; and

WHEREAS, It was conclusively demonstrated by an investigation conducted at the last session of Congress at the instance of Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, that the consent decree by which this partial dissolution was effected was secured by collusion in conjunction with an unethical understanding that the Federal Trade Commission's complaint against the Continental Baking Corporation should be dismissed; and

WHEREAS, The "Big Three" baking corporations, and particularly the Ward Corporation, have continued their unfair and hostile attitude toward the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to continue their efforts to secure from the Congress effective action based upon the facts developed by the Walsh investigation to protect the American people from the development of a bread monopoly and to secure for the workers in the baking industry the right to organize and bargain collectively; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the members of every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, together with the members of their families, be urged to purchase only bread bearing the label of the Bakery and Confectionery

Workers' International Union of America, as a means of protecting themselves against the development of a Bread Trust and securing themselves and their children bread baked under wholesome and sanitary conditions.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

By adopting this resolution your committee calls special attention to the first resolve, requesting "That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to continue their efforts to secure from Congress effective legislation based upon the facts and evidence developed by Senator Walsh, to protect the American people from the development of a bread monopoly, and to secure for the workers in the baking industry the right to organize."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**To Support Publicity Campaign of
American Federation of Full-
Fashioned Hosiery Workers
Affiliated With United
Textile Workers**

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, an organization composed of 31 local unions in different parts of our country, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America, is planning a campaign for the promotion of the sale of their Full Fashioned Hosiery products made under fair and humane working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The most popular, reliable, stylish and widely advertised products of union-made Full Fashioned Hosiery can be purchased in every town and city of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The fair standards and the humane conditions established by these organized workers are seriously threatened by a small but powerful group of unfair Full Fashioned Hosiery employers through the use of the yellow dog contract, discrimination, intimidation, as well as the use of professional labor spies in their attempt to destroy the organization of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, an organization affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Los Angeles, California, give their full moral support to the promotion cam-

paign about to be launched for the purpose of educating the organized workers and their friends to the necessity of purchasing only Full Fashioned Hosiery made under union conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to have the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify all secretaries of International, National and Federal Unions, as well as the secretaries of all State Branches and Central Labor Unions, of the action of this Convention on the above resolution.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 31 and 32

In giving consideration to the subject-matter of Resolutions Nos. 31 and 32, which have been withdrawn, your committee realized that if adopted in the form presented, the effect would be to constitute an invasion of the charter rights of affiliated unions. Desirous, however, of being helpful in the pending controversy, it is recommended that if, in harmony with their policy, the national and international unions interested be requested to confer with each other in a conference, whose object shall be the elimination of conditions complained of and to bring about an adjustment which shall be mutually satisfactory.

In seeking a solution of pending grievances your committee further suggests that, if necessary, the good offices of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be solicited and utilized in accomplishment of the end desired.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

To Support Union Label of the Journeymen Tailors' Union

Resolution No. 77 — By Delegates Gust. Soderberg and C. N. Bolander of the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America has through many years of strenuous effort and sacrifices on the part of its members succeeded in establishing the eight-hour day, abolishing sweat shops, home work and tenement house work in practically every city of the United States and Canada with the exception of New York City, Philadelphia and Baltimore; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America have made continued efforts to organize the Journeymen Tailors of the above named cities without satisfactory results, due mainly to the organized opposition on the part of the merchant tailors in these cities; and

WHEREAS, the merchant tailors of the above named cities through salesmen or agents sell their products in other cities of this country in competition with fair employers and Union labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such methods are not only an imposition on the purchasing public unaware of the conditions under which these products are being made, but unfair to honest employers of Union Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we request the officers of the American Federation of Labor to communicate with officers of State Federations in New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland and also to officers of central bodies in New York City, Philadelphia and Baltimore, with the end that the now existing laws against tenement house and home work be more rigidly enforced; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask members of Organized Labor everywhere to request the Union Label of the Journeymen Tailors on custom made clothes wherever possible.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Following the report on resolutions the committee submitted the following:

Union Label Trades Department

Your committee learns with satisfaction and interest that at the convention of the Union Label Trades Department, held in this city on September 29 and 30, the officers of that department reported progress and expressed the opinion that the demand for the union label, shop card and working button generally had increased, and that the membership had increased nearly 10,000, with the American Federation of Labor and 46 national and international unions in affiliation.

The department is to be commended for availing itself of the use of the radio to advise the public in general of the aims and ideals of organized labor and the aid which can be rendered humankind by using the power of purchase to discriminate between the product of the sweat shop, the

prison and the unfair employer from commodities made or produced under fair and humane conditions.

Legislation for Women and Children in Industry

Your committee was deeply moved on the opening day of this convention by the reference of President Green in his wonderful address on that day to his advocacy and the advocacy of the general labor movement in support of legislation protecting women and children in industry, and we are sure that he voiced the sentiments on this and other subjects discussed by him of every delegate at this convention.

Undoubtedly the future development of our country and its citizenship depends almost entirely upon the advantages given to our children in matters educational and other social advantages as, if we are to perpetuate our American institutions and ideals as they should be, it can only be done through an intelligent citizenship. The wealth of our country cannot and must not be measured in terms material, as the only wealth of value which we can amass is an intelligent citizenship, keenly alive to the fact that government must at all times be for the human element rather than that which the human element produces.

Latest reports indicate that there are approximately 1,000,000 children under 16 years of age who are engaged in gainful occupations. This condition is an indictment against the states in which these children are employed, as these states insist that their "state's rights" would be invaded and nullified if the National Government were permitted to enact legislation minimizing this evil, through an amendment to the Constitution.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, that there is grave danger in concentration of power in the National Government to regulate the affairs of the people, yet the opponents of the child labor amendment have not approached the question in a fair manner, as willful misrepresentation and exaggeration have been resorted to, in order to create confusion and opposition in the minds of the people to prevent its adoption.

When any state or states fail to enact legislation protecting our greatest asset, the children, their hypocrisy exhibited through their false cry of "state rights" approaches the criminal, for they are not only morally copartners with those who exploit the children for profit, but actually deny them opportunity for educational and physical development so necessary for them to meet the problems which undoubtedly will confront them after maturity.

The real poverty of a country is not measured so much in dollars and cents but, rather, in the intelligence of its citizens, for without this development no country can become truly great. The draft in the late war exposed startling conditions of illiteracy in this country, not so much among the foreign as the native-born, the majority of this illiteracy being found in states that had no protective legislation in the interest of children.

While aiding in securing legislation of a protective character for our children and waiting for its enactment, we have a weapon at hand which can be used very effectively in creating a public sentiment against the exploitation of our children, and that is the union label.

Let us tell the American people clearly and without equivocation or exaggeration that our unions which use the union label, shop card or working button will not tolerate the employment of children under 16 years of age in gainful occupations and make appeal to them that it is their duty to cooperate with us in thus conserving the nation's greatest asset.

Power of Purchase

Safety first has become a well-known and many times necessary slogan for the protection of human life and limb, and one of the most efficient ways your committee knows of to make safety first a real slogan is through our power of purchase. By ourselves and our families refusing to purchase the product of the non-union or open shop and

by not patronizing merchants who are hostile to our movement we can deal very effective blows, not only directly in the interests of our labor movement, but we can materially aid in reducing the number of children exploited for the profit of employers on the one hand and the greed of parents who see nothing in their children but their commercial value.

There should be no hesitation upon the part of any member of organized labor to demand the union label, shop card or working button when making purchases, as the article to be purchased or the service secured is always equal and many times it is better than where these emblems are not used. The same zeal should and must be shown by union men in demanding union label goods and union service, as is displayed in the observance of all trade union ethics.

Those who are advocating purchase of only union-made goods and union service neither ask nor seek favors when they make these demands. All that we can reasonably demand and what we do demand is that they be offered for sale on an equal sales basis with non-union goods or service; and this position should be explained fully to all merchants.

Education

As before noted in this report, we are pleased to know that progress in this field of education of our members is being made and that it will continue is our earnest hope. It should be remembered, however, that upon ourselves is the burden of increasing and perpetuating this demand for union commodities, as we are directly interested and can only hope and secure such progress as we deserve through our consistency as true trade unionists.

Canadian Trade-Mark Act

Your committee notes with satisfaction in the report of the secretary of the Union Label Trades Department

that an amendment has been passed to the Canadian Trade-Mark Act, legalizing and protecting the various emblems of our affiliated unions.

Your committee recommends that the appreciation and thanks of the officers and delegates to this convention be extended to the officers of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, the Union Label Trades Department and the International Unions who co-operated to bring about success in this direction after thirty-two years of ceaseless effort.

Women's International Union Label League

Your committee commends very highly the work done by the Women's International Label League, and urges the delegates to this convention and the officers of state and central bodies to render these noble women every

possible assistance and co-operation whenever the opportunity is offered.

JOHN J. MANNING,
Chairman;
C. A. WEAVER,
Secretary;
C. N. BOLANDER,
MAX HAYES,
M. ZUCKERMAN,
W. C. FRANKLIN,
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
WILLIAM COLLINS,
J. M. McCUNE,
HENRY KOCH,
JOHN J. RILEY,
FELIX BELAIR,
FRANK W. ANDERSON,
THOMAS J. MAHONEY,
P. J. RYAN,
Committee on Labels

The report of the committee was adopted.

At 12 o'clock the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Fifth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Mullaney, Fischer, Horn, Hagerty (J. B.), Tracy (W.), Engelhardt, Zuckerman, Noonan, Paulsen, Evans (E. J.), Joyce, Vickers, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Baer, Shamp, Morton, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney, Duncan (J.), Etchison, Brock, Askew, Bock, Ryan (J. P.), Fhozdal, McCrane, Strother, Gorman, Kelly (M. J.), Nesbit, Golden, Cappellini, Hughes (F.), Kerngood, Smith, Barry, Wilson (J.), Hannah, Burke (T.), Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Collins, Strickland, Perry, Hanson, Manion, Perham, Gibbs, Johnson (R. H.), McMahon, Conboy, Spencer, McCluskey, Atkins, Johnson, Ely, Brandle, Sullivan (John), Roberts, Stroud, Bennett, Studdard, Barker, Kosta, Buckland, Martel, Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, Rice, Contner, Denison, Brady, Draper, Huff, Wickert, Francis, Crowell, Bower, Reagan, Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Dean, Trimmer, Covert, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller, Graham, Campbell (A. C.), Gayhart.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gibbs, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee has received a communication from Roy Horn, General

President of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, advising that W. J. Powlesland, who was elected as a delegate, is unable to attend the convention and requesting that James A. Cranna be seated as a delegate from the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers in his place.

Your Committee recommends that James A. Cranna be seated.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Woil, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, moved that the report of that committee be made a special order of business for 2:30 o'clock Monday afternoon, and that it be a special order until completed. The motion was adopted.

President Green: At the beginning of the session it was suggested that a resolution be introduced endorsing the Tyson-Fitzgerald Bill, pending in Congress, which proposes the retirement of disabled emergency army officers. It was intended that such a resolution would be introduced and considered by this convention. I am

sure a resolution having such a worthy purpose would have been given practically unanimous approval. In view of the fact that such a resolution was not introduced, I have asked Captain William J. Shirley, Commander of Quentin Roosevelt Chapter No. 5, Disabled American Veterans of the World War, to speak to us on this subject, and we will be glad to have his remarks referred to a committee. I take pleasure in introducing Captain Shirley.

**ADDRESS BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM
SHIRLEY**

Mr. President and Delegates of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I wish to preface my few remarks today with an apology. I am neither a laboring man with a card, nor am I a professional orator. However, I do wish to present for your serious attention and consideration action on the proposed Tyson-Fitzgerald Bill, which is now pending in Congress, and which under various names has been pending in Congress for the past seven years. For your information I will read a brief statement of the proposed act:

An Act

Making eligible for retirement under certain conditions officers of the United States Army, other than officers of the Regular Army, who incurred physical disability in line of duty while in the service of the United States during the war.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all persons who have served as officers of the United States Army during the World War other than officers of the Regular Army, and who have incurred physical disability in line of duty and who have heretofore, or may hereafter, be rated at not less than 30 per centum permanent disability by the Veterans' Bureau, shall, upon application, be retired with the same privileges as now provided by law for officers of the Regular Army who have been retired for physical disability incurred in line of duty: Provided, That all pay and allowance to which such persons or officers may be entitled under the provisions of this law shall be paid solely out of the military and naval compensation appropriation fund of the Veterans' Bureau and shall be in lieu of the disability compensation benefits provided in the Act creating the Veterans' Bureau and amendments thereto: And provided further, That such officers of the United States Army as shall have incurred disability of less than 30 per centum and more than 10 per centum permanent disability as may have been, or may hereafter, be

rated by the Veterans' Bureau, shall, on application, be retired under the same conditions as now provided by law for officers of the Regular Army who have incurred physical disability in line of duty but without retired pay and shall be entitled only to such compensation and other benefits as may now or hereafter be provided for by law.

No person shall be entitled to benefits under the provisions of this Act except he make application as hereinbefore provided within twelve months after the passage of this Act.

Passed the Senate February 20 (calendar day, February 21,) 1922.

Attest: GEORGE A. SANDERSON,
Secretary.
By H. M. ROSE,
Assistant Secretary.

For your further information, may I read a part of the proposed resolution which the Disabled American Veterans of this country would appreciate passing by unanimous consent on the floor of this convention.

**Resolution for the Relief of the
Disabled Emergency Army Officers**

WHEREAS, There were nine classes of officers who fought for the United States in the World War, to wit: Regular Army, Navy, and Marine Corps Officers; Provisional Army, Navy, and Marine Corps Officers; and Emergency Army, Navy, and Marine Corps Officers; and

WHEREAS, of the nine named classes of officers, eight classes, to wit: the Regular Army, Navy and Marine Corps, the Provisional Army, Navy and Marine Corps, and the Emergency Navy and Marine Corps Officers who became disabled in line of duty to the extent that they were incapacitated for further military duty, have been for the past seven years, under laws passed by Congress, retired on seventy-five per cent (75%) of their active duty pay on account of such disability; but,

WHEREAS, The ninth class of such officers, to wit: the Emergency Army Officers, who became disabled in line of duty to the extent that they were incapacitated for further military duty, have been for the past seven years denied the retirement privileges which have already been accorded the other eight classes of disabled officers; and,

WHEREAS, The American Legion at each of its national conventions has overwhelmingly voted to have enacted into law legislation for the retirement of the Emergency Army Officers permanently disabled in line of duty during the World War so as to place them on the same footing as the other eight classes of disabled officers who are now on the retired lists; and

WHEREAS, All other veterans' organizations of any standing have voted in department and national conventions to have enacted into law legislation to ac-

cord the Disabled Emergency Army Officers the same retirement privileges already accorded by Congress to the other eight classes of officers; and

WHEREAS, Bills to grant this justice have been pending in the national Congress since the Armistice; have twice passed the Senate, have been repeatedly approved and favorably reported by congressional committees; and a large majority of the members of Congress have expressed themselves as being in favor of the proposed legislation; and

WHEREAS, Measures similar to the Tyson-Fitzgerald bills of the 69th Congress will be introduced in the 70th Congress; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Los Angeles, Cal., this 7th day of October, 1927, that we do favor and urge the passage of this legislation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to Senator L. D. Tyson and Congressman Roy G. Fitzgerald, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and any and all other individuals to whom it may be deemed advisable to send copies.

May I say just a few words in closing on behalf of this bill. I have the high honor to be the Commander of a local organization known as Quentin Roosevelt Chapter No. 5 of a national organization known as Disabled American Veterans of the World War, membership in which is limited, not to rank, not to grade, but only to disability incurred while in service. Our organization has about one thousand, and contains no man who does not have a permanent disability of at least ten per cent. Our membership is composed largely of non-commissioned men, or what we term Buck Privates.

Regular army officers have opposed this bill because they say it is a discrimination to the ex-enlisted man. I think it will be conceded that the best answer to that comes from the ex-enlisted men themselves. Our national organization of disabled veterans has unanimously for the past seven years demanded the immediate passage of this proposed retirement of disabled emergency officers. There are about 2,000 disabled emergency officers throughout the nation. The cost to the government will be approximately \$1,000,000 per year.

As an organization we take pleasure in appealing to the sense of such an organization as the American Federa-

tion of Labor, whose keystone and motto has always been fair play to all and discrimination to none.

President Green: The remarks of Captain Shirley will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate Hall, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Legislation in States

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 76-78, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee has very carefully considered the report on legislation enacted and defeated in the various State Legislatures that have met in session since the Executive Council report of last year.

Our attention has been called to the fact that there is an error in the copy of the report covering legislation in the State of Minnesota. In the sixth line of that paragraph the word "created" should read "defeated."

The record of affirmative achievements in the several states in behalf of the well being of wage earners and the welfare of the public generally is only exceeded by the record of the defeat of proposals intended to limit the rights and defeat the hopes and opportunities of the workers of our several states and to benefit solely the possessors of great wealth or those scheming for wealth without giving in return full and adequate and helpful service.

The achievements both affirmative and negative are a great tribute to the alertness, efficiency and proficiency of our several state federations of labor. They show beyond the question of doubt that the policies heretofore pursued are practical and effective and constitute a force in our several state governments that make for constant progressive, constructive and helpful legislation to the common people of our several state governments.

Your Committee recommends not only words of commendation for that which has been done, but urges even greater attention in the future on the part of our several state federations

of labor in this field of wholesome and beneficial legislation for the masses.

We also approve and commend the Executive Council for its practical and constructive guidance and coordination of the organized efforts of the wage earners in all our States and Territories in this legislative sphere of action.

We further direct attention to the statement of the Executive Council in connection with this work and recommend full concurrence in the recommendations of the Executive Council contained in their report to the convention on this subject.

The duty and need of the affiliation of Local Unions with State Federations of Labor can not be too strongly emphasized or too often reiterated.

State Federations of Labor could render greater service and cooperation to the American Federation of Labor and to the International Unions both in carrying out the program of legislation as well as that of organization if all local bodies could be prevailed upon to affiliate with their respective State Federations of Labor.

We recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue to use their best offices with the national and international officers to have their unions affiliate with the several State Federations of Labor to the end that our movement may be better able to solve the problems that confront us.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Application for Organizer for Louisiana

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Ernest H. Zwally of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of the State of Louisiana and other States of the South are doing all that they are able to do to expand the ranks of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, We feel that, having shown our faith in the labor movement, and realizing that we need assistance to further the cause of Organized Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council be instructed to employ an organizer on a full-time basis for the State of Louisiana for a period of twelve months.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council to act as the funds of the Federation permit.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Hall: This concludes the report of the Committee on State Organization.

MARTIN F. RYAN,
Chairman;
E. G. HALL,
Secretary;

S. C. HOGAN,
FRANK A. PETERSON,
HENRY BIEHL,
WALTER NESBIT,
C. M. PAULSEN,
J. M. GILLESPIE,
D. P. HAGGERTY,
W. M. COLLINS,
PATRICK GORMAN,
JOSEPH FAY,
JOHN FITZGERALD,
T. N. FAYLOR,
J. C. LEWIS.

Committee on State Organizations.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted and the committee continued.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS

Delegate Case, secretary of the committee, reported as follows: Your Committee on Boycotts begs me to submit for your approval the following report:

To Assist Metal Polishers' International Union in the Dispute With the Chicago Flexible Shaft Company

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Flexible Shaft Company, makers of Cooper, Stewart and Stewart Arizona combs, cutters and shears for shearing of sheep and horses, and also manufacturers of the "Sun-beam" electric irons and toasters, has declared for the non-union shop, refused to pay the scale of wages, forcing the employees of the Metal Polishing, Buffing and Plating departments to strike in defense of their organization; and

WHEREAS, This strike has been going on since May 1st, 1927. Attempts have been made by the President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the U. S. Conciliator, the Executive Board of the local Metal Trades Council, the International President of the Metal Polishers' Union, and by the General Secretary-Treasurer of the Australian Workers' Union, and to all those attempts the management has made it plain that it is not so much

a question of wages, as that they do not intend to permit organized labor in their plant; and

WHEREAS, They have placed the directing of this strike in the hands of the National Metal Trades Association, who have employed private detectives, well-known gunmen, and quite a corps of professional strike-breakers that will take the place of strikers regardless of what trade they work at; and

WHEREAS, The sheep-shearing machinery manufactured by this concern is used largely in Australia, in the Argentine Republic, the Republic of Mexico, and through the western part of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to attempt to make an adjustment of this strike, and in case of failure or refusal on the part of the firm to negotiate a settlement, that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to send official communications to the above named countries and places, notifying them of the unfair attitude of the Chicago Flexible Shaft Company.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 12.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

To Assist Metal Polishers' International Union in Dispute With Hillerich & Bradsby Company, Louisville, Ky.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Hillerich & Bradsby Company of Louisville, Kentucky, manufacturers of baseball bats, sold under the trade name of "Louisville Slugger," and also manufacturers of golf clubs, are continuing their destructive attitude towards organized labor in attempting to break up the Metal Polishers' organization; and

WHEREAS, This strike has been on seventy-seven weeks. The loss of it would be a serious setback for our organization in the city of Louisville; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor get in touch with various baseball commissions by communication or otherwise and attempt to bring pressure on this firm to adjust its differences with the Metal Polishers' Union and that the unfair attitude of this firm be made known to the different central bodies by communication.

Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 13 and recommends reaffirmation of the action of the 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor at Detroit, Mich.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Condemning Policy of Real Silk Hosiery Mills and Julius Kayser Company Against Hosiery Workers' Union

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The company union, with its yellow dog contract, with labor spy and other vicious agencies at work to throttle the freedom of the textile workers, is now being felt in many of our factories; and

WHEREAS, These instruments of persecution are being used in one form or another in a very flagrant manner by the management of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills of Indianapolis, Ind., and the Julius Kayser Company of Brooklyn, N. Y., and other places as manufacturers of full fashioned hosiery; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, affiliated with the United Textile Workers of America, is bearing the brunt of the attack in the textile industry at this time; and

WHEREAS, The Real Silk Hosiery Mills of Indianapolis, Ind., and the Julius Kayser Company of Brooklyn, N. Y., and other places have demonstrated their enmity towards organized workers by discriminating against members of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers' Unions; and

WHEREAS, Many of the workers in these two concerns have signified their intention of becoming members of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers' organizations, and are fearful of signing an application because of the intimidation and coercion used by those in charge of the departments, ably assisted by the so-called industrial detective agencies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., goes on record as condemning the tactics used by the managements of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills of Indianapolis, Ind., and the Julius Kayser Company of Brooklyn, N. Y., and elsewhere, and publicly brands them as unfair to union labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all state branches and Central Labor bodies of the American Federation of Labor be notified of the action of this convention on this resolution.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 18.

Delegate Hall (E. G.): For the past five months, in the city of Minneapolis, the Strutwear Hosiery Company has locked out its members and is employing the yellow-dog contract. I would

like to move that the committee's report be amended to embody the Strutwear Hosiery Company.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

**Journeymen Tailors' Union Requests
National Woolen Mills Company
Declared Unfair**

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Gust, Soderberg and E. N. Bolander of the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

WHEREAS, The National Woolen Mills Company of Parkersburg, W. Va., through its opposition to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, has made it impossible to re-establish friendly relations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its action at the Atlantic City Convention in 1925 in declaring the National Woolen Mills Company unfair.

Your Committee recommends adoption and reaffirmation of the action of the Atlantic City Convention, American Federation of Labor, 1925.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

**Endorsing the Struggle of the Molders,
Stove Mounters and Metal Polishers
Against the H. Wetter Manu-
facturing Company, South
Pittsburg, Tenn.**

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates M. J. Keough, William Huplits, Patrick McCarthy and Robert T. McCoy of the International Molders' Union; Frank Grimshaw of the Stove Mounters' International Union, and W. W. Britton and Ray Kelsay of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The H. Wetter Manufacturing Company of South Pittsburg, Tenn., locked out all union molders, polishers and mounters on December 31, 1926; and

WHEREAS, The action of the H. Wetter Company is in line with the attempt of stove manufacturers of the southern states to destroy all unions in the stove industry in the South; and

WHEREAS, The ranks of the union molders, mounters and polishers remain unbroken since being locked out December 31, 1926; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the position of the unions of molders, polishers and mounters in their controversy with the unfair H. Wetter Manufacturing Com-

pany and that the matter be given all possible publicity.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 75.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

**Stove Mounters Request Reaffirmation
of Action Declaring Estate Stove
Company of Hamilton, Ohio
Unfair**

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Frank Grimshaw of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Estate Stove Company of Hamilton, Ohio, manufacturers of Estate stoves, ranges, furnaces and a parlor heater known as the Estate "Heatrola," continues to operate its mounting department on a non-union basis; and

WHEREAS, The Estate Company is sending out false and misleading statements to the effect that this trouble is settled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, reaffirm its action at the Detroit Convention in 1926, in declaring the Estate Stove Company of Hamilton, Ohio, unfair; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled direct the secretary to give this matter full publicity by circular to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor immediately after the close of this convention.

Your Committee concurs in Resolution No. 76, and recommends reaffirmation of the action of the Detroit Convention of 1926.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Case: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee, which is submitted and signed:

JOHN MCGILLIVRAY,
Chairman;
CHARLES J. CASE,
Secretary;
MARTIN DALEY,
CHARLES D. DUFFY,
HERBERT RIVERS,
A. J. STOUT,
EDWARD CANAVAN,
JOHN J. DOYLE,
THOMAS MALLOY,
JAMES J. MCANDREWS,
HARRY D. DUBECKER,
M. J. McDONOUGH,
GUS ANDERSON,
GEORGE MOORE,
T. C. VICKERS,
Committee on Boycotts.

The report of the committee as a whole, as amended, was adopted, and the committee continued.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Cain, Columbus, Ohio, Central Body, on a matter of personal privilege. He is leaving the city and wishes to speak to the delegates on a matter in which he is deeply interested before leaving the convention.

Delegate Cain referred to the many communications from Columbus that had been read in the convention, all of them with reference to holding the convention of 1931 in that city. He stated that the American Federation of Labor held its first convention in Columbus in 1881, or that a convention was held of organized labor bodies on that date to which the name "American Federation of Labor" was given. He discussed the labor movement of that period and compared it with the labor movement of that period and compared it with the labor movement of the present day, both as to number of members and financial resources.

Delegate Cain stated that he was aware of the fact that the date could not be definitely fixed for the 1931 convention until it was done by the 1930 convention, but requested the delegates to keep the matter before their constituents in order to create a favorable sentiment for holding the convention in Columbus, Ohio, on the date named. He described in some detail the very fine hotel accommodations and the choice of halls that would be available.

Delegate Taylor, Indiana State Federation of Labor, asked whether the history of the American Federation of Labor dates from a meeting held in

Columbus, Ohio, or from a previous meeting held in Terre Haute, Indiana.

President Green referred the matter to Secretary Morrison for an answer.

Secretary Morrison stated that the name, "American Federation of Labor," was adopted in 1886, and the national trade union movement which preceded it was organized in 1881 at a conference in Terre Haute, Indiana.

Delegate Taylor stated that he was president of the Indiana State Federation of Labor, the oldest state federation in America. He said the name had been changed, policies had been changed, but the organization had remained the Indiana State Federation of Labor in principle, and he contended that the American Federation of Labor, even though it might have changed some policies, even though it might have changed some officers, is still the parent body that was organized in 1881.

President Green announced that literature and pamphlets written and prepared by representatives of the American Federation of Labor were in the convention hall during every session; that some of the pamphlets would be given free to all delegates and visitors and others would be available at a nominal cost.

Mr. J. W. Buzzell and Mr. Harvey C. Fremming of the Convention Arrangements Committee, at both sessions gave final directions with regard to the trip to Catalina on Saturday, October 8th.

No further business coming before the convention, at 4:15 o'clock p. m., the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Monday, October 10th.

Sixth Day—Monday Morning Session

Los Angeles, Cal., October 10, 1927.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Duizell, Baker (R. H.), Daley, Nelson (O. F.), Ornburn, Perkins, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney, Squibb, Duncan (J.), Brock, Duffy (C. D.), Mugavin, Askew, Bock, Fljozdal, Sirother, Kelly (M. J.), Kennedy (T.), Nesbitt, Hall, Golden, Cappellini, McCoy, Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Wilson (J.), Hannah, Coefield, Burke, La Belle, Cashen, Perry, Spencer, Atkins, Johnson (E. A.), Stroud, Studdard, Bowen, Kosta, Cain, Buckland, Martel, Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, Rice, Contner, Denison, Coulton, Dempsey, Brady, Draper, Wickert, Francis (C. T.), Crowell, Bower, Reagan, Ohlsen, Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Leavitt, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller, Graham, Campbell (A. C.), Caston, Flynn, Gayhart, Elliott.

TRIBUTE TO MR. J. E. GILES

President Green: The Chair deems it proper to call to your attention some very sad information we received since the adjournment of the convention on last Friday. A telegram was received advising us that one of our most efficient and able assistants at our headquarters in Washington had passed away. Many of the delegates in attendance at this convention knew Mr. Giles, the able bookkeeper and assistant to Secretary Morrison. He had been ill for several weeks, but we had hoped he would recover. Unfortunately, our hopes were not realized.

His funeral is being held today. We feel very badly because we are all so far away at the time of his funeral. I think it would be very proper for us this morning to pay a tribute to the memory of this very devoted and efficient helper at our headquarters. In a few moments I shall ask the delegates to rise and remain standing for a moment in silent tribute to the character and worth of Mr. Giles. Before I do so I am going to ask Secretary Morrison to say a word. Mr. Giles served with him for many years, and he can speak

authoritatively of his splendid qualities and sterling worth.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, before I say a few words relative to the death of Mr. Giles, I want to read the following telegram from Washington:

"Washington, D. C., October 8, 1927.

"Frank Morrison,

"Hotel Alexandria,
"Los Angeles, California.

"Funeral will take place from home on Monday, nine-thirty a. m. Burial will be in Winchester and services will be conducted there at two o'clock. Kindly extend my appreciation to all for their messages of sympathy.

"MRS. J. E. GILES."

Over nineteen years ago Mr. Giles came into the employ of the Federation as a messenger. In all that time he has been a faithful and efficient worker. He has attended the conventions as one of my assistants for many years. He has endeared himself to a great many delegates.

One of the outstanding characteristics of Mr. Giles was the fact that there was nothing that was too much trouble for him to do to assist the delegates to carry on their work. In assisting me at the conventions he would stay up all night if it was necessary. He was a very lovable character, and his chief joy seemed to be to help somebody else do their work.

I felt that he would surely recover from his illness. He was young and he was strong, but it seems to be that those whom you feel should live, die, and those you might reasonably expect to pass away, live.

His life has not been a failure. By his kindness and good will and by the service that he has rendered he has shown an example that can well be followed. I felt keenly when I received the first word of his death, because it was unexpected.

In his passing I have lost a friend, and the Federation has lost a faithful employee. I just want to leave that thought in your minds—the passing of a faithful employee of the American

Federation of Labor who did his best to make life easier and better for those with whom he associated and came in contact.

President Green: Taking into account the difference in time between Los Angeles and Washington, the funeral of Mr. Giles is being held at about this time. I therefore ask the delegates to rise and stand silently for a moment as a tribute of respect to the worth and character of Mr. Giles.

The delegates arose and stood in silence for a moment.

President Green: I want to present to you for an address this morning our old, tried and true friend, Mr. Edward J. Evans, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. You will recall that the other day we had Mr. Maddrill, the Vice President of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, tell us something about that company. Now I am going to have Brother Evans tell you something about the insurance company organized and administered by the Electrical Workers' organization. I am sure that the information that he has to submit will be of very great interest to the delegates and visitors. I present to you our friend and co-worker, Vice-President Edward J. Evans of the Electrical Workers' organization.

**ADDRESS BY MR. EDWARD J.
EVANS**

(Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers)

Mr. Chairman, delegates and friends: Our chairman has dignified the little talk I intend to present this morning by calling it an address. Far be it from such. It is only a desire on the part of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to acquaint you with the insurance company which is owned, controlled and managed by the membership and officers of the Electrical Workers. The Union Cooperative Insurance Association was the first trade union insurance company in the world that amounted to anything. There were a few small companies organized by some trade unionists, mutual companies, but the Union Cooperative Insurance Association is the first legal reserve whole life insurance company owned by trade unions.

We, as trade unionists, feel that we understand the desires, the wants and the aspirations of our fellow workers.

We feel that we, as well as you, speak for the workers, and that we can and possibly do understand their problems in a way that the average man who is not in the organized labor movement cannot understand them. For many years we have watched over the membership of our organization and have made a diligent study of life insurance as administered by old line legal reserve companies whose primary interests were for profits and not for the best interests of their policy holders.

Many investigations have been held in the insurance field, until now the insurance business is in a somewhat settled condition. The policy holders of most companies now get a fairly even break, but no company except trade union insurance companies administered by trade union officials can properly understand and administer insurance for the benefit of the workers in a manner that is best calculated to bring about the best results for the workers.

Our company issues all forms of individual policies, standard policies. Our rates are a trifle lower than the rates of the standard companies. Our company is incorporated under a District of Columbia charter in the City of Washington, and the officers of the insurance company are the same as the officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. They all serve without salary. The funds of the insurance company are invested in those enterprises and in those industries that are fair to labor. At no time will our company ever use its funds to supply credit or to assist any kind of endeavor, any corporation or company that is unfair to union labor.

It is our desire to accumulate a reserve of sufficient magnitude that we can, by using that reserve for investment purposes, bring about a condition that will be more beneficial to trade unionists as a whole and labor generally.

The credit of the country rests primarily upon insurance paid by individuals to various insurance companies. The insurance companies are the largest holders of cash money in the world. Their money is deposited in their banks and in the banks in which they have a large interest, and those banks loan that money for every kind of industrial or commercial enterprise, so you see that you men, the workers, eighty per cent of whom compose the policy holders of these companies, all assist in making up a gigantic sum of over eleven billion dollars—an inconceivable amount of money which is held in trust by insurance companies and which is used by them to help the credit of the company. So each and every one of you who carries an insurance policy is assisting in furnishing this gigantic sum for commercial activities.

Is it always furnished to those who are friendly to your interests or sym-

pathetic with your desires? I am sure you will agree with me that it is not. All of you are familiar with the industrial situation that existed in the building trades in Chicago some years ago which resulted in arbitration proceedings and an order by Federal Judge Landis. He was not satisfied with arbitration of the questions that were submitted to him—and that was a question of wages—but he insisted upon going into the question of working conditions, and handed down a decision that caused more trouble than any other decision ever rendered in the past. The result was that eleven trades were outlawed by a self-constituted and self-appointed committee, calling themselves the Landis Award Committee, whose primary object, as stated by them, was to enforce the Landis award, and their idea of enforcing the Landis award was to make open-shop trades out of eleven so-called outlaw trades. By collecting money in immense sums they did work a great deal of harm.

Thanks to the energies and activities of the building trades workmen of Chicago, they were able to overcome the activities of this committee, and they are now united and solidified one hundred per cent and have a uniform agreement covering all trades in that city.

But the particular thing that occurred that was so gratifying and the thing that is apropos at this time is that two of the largest insurance companies in this country, through their progress in furnishing funds during the time when the controversy was at its height, refused to loan any money only to those directors who would employ Landis award employees exclusively, who were non-union men. That is an incident that forcibly brings home to the minds of the workers the value of having insurance companies of their own kind that they know will guard the funds that you entrust them with and will use them only in a manner that is beneficial, and not antagonistic to your interests.

So we preach to you the gospel of trade union insurance. There are two companies—the Union Labor Life Insurance Company and our company, the Union Cooperative Insurance Association. We insure in our company groups particularly. We make a feature of that because it is our desire to extend protection to organizations as far as we can, but one kind of group policy that we do not write is that where the master policy is made out in the name of the employer, covering all his employees and thereby tying the employees to their jobs and preventing them from securing increased wages by leaving those jobs, because they do not desire to lose their insurance.

We insure labor as a group. The policy is made out in the name of the organization, permitting men to work

wherever they please and permitting men to transfer to other organizations of a like character. There is no medical examination connected with this kind of a policy. We are prepared at any time to discuss the matter of making a policy to fit in with the particular desires of the labor organizations. We want to ask you at this time to support trade union insurance that will support you and work for your benefit, and we want to assure you we will appreciate and be glad to serve any of you who desire real trade union insurance.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Thomas Flaherty, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

National Legislative Activities

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 70 and 71, the Executive Council reported as follows:

The Sixty-ninth Congress held the shortest sessions of any in many years. Its activities extended over only about ten months out of the twenty-four. During the ten months 24,729 bills and resolutions were introduced but only 1,423 became laws. Of these 542 were private bills and resolutions. It can be said, however, that the committees handling bills worked continuously during the sessions. The obstacle to the passage of much of the legislation favored by Labor came from the small number of men who control the proceedings in the House.

A full report of the proceedings of the first session was made by the Executive Council to the 1926 convention.

Two bills of outstanding importance to Labor were enacted into law in the second session, while several measures inimical to Labor and the people were defeated through the activities of the labor movement. The favorable laws enacted are:

Workmen's compensation for longshoremen (Public No. 803).

Liberalization of rates in the federal workmen's compensation act (Public No. 603).

Enactment of the longshoremen's compensation law was a great victory for the longshoremen. The Supreme Court had declared previous laws enacted by the Federal Congress unconstitutional. This question had to be met as well as opposition of the shipowners who contended that the seamen should be included. After the bill had passed the Senate it was amended in the House by the Committee on Judiciary to include masters and seamen. As masters and seamen are covered by the employers' liability act of 1905

the seamen protested. The House Committee on Judiciary finally agreed to eliminate the masters and seamen and this made it possible for the bill to pass the Senate. Unless they had been stricken out the Senate would not have approved of the bill.

The act providing compensation for the employees of the United States suffering injuries while in the performance of their duties was approved September 7, 1916. It provided that the monthly compensation shall be not more than \$66.67 nor less than \$33.33. The law was changed to increase the monthly compensation for total disability to not more than \$116.16 nor less than \$58.33. The agitation for the longshoremen's compensation act called attention to the small benefits provided by the federal compensation act and this proved a convincing argument in favor of increasing the rates for federal employees injured during the course of their employment.

Among the hostile bills defeated were:

Censorship.

Registration of Aliens.

Blue laws for the District of Columbia.

Fixing prices during suspension of mining.

Wadsworth-Garrett amendment to the constitution, making it practically impossible to amend that document.

The clause in the appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce and Labor providing that none of the funds shall be used to prosecute labor and farm organizations was ruled out in the House on points of order. The clause was restored in conference and it was approved by both Houses.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council for its militant vigilance which resulted in the defeat of the objectionable legislative proposals enumerated in the report; and for its achievement in aiding successfully in the enactment of the Longshoremen's compensation for injury legislation and in the liberalization of the Federal Injury Compensation Law, affecting government employees.

We urge a continuation by the Executive Council of its opposition to these obnoxious measures should they be again introduced in the next Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 71 and 2, the Executive Council reported as follows:

More than 100 bills, most of them having for their purpose the breaking down of the immigration law, were introduced in both houses of Congress. Those who seek to increase the number of aliens coming into this country under the non-quota class openly admit that they are opposed to any restriction at all of immigration. It is therefore natural to presume that they believe by appealing to the sentiment of the people of the United States for impractical legislation in the interest of the wives and children of aliens that it will be a stepping stone to changing the whole policy of the United States regarding immigration.

An amendment to S. J. Res. 32 providing for the admission of 35,000 wives or unmarried children under eighteen years of age of aliens legally admitted to the United States prior to July 1, 1924, for permanent residence and who have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, was adopted in the Senate. When the amendment reached the Immigration Committee of the House it was stricken out and a new clause inserted which provided that preference up to sixty per cent should be given in the quotas to the wives and unmarried children under twenty-one years of age of aliens lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence. It also provided that the President might declare ineffective by proclamation the section of the immigration law giving preference in any year to skilled agriculturists and their wives and children, thus permitting 90 per cent of the quota for any nationality to be used by the wives and unmarried children under twenty-one years of age of such aliens. The amended bill passed the House, March 26, 1926, and was considered by the Senate, March 4, 1927. The Senate refused to accept the amendments and the bill went to conference where it died by the adjournment of Congress the same day.

S. J. Res. 152, to postpone for one year the enforcement of the national origin provision of the immigration law, became a law (Public Res. No. 69). Much criticism has developed toward the national origin proposal and it is doubtful it will ever be enforced. It provides that the annual quota of any nationality shall be a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 having that national origin bears to the number of inhabitants in the continental United States in 1920.

S. J. Res. 128, restoring to citizenship, 69 Hindus whom the Supreme Court has decided were not eligible, failed to pass. This bill was opposed on the ground that if enacted into law it would be a recognition of the claims of other Asiatics who had been deprived of citizenship. The California State Federation of Labor contended that if the Hindus were restored to

citizenship the same privilege would have to be extended to 400 other Asiatics in that state.

March 4, 1927, Representative Johnson of Washington, Chairman of the Immigration Committee of the House, introduced a bill having for its object almost complete restriction of immigration. It provides that after July 1, 1928, until June 30, 1933, the immigration quota shall be reduced 10 per cent per annum, and that after that period the annual quota of any nationality shall be 1 per cent instead of 2 per cent as at present of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in the continental United States as determined by the United States census of 1890. The minimum quota of any nationality would be reduced from 100 to 50. During the fiscal years of 1929 and 1930 quota numbers equal to one-half of the reduction authorized for such fiscal years would be set aside for the unmarried children under 21 years of age and wives of aliens lawfully admitted to the United States, married prior to July 1, 1924; that after July 1, 1928, the maximum quota for any country shall be 25,000. Chairman Johnson in statements on the floor of the House and in public addresses declared that he will press this bill for passage. The Executive Council believes the American Federation of Labor should approve the bill as it is a long step in advance in restricting immigration and at the same time would solve the problem of reuniting families.

Your Committee notes with approval the constant vigilance of the Executive Council in making effective the restrictive immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor.

We recommend that the Executive Council very carefully watch immigration developments in the next Congress so that any legislation enacted will reflect as closely as possible the ideas of the membership, as voiced in this convention, and as heretofore expressed and repeatedly reaffirmed by preceding conventions, favorable to rigid restriction.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Navy Yards and Arsenals

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 72, the Executive Council reported as follows:

At a conference held December 2, 1926, of representatives of international unions called by President Green, it was decided to present a bill in Congress to provide that American citizens shall be employed exclusively on

government work whether done by the government or private contract. It was impossible to secure the legislation but another attempt will be made in the seventieth Congress.

Your Committee approves of the activities of the Executive Council and interested affiliates in establishing a preferential status for American citizens in government work, and recommends a continuation of these activities until the object sought is accomplished.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Bread Trust

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 73, the Executive Council reported as follows:

Hearings were held before a sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate to learn in what manner the bread trust was permitted to escape punishment for its repeated violations of the federal statutes. The sub-committee first made oral request of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission as to what had been done by them in this case. The object was first to determine whether there should be an investigation. The fact that the investigation was started gives credence to the report that the sub-committee found there was sufficient reason for a thorough investigation and developments since corroborated this belief.

Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to bring into the light for public scrutiny and judgment the business methods of the so-called bread trust which seemingly has heretofore flouted the Federal statutes.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Seamen

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 73, the Executive Council reported as follows:

S. 3574, which required all vessels coming into ports of the United States to take away with them the same number of seamen they brought into the country, passed the Senate but failed in the House Immigration Committee. This was a constructive measure and would prevent the smuggling of immigrants into this country as seamen. It would remedy a great evil. The Executive Council will continue its efforts to have this legislation enacted.

Your committee commends the Council for its endeavors to stop this immigration leak and recommends an active continuation of these endeavors.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pensions

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 73, the Executive Council reported as follows:

Bills for the pensioning of veterans of the Civil War and widows of deceased veterans were supported by the American Federation of Labor. Both Houses passed a bill for this purpose but, for some unexplained reason, it failed to reach the President for his signature before 12 o'clock, March 4, 1927.

Your committee instructs the Executive Council to continue its efforts in behalf of this legislation, which has heretofore deservedly received the active support of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Muscle Shoals

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 73, the Executive Council reported as follows:

The joint committee appointed by Congress to investigate the best terms on which Muscle Shoals could be leased made a report in the first session of the Sixty-ninth Congress which authorized the Secretary of War to enter into a lease with the Muscle Shoals Fertilizer Company and the Muscle Shoals Power Distributing Company. Shortly after the second session opened a new bill was introduced to lease to the Farmers' Federated Fertilizer Corporation. It soon became evident that no legislation on Muscle Shoals would be attempted during the session. Several interests injected themselves into the leasing proposition for the purpose, it was said, of delaying any action. It was the desire of the opponents of any legislation to refer the bills back to the Senate Committee on Agriculture and postpone all consideration until the next Congress. This was done. In the meantime friends of public ownership insisted that no lease should be entered into.

Your committee notes with regret the many involvements injected into the Muscle Shoals proposition, which have operated to delay this needed development.

We recommend that the Executive

Council watch this situation closely in the Seventieth Congress, to the end that whatever legislative action is proposed it will conform to organized labor's idea and for the best interest of the general public.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Lame Ducks

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 74, the Executive Council reported as follows:

The blocking of legislation in the House and the filibustering in the Senate have called particular attention to the proposed amendment to the Constitution introduced by Senator Norris of Nebraska. It proposes that the terms of the President and Vice-President shall end on the third Monday in January and the terms of members of Congress on the first Monday in January. Congress would assemble on the first Monday in January unless it shall by law appoint a different day. This resolution has passed the Senate in three different Congresses, but has not been allowed to come before the House. If it did it would undoubtedly carry by a practically unanimous vote. The sentiment in its favor is growing and the Executive Council hopes that the next Congress will act favorably on this necessary amendment to the Constitution.

Your committee would particularly call the delegates' attention to the fact that the proposed constitutional amendment, when passed by the Congress, must be submitted to the State Legislatures for action; therefore every delegate should do his utmost to secure speedy approval in his respective state of this amendment, which organized labor has repeatedly supported.

We commend the Executive Council for keeping this issue before the Congress and we urge a continuation of these efforts until the object sought is achieved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Steel Cars

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 76, the Executive Council reported as follows:

While a practically unanimous vote would have been obtained in the House on the bill providing that steel cars should be used exclusively in the postal railway service an objection from

Representative Bankhead of Alabama prevented it being voted upon.

This legislation is urgently required to protect the lives of railway mail clerks, many of whom are now required to work in antiquated and unsafe wooden cars and subjected, therefore, to unwarranted hazards.

We recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations directly concerned until the relief sought is secured.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Convict Labor

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 75 and 76, the Executive Council reported as follows:

H. R. 8653, by Representative Cooper of Ohio, and S. 3601 by Senator Walsh of Montana, companion bills, prepared by the American Federation of Labor, sought "to divest goods, wares and merchandise manufactured, produced, or mined by convicts or prisoners of their interstate character in certain cases." It would subject all convict-made goods sent into a state or territory to the laws of such state or territory to the same extent and in the same manner as though they had been manufactured therein.

The opposition came from officials of penal institutions of more than twenty states. They defended the present contract system. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor insisted at the hearings that in states where the state-use system prevails all convicts are employed, but the products of convict labor did not come in competition in the markets with the products of free labor.

The bill was reported favorably to the House. The Senate bill was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, of which Senator Phipps of Colorado was chairman. He opposed the bill. Every effort was made to have a rule granted to permit the bill to be considered by the House. This was refused on the ground that the legislative situation in the Senate did not warrant taking up the time of the House on a bill that would not pass in the other branch. Senator Couzens of Michigan has been appointed chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, and it is believed there will be no serious trouble in securing a favorable report in the Seventieth Congress, both from the Senate committee and again from the Committee on Labor of the House.

Your committee considered this portion of the Executive Council's report

in connection with Resolution No. 59, with which we have concurred.

We commend the Executive Council for its endeavor to have effectuated this legislative objective, for which organized labor has so long contended, and we recommend a continuation of this activity on the part of the Council throughout the Seventieth Congress.

Resolution No. 59 is as follows:

Convict Labor Legislation

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate J. M. McCune of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, during the past several sessions of Congress, made efforts to secure legislation that would enable the various States to obtain relief from the competition of convict labor of other States, in all of these efforts the Legislative Committee having had the opposition of prison contractors, prison officials and other exploiters of convict labor; and

WHEREAS, Many affiliated organizations are suffering from this unfair competition, and some industries are threatened with destruction through the competition of inmates of penal and reformatory institutions, one industry, the manufacture of brooms, being practically controlled by contract and State account prison shops, the members of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union having averaged less than four days' work per week during the past year; and

WHEREAS, The Cooper bill, which was before the last session of Congress, will again be introduced in the next Congress, and everyone connected with the Labor Movement should be urged to use their utmost influence to secure this legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That at the proper time the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with all organized labor relative to this matter and to put forth every effort to the end that the Cooper bill, or similar legislation, be secured.

Your Committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Post Office Laborers

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 73 the Executive Council reported as follows:

Every effort was made to secure an increase in compensation for watchmen, messengers and laborers in the Post Office Department. The death of the sponsor of the bill in the first session and

the opposition to any legislation that will increase expenses tended to defeat the measure in the second session. It will be re-introduced in the seventieth Congress.

Your committee commends the efforts of the Council to secure the needed pay increases for post office laborers.

We further recommend that if the opportunity be favorable during the seventieth Congress for a readjustment of the existing postal wage rates, the Council lend every possible aid in this direction to the affiliated organizations of postal employees.

In connection with the above subject matter your committee considered resolution 25 and recommended that it be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate action.

Resolution No. 25 is as follows:

A. F. of L. to Urge Legislation by Congress Granting Wage Increase to Post Office Laborers, Watchmen and Messengers

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Walter C. Gayhart of the Post Office Laborers' Union No. 17899, Los Angeles, California.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, in an Act approved February 28, 1925, granted an increase of \$300 to the annual salaries of postal clerks and carriers, to clerks in the railway mail service, and to the employees in the motor vehicle department of the post office; and

WHEREAS, By the same act, Post Office laborers, watchmen and messengers were granted an increase of only \$150; and

WHEREAS, the present salaries paid to such laborers, watchmen and messengers, of \$1500 for the first year and \$1600 for succeeding years of service with no opportunity for further advancement, are wholly inadequate and insufficient; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use every influence to urge upon the Congress of the United States the passage of a law granting to the said laborers, watchmen and messengers a further increase of \$150 per year above what is now being paid them.

Your committee considered this resolution in connection with the same subject matter covered in the report of the Executive Council and recommends reference to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Retirement

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 74, the Executive Council reported as follows:

Important changes were made in the retirement act. Section 2 of the old act provided that the head of a department, branch or independent office of the government should notify the Civil Service Commission "not less than thirty days before the arrival of an employee at the age of retirement." The quoted words were stricken out. If an employee subject to retirement is continued in service after arriving at the age of retirement the new law provides that such continuation of his services shall for all purposes be deemed valid. A joint resolution introduced in the last session to appoint a commission to investigate the retirement law failed of passage but will be introduced in the next Congress. The new resolution will provide for the appointment of a joint congressional committee composed exclusively of members of Congress.

Your committee considered this portion of the Executive Council's report in connection with Resolution No. 54 with which we have concurred.

We commend the Council for its helpful co-operation with the affiliates directly concerned in the subject of civil service retirement, and we recommend that this active support be continued throughout the seventieth Congress in behalf of further liberalizations of the Retirement Law desired by the affiliated organizations of government employees.

Resolution No. 54 is as follows:

Liberalization of Civil Service Retirement Law

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Engelhardt, Frank Willis, E. L. Chapman of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finman of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William E. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of

North America; C. L. Rosemund, of the Draftsmen's Union; A. O. Wharton, Charles W. Fry, Daniel Haggerty, L. V. Hart, Charles F. Wills, R. H. Henning, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Sixty-ninth Congress, largely in response to the urge of the organizations of affiliated government employees and the American Federation of Labor, enacted legislation improving in some respects the civil service retirement law, especially by increasing the amount of the annuities and changing the method of their computation; and

WHEREAS, While these liberalizations have brought a degree of relief to retired employees and operate generally toward an improvement of the retirement law, nevertheless, they are inadequate from both the standpoint of the employees directly affected, and the public service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to continue to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employees to the end that further liberalizations, particularly in the way of higher annuities and lower optional age requirements, shall speedily be enacted into law.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Night Work

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 72, the Executive Council reported as follows:

Bills for the elimination of night work were introduced, but the committees to which they were referred decided to report a measure providing that night workers be paid 10 per cent more than day workers. This was accepted by the postal employees but the bill failed of passage.

The affiliated postal employees' organizations are committed to shorter hours for postal employees employed at night, as the most desired remedy for this situation. Bills to effectuate their ideas will be introduced in the seventieth Congress.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to give all possible aid to the organizations directly concerned in securing appropriate relief.

Resolution No. 55, which was considered by the committee in connection

with the above portion of the Executive Council, is as follows:

Differential for Night Work in Government Employment

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Engelhardt, Frank Willis, E. L. Chapman, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William E. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, For the most part the United States government, in its employment policies, has failed to recognize the hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, In the postal service, the bureau of engraving and printing, and other federal agencies, there are night work requirements involving the employment of many thousands of wage earners, with no compensatory offsets in additional pay or shorter hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of government employees to have the government recognize, in a practical way, appropriate to the needs of each group, the hardships and undesirability of night work.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Postal Rates

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 72, the Executive Council reported as follows:

The House passed a bill decreasing the rate on private mailing cards from 2 cents to 1 cent. The Senate amended the bill by reducing the postage on second-class matter and zoning rates. The Conference Committee came to an agreement on the bill but it failed of passage owing to the filibuster in the Senate.

The question of postal rates, because of the insistence of the postal administrators that the service be financially self sustaining, is now an exceedingly involved one, directly affecting the

wages and the working conditions of postal employees.

Your Committee therefore considered this portion of the Executive Council's report in conjunction with Resolution 85, which relates to the need for a definite postal policy in the interest of the employees and the service.

Resolution No. 85 is as follows:

**Proposing That Post Office Department
Establish a New System of Accounting,
Discontinuing Charging
Public Welfare Work of
the Department Against
Postal Revenues**

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Chas. Englehardt, E. L. Chapman, Frank Willis, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Chas. D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Pinnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Wm. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The United States Post Office Department has never segregated, in its annual reports to Congress, the cost of varied services of a public welfare nature which are not properly chargeable to postal service operating costs; and

WHEREAS, In the aggregate the cost of these public welfare services now exceed one hundred million dollars annually, causing a nominal postal deficit, which creates the widespread erroneous impression that the postal service is being operated at a loss; and

WHEREAS, Under a system of accurate accounting, whereby the Post Office Department would be given proper credit for the vast amount of public welfare services it now renders for nothing, or practically nothing, the postal system would show an imposing surplus and thus would be reflected in the public mind in its true light, as a wonderfully efficient and highly profitable public business institution; and

WHEREAS, The existence of this alleged postal deficit, due entirely to the inequitable methods of fiscal accounting, reacts against the public in regarding the introduction of timely service improvements; against the employees in delaying wage revisions, and employment betterments; and against postal patrons in preventing readjustments in postage rates, which in some instances should be revised downward; and

WHEREAS, It is opportune, in the interest of the postal service, and the public, that the Congress of the United States now declare a definite postal policy, to the effect that the postal service be hereafter considered an institution for service and not for profit; and that a new system of accounting be established in the Post Office Department, under which the public welfare work of said department shall be no longer charged against postal revenues; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, reaffirming its repeated pronouncements that the postal service should be operated for service and not for profit, hereby records itself in favor of legislation, sponsored in the Sixty-ninth Congress by Representative Clyde Kelly, to have the Congress declare a definite postal policy to such effect; and the Executive Council is hereby instructed to co-operate with the affiliated postal organizations in aid of the enactment of this proposed legislation.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I would like to know something about what is meant by "public welfare work."

Delegate Flaherty, Secretary of the Committee: The Post Office Department is now called upon to perform many services that are not particularly postal in their character, and for which the service gets no credit from a fiscal standpoint. For instance, the postal service performs work for the Department of Agriculture, it performs work for the Civil Service Commission, it distributes throughout the length and breadth of the land franked matter and penalty matter for all the departments of the government, amounting in the aggregate to some \$15,000,000 a year. All of these various charges react against the postal employees in this respect: That the department, or rather the administration, has laid down the dictum that the service must be financially self-sustaining.

Consequently, when the employees seek wage increases or other improvements in working conditions, we are told by the administration that if these things will create a postal deficit they are inadvisable and they should not be enacted into law. In short, we are expected to advocate an

increase in postage rates to the general public in order to offset any cost that may be involved in our program for employment betterment in the postal service.

We know, although the public generally does not know, that the postal service, wonderfully efficient business that it is, is not operated at a loss. Actually there is no deficit at all in the postal system. The rates are adequate now to show an imposing service, provided this antiquated system of accountancy is abolished. That is all we ask in this resolution. We want to call public attention sharply to the fact that the postal service is now performing the service I have mentioned aggregating one hundred millions of dollars.

We don't object to this service being rendered, because to the average tax payer it does not make any difference whether he pays through the medium of postal service or through the medium of taxation, but it makes a vast difference to us in view of the dictum of the administration that the service must be self-sustaining, and the employees cannot obtain these betterments they are seeking because of the cost involved.

Under a proper accounting system the service would be revealed in its true light, namely, as a highly profitable business institution capable of paying higher wages, capable of giving to the public even better service from a strictly postal standpoint. True, it is a new idea to this convention, but it is highly important and we are seeking, therefore, concurrence in this resolution, not only in behalf of the postal employees, but in behalf of the public generally.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Are we to understand that what you call "public service" here means that when the Congressional Record goes out it should be provided for in the same way?

Delegate Flaherty: That it should be charged against, say the legislative branch of the government, rather than against the postal service.

Delegate Furuseth: And so with all

other departments? In other words, the sending of anything from Washington free of postage would be included in this?

Delegate Flaherty: No, it would be merely charged to the department sending it out and not as at present against the postal revenue. It would not do away with franked matter or privileged matter or anything now enjoyed.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: Because of the importance of this subject and because of the time at our disposal, I feel that it is exceedingly appropriate that a few added words be said about it. Perhaps there is no business that comes more intimately into your life as organization officials than the post office. Remember that the United States Post Office is the biggest distinctive business in the world, having some 350,000 employees. It is by far the most considerable adventure in government ownership. It must have its administrative policy, it must have its labor policy to determine the destinies of that vast army of men.

Therefore, in the outset of the history of our government, a distinctive policy was laid down for the administration of the post office, and that was that the post office was a public service institution and run for service purposes. Now there is a vast distinction between that and a bakery or a coal mine or a railroad, privately owned, where there is but one test of success and that is profit. No matter how well a coal mine may be administered, no matter how happy the relationship between the employers and those employed may be, no matter how satisfied the patrons may be with the coal purchased, if it does not make a profit it is a failure. There is no exception to that rule.

With the Post Office Department, however, the government at the outset, realizing its public character, realizing the advantage of easy assimilation of information, realizing the necessity of keeping the people in close contact with one another, laid down postage rates which they knew would show a loss, and thus every item of this business is now conducted below

cost, with the exception of the two-cent stamp.

Remember, too, that that two-cent stamp yields about 79 per cent of the total revenue and that it is the lowest postage of any country in the world. Remember, too, that when every industrial commodity has increased from 50 to 100 per cent since pre-war times, the two-cent stamp still pays the bill, and so capably has the post office administration been conducted, with a high-class personnel, that out of \$790,000,000 of business last year it was practically on a self-sustaining basis, with the exception of a nominal loss of \$24,000,000. But, in connection with that, let us realize that on these periodicals the government loses at least \$79,000,000.

The rural mail service, commended in every particular, bringing service to our great agricultural population, can never be self-sustaining, but as a social agency it is of undoubted benefit. That division of the Post Office Department lost approximately \$19,000,000 last year. On franked matter now carried for nothing and on other classes of mail there would be another \$50,000,000.

The point in that connection is this: That at the end of the year, when the average man picks up a statement of the postal service and finds a \$24,000,000 deficit the conclusion is that the post office is operating at a loss. Again, when employees seek wage increases or service betterments, they find that they are confronted with an urge to hang upon their desires and petitions an added order for the increase of postal revenue and increase of postal rates, thus tying up proper issues with improper issues and bringing about a condition in a service institution where postal wages are to depend upon postage rates.

Therefore, what your committee reports and what our organization enthusiastically approves is to try to give this Post Office Department credit for the great amount of service it renders the people and proper credit for the way it does its business, and to show that it is really a great money-making establishment, rather than a presumed fiscal loss.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was unanimously concurred in.

Elimination of Speeding-Up Practices in Government Employment

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Engelhardt, E. L. Chapman, Frank Willis, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, In the postal service and other government establishments there have been instituted highly objectionable practices under the guise of "efficiency systems," which are harmful to the workers physically and destructive of service morale, and therefore add materially to labor costs in government employment; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" practices assume various forms and methods, all directed toward mechanical standardization by plans of weighing or counting, or otherwise measuring output without regard to variations of work and other essential factors; and

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated in all lines of endeavor that any system of "speeding up" the workers beyond a reasonable standard is disastrous in its reactions upon both employers and employees; and

WHEREAS, These "speeding up" systems in government employment are not only harmful to the health of the workers directly affected but they add to public taxation burdens because of the large overhead administrative cost of the superfluous supervision involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor directs the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of government employees' organizations whose members are subjected to these dehumanizing practices, with a view to their elimination in the interest of the workers and the public service.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Engelhardt, Frank Willis, E. P. Chapman, of

the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William E. Collins, H. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Frequently in civil service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials and from which judgment the employees affected have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of civil service employment is permanency of tenure if the employee is competent to perform the work available, and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who exercise, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to assist the representatives of organizations of government employees to curb this arbitrary power exercised by administrative officials through establishment of a civil service court of appeals, independent of any existing governmental agency, to which employees may appeal in demotion and dismissal cases and which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension of Saturday Half-Holiday for Government Workers

Resolution No. 58—Thomas F. Flaherty, Charles Englehardt, Frank Willis, E. L. Chapman, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, L. E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, M. T. Finnan, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; William E. Collins, J. W. Strickland, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther Steward, John Fitzgerald, Gertrude McNally, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; Thomas McQuade, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of

North America; C. L. Rosemund, of the Draftsmen's Union; A. O. Wharton, Charles W. Fry, Daniel Haggerty, L. V. Hart, Charles F. Willis, R. H. Henning, of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Saturday half-holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employees and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in state and municipal governments, and in a number of private industrial pursuits—in a number of notable instances the five-day working week has been established; and

WHEREAS, In some instances encouraging progress has recently been made in applying the principles of a more extended weekly period of rest in Federal activities, with resultant benefits to the public and the employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instructs the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employees for the purpose of having the Saturday half-holiday observance and principle extended in government establishments to benefit every possible worker.

Your Committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Flaherty: Resolutions 61 and 89 are identical. The committee had amended Resolution 61 by inserting in the sixth paragraph the immigration service and the Bureau of Naturalization in the listed subdivisions of the Department of Labor from which additional services are constantly required.

The resolution, as amended by the committee, is as follows:

A. F. of L. to Initiate Effort to Have More Adequate Appropriations Allotted to the Bureaus of the Department of Labor

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry Schmal of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, There are in the executive branch of the federal government three service departments for the purpose of developing and promoting special fields which are basic in national growth and progress.

These departments must plan their service activities within the limits of appropriations provided for them by the Congress of the United States and it is needful that those who benefit by the service shall endeavor to persuade Congress and the budget bureau to make funds available for constructive work.

There exists a decided inequity in the funds allotted to the Department of Labor as compared with the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. For the year 1927 there were appropriated for the respective departments: Labor, \$9,561,305.00; Commerce, \$30,632,847.00; Agriculture, \$139,635,823.00; for 1928, Labor, \$8,558,540.00; Commerce, \$35,240,430.00; Agriculture, \$144,487,820.00.

The difference unfavorable to labor is clearly shown by reducing the appropriations to a percentage basis. Of the total amount appropriated for the three departments, labor got, in 1927, 5.3 per cent; commerce, 17.1 per cent; agriculture, 77.6 per cent. In 1928 labor will get 4.5 per cent; commerce 18.7 per cent; agriculture, 76.7 per cent.

Obviously there has been a definite policy of discrimination against the Department of Labor, which is contrary to the best national development. Wage earners need facts and information in order to plan policies and make their decisions wisely. They need more service from the Department of Labor, especially from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Conciliation Division, Immigration Service, Bureau of Naturalization, the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau. If these bureaus give more service they must have more adequate appropriations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the President of the American Federation of Labor to initiate sustained efforts to have more adequate appropriations allotted to the bureaus of the Department of Labor.

As thus amended your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Legislation by Congress Granting Self-Governing Powers to People of Porto Rico

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico, and Rafael Alonso of the San Juan Central Labor Union, Porto Rico.

WHEREAS, The influence of the American Federation of Labor in the destinies of the people of Porto Rico has been responsible for a real guarantee of civil and political liberty, favorable to

the enjoyment of individual rights by the laboring masses; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States should be earnestly requested to recommend to the Congress of the United States in his next message the removal of the causes of the deplorable economic and industrial condition of the people of Porto Rico, among the causes of which are the following:

1. The violation of the Organic Act by permitting the rapid development of illegal monopoly of lands and products of wealth by powerful resident and absentee individuals and corporations, which imposes upon the producing masses the most miserable wages, driving them thus to pauperism;

2. The refusal by powerful corporations and individuals to pay taxes proportionate to the increase in wealth and profits produced by the workers;

3. The steady yearly emigration of sixty per cent (60%) of the profits and wealth produced by the island, representing an appalling amount of underpaid labor and lack of industrial initiative and development; and

WHEREAS, The Legislature of Porto Rico has appointed a commission from its membership in which are represented all shades of opinion, including that of the organized toilers, which came to Washington to hand him a memorial asking the President to recommend to the Congress the following amendments to the Organic Act of Porto Rico:

To grant powers to the Legislature of Porto Rico to legislate on all local matters without restriction; to grant the people of the Island the right of an elective Governor; the creation of a Department of Labor and the extension to Porto Rico of all measures of national and economical character that will extend the benefit of knowledge and of wealth, in the same proportion in which they are extended to all the States of the American Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

That as soon as this resolution be approved by this convention, the President of the American Federation of Labor shall communicate with the President of the United States by wire or otherwise, earnestly petitioning and urging upon him the desirability of his recommending by Congress in his next message the granting to the people of Porto Rico the measures embodied in this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to direct the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. to cooperate toward the enactment by Congress of the desired legislation for Porto Rico as stated in this resolution.

Your committee is in sympathy with the objects of the resolution and recommends that it be submitted to the Executive Council for careful considera-

tion and as early an effectuation as the circumstances permit.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Special Retirement Legislation for Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 22—By the Panama, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The provisions of the present retirement law for employees of the civil government of the United States are entirely inadequate; and

WHEREAS, Retirement pay is supposed to be sufficient to maintain the retired employee after he has reached the age where his services are no longer efficient; and

WHEREAS, Conditions of living and employment on the Canal Zone are such as to render the provisions of the present retirement law even more inadequate for Isthmian employees, because of their isolated position, higher cost of living, greater health hazards, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Special retirement legislation has been enacted to cover other separate branches of the United States government service where conditions warranted such action; and

WHEREAS, The Hon. Frederick Lehlbach, member of the House of Representatives from Newark, N. J., stated in a speech on the Canal Zone recently that he was in favor of special retirement legislation for Canal Zone employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as endorsing any special retirement legislation for employees of the Panama Canal and Railroad on the Isthmus that may be introduced into the next session of Congress by the Panama Metal Trades Council; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge themselves to render all assistance in their power, in endeavoring to secure the passage of such legislation.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Retirement Legislation for Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 23—By the Panama, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The present retirement law for civil employees of the United States government, in so far as it applies to employees of the Panama Canal on the Isthmus of Panama, does not allow any credit for service with the Panama Railroad Company; and

WHEREAS, This condition inflicts a serious hardship by way of loss of service to a large number of employees who were

transferred, at various times, to and from the Isthmian Canal, Panama Railroad Company and Panama Canal services involuntarily, for the good of the services; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledges itself to assist in every way possible towards having an amendment to the present retirement law enacted at the next session of Congress whereby full credit for service with the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus shall be given to all employees of the Panama Canal in computing length of service under the retirement provisions.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Endorsing Welch Salary Increase Bill for Government Employees

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald and Gertrude McNally of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, There has been no increase in the pay of government employees commensurate with the increased price of commodities and the high cost of living, together with the low purchasing price of the dollar, effect, in reality, a reduction in salaries; and

WHEREAS, There was pending in the Sixty-ninth Congress of the United States a bill known as the Welch Salary Increase Bill, which provided for a revision upward of the rates in the Classification Act of 1923 and carrying a minimum rate of \$1,500 per annum for all adult federal employees who work full time, which bill will be reintroduced in the Seventieth Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the payment of more equitable salaries to employees of the United States government and instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to lend their support toward the accomplishment of this legislation.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Declaring for Abolition of and Transfer of Functions of the Personnel Classification Board to the United States Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Luther C. Steward, John Fitzgerald and Gertrude McNally of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The principle of collective bargaining has been recognized

and accepted by all agencies of the executive branch of the government of the United States except the personnel classification board; and

WHEREAS, The personnel classification board has arbitrarily refused to consider questions involving the pay of groups of employees except on an individual basis; and

WHEREAS, This reactionary attitude of the board is entirely out of harmony with the recognition generally accorded the organized federal employees by executives of the federal government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor denounce the action of the personnel classification board and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to formally request the President of the United States to take the necessary action to insure the application of the principle of collective bargaining in all federal personnel matters; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor continue its efforts to secure the abolition of the personnel classification board and the transfer of its functions to the United States civil service commission.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

Delegate Steward, in discussing the subject, said in part: This resolution is aimed at the correction of a serious and flagrant abuse of discretion by the only existing agency in the federal government which refuses to recognize the principle of collective bargaining in dealing with federal employees in personnel matters. This personnel classification board has flouted the will of Congress that created it; it has done it repeatedly and so flagrantly that the House of Representatives has passed legislation calling for its abolition and the transfer of the funds.

The particular case in point which gave rise to the resolution deals with three hundred women employees of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing who presented appeals to the board. The board refused to recognize the collective presentation issue, adopting the antiquated method of anti-unionists in demanding that more than three hundred workers, whose work was identical, present these matters individually.

Upon the refusal of the personnel classification board to recognize the

duly authorized representatives of these one hundred per cent organized employees the matter was laid before the President of the United States, who called upon the board for a report. This report contained the usual specious representations used by anti-unionists. We are asking the American Federation of Labor to assist the Federal Employees in upholding the basic principle of collective bargaining, and that this one agency standing out in this attitude be made to realize that collective bargaining is here to stay and that it must prevail.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Investigation by Department of Labor Into Economic Conditions and Their Relation to Social and Industrial Problems

Resolution No. 96—By the International Typographical Union delegation.

WHEREAS, We believe authoritative information should be available at all times to deal with social, economic and industrial problems which confront our people and which they are endeavoring to solve by legislation and otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor call upon the Congress of the United States of America to provide ways and means and direct the Department of Labor to make full and satisfactory investigation of the following questions:

1. Do abnormally high retail prices adversely affect the working people by unnaturally reducing the demand for necessary products?
2. What effect has faulty distribution on opportunity for employment?
3. Would it be possible to so regulate production and consumption within the United States that it would be unnecessary to export competitive products in such quantity as to adversely affect wage levels in other countries?
4. In what way can displaced labor be quickly reabsorbed into industry where the displacement results from use of machinery which increases the output of the individual?
5. Would it be possible to reduce hours of labor, thereby balancing production and consumption to such an extent that the supply would equal the demand without creation of a surplus which eventually becomes detrimental to both capital and labor?

Your Committee is in hearty accord with the objects sought by the Resolution but believes that the Executive

Council should be empowered to work out the details.

We therefore recommend reference of the Resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This completes the report of the Committee on Legislation.

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman;

THOMAS F. FLAHERTY,

Secretary;

LUTHER C. STEWARD,

W. B. FITZGERALD,

W. W. BRITTON,

THOMAS C. CASHEN,

EMANUEL KOVELESKI,

JULIA O'CONNOR PARKER,

DANIEL J. RYAN,

CHAS. F. WILLS,

THOMAS McQUADE,

WINFIELD KEEGAN,

JAMES GILBOY,

THOMAS J. DONNELLY,

CLARENCE E. SWICK,

Committee on Legislation.

The final report was adopted as a whole, and the committee was continued.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Clarke, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Jurisdictional Adjustments

On page 35 of the report of the Executive Council appears reference to this subject, and your committee can conceive of no one thing that augurs more for the betterment of the trade union movement than harmony and mutual understanding between the members of the various crafts. Because of this we congratulate the officers of the organizations who have settled their jurisdictional differences and urge the officers of other organizations that have misunderstandings to earnestly labor to adjust them. In this way they will aid in establishing peace in industry, present a more united front to the opponents of our movement and render a lasting service to the men and women in their respective organizations. This is a forward step, with gratifying results.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Income for Old Age

Reference to this important subject appears on page 39 of the report of the Executive Council, and in Resolutions Nos. 14 and 97, introduced in this convention.

Proposing Investigation and Establishment of Invalidity and Old-Age Pension System in Each State

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Frank Ferguson of the San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The United States, notwithstanding its great material prosperity and highly developed industrialism, yet remains one of the few civilized countries in the world where there exists no general state-operated system of protection for the masses against the common misfortunes and vicissitudes of life, such as sickness, invalidism and old age, and where we still depend on such haphazard and inadequate relief for the needy as may be available through private enterprise and benevolence or public charity, and this social condition is a blot on our record when compared with what other advanced nations have done in that regard; and

WHEREAS, Through immigration and machine production we have acquired a labor supply far beyond our means of steady employment, and through encouragement of corporate forms of management and control we have exploited our resources and opportunities of trade beyond the purchasing ability of our own and foreign markets, and through the most fatal of our achievements—financial mastery and pyramiding of investments and credits—we have multiplied dividend and interest bearing obligations, private and public debts, and created an all-devouring creditor class that, in good and in bad times, and regardless of conditions of industry and trade, perpetually levies tribute upon the earning power of the bone and sinew of the present as well as future generations of mankind; thus, we have reached a stage in our development of dangerous inequality in all human relations, where the many, howsoever thrifty and circumspect, depend necessarily upon the social and economic good-will of the privileged and powerful few, a condition not in keeping with the dignity, intelligence and aspirations of a traditionally free and democratic people; and

WHEREAS, Such trends and evils in our country's development exist beyond dispute, and they have from time to time engaged the attention and study of many able and public-spirited citizens striving earnestly to alleviate and solve the great social problems arising thereunder, yet

we have arrived at no common understanding or accentuated public opinion as to proper remedies for the evils we foster in connection with our industrial expansion and progress, a confusion in thought and endeavor that is exemplified in the advocacy and adoption of varying legislative measures or private welfare schemes, all based upon foreign precedents and ignoring the facts and ideals common to our own national character and traditions; and

WHEREAS, It well may be a fact, though not apparent except after matured experience, that in the adoption of the English system of workmen's compensation and transplanting it to American soil, with all its intricate legal distinctions and limitations, we have committed our people to an un-American and in the end unsuitable system of relief against personal injury through accident, by limiting such relief to industrial accidents, and excluding from the system all cases of non-industrial injuries, and that by such legislation we have created impolitic class distinctions in a democracy, and deprived the majority of needy persons of the benefits of similar relief because of technical differences of place, time and other conditions of liability prescribed, although such non-industrial and non-compensable injuries are equally frequent and followed by equally serious consequences to the persons afflicted, and therefore entitled to the same consideration from the state; such artificial results created by law should make us pause and reflect before we undertake to fasten on our people any foreign or new system of social relief whatever, unless we be convinced that the measure proposed will be in harmony with the principles and ideals of the American people and the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It may be both practical and consonant with the American spirit of individual responsibility, liberty and democracy to devise and administer a genuine American system of invalidity and old age pensions for the people in each state of the Union, to be supported by general taxation and operated by the state, pursuant to American precedents in social legislation already established and of undeniable success, such as our public school system, civil service and pensions for war veterans; and believing that such a system of protection for our aged and disabled citizens would best answer the needs of our country in the solution of this great problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we direct the Executive Council to make, cause to be made, or support, if conducted by other competent authority, public or private, a thorough investigation and study for the establishment of an American system of invalidity and old age pensions, to assist in the preparation of suitable legislation for the accomplishment of such purpose, and to promote its enactment by the creation and develop-

ment of an earnest and enduring public opinion in favor thereof, to the end that the poor-house may be abolished as an American institution and there be provided in its stead a system founded upon a higher conception of public welfare and regard for human and social progress.

Old-Age Pension

Resolution No. 97—By International Typographical Union delegation.

WHEREAS, We believe it is becoming more generally accepted that public charities are a travesty upon present-day civilization in the United States, and that the expense of maintaining such public institutions as county homes, poor houses, etc., is becoming an enormous burden upon counties and states without affording the relief originally intended when the system of establishing and maintaining such institutions was inaugurated; and

WHEREAS, Reports based upon public and private surveys have established that liberal pensions could be paid for lesser cost than the expense in connection with the maintenance of such institutions; and

WHEREAS, The seventy-second annual convention of the International Typographical Union unanimously instructed its delegates to the American Federation of Labor to introduce and support the proposal to pay old age pensions to veterans of industry to the end that aged and incapacitated men and women who have contributed their lives to producing for the nation shall not become objects of charity, but that they shall be supported during their non-productive period by industry to which they have made contribution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs its Executive Council to have prepared the draft of a general bill for adoption in the several states, the purpose of which shall be to establish uniform old age pension laws to replace county homes, poor houses, county farms and like institutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That State Federations of Labor, city Central Bodies and local unions be directed and urged to use their energy and influence to have old age pension laws patterned after the general bill adopted at the earliest possible time.

Your committee is not unmindful that the subject of old age pension has been before previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor. However, it is our judgment that the problem is being properly approached by the Executive Council. For this reason we heartily endorse the recommendation of the Council to have a comprehensive study of all plans of old age pensions

made with the idea of designing a definite plan for future guidance.

With this in view we recommend that Resolutions 14 and 97 be referred to the Executive Council and suggest that the investigation be made and a complete report be presented to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Ferguson, San Francisco Labor Council, stated that his only objection to the report of the committee was the delay. He urged that measures be taken to secure the adoption of old age pension legislation at as early a date as possible, and asked the delegates to take up the subject dealt with in the resolutions in all their local and international organizations and in state and central bodies.

Vice-President Wilson, Chairman of the Committee: The Federation at other conventions has given consideration to this question; the Executive Council brings it here in the form of a recommendation for a thorough investigation. The resolution introduced by the Typographical Union asks that a bill be prepared that will be a guide for the different organizations in the different states to present to their legislatures. The resolution from San Francisco provides for an investigation. Your committee is of the opinion that reference to the Council for a thorough investigation, to be made during the year and a report made to the next convention, is the speediest and best action that can be taken.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Union Investments

Developments within the year have clearly demonstrated the wisdom of the Executive Council in sounding warnings for great care being exercised when investing the funds of the trade union movement, such as reported on page 22 of their report to this convention. This committee not only commends the Executive Council for their foresight and frankness in dealing with this subject, but we earnestly urge that their views on this tremendously important question be accepted in a spirit of helpfulness. A

failure to heed the warnings given, we believe, will bring untold grief to those who will not listen to reason and the sound advice presented. Every financial error or failure in the handling of the finances of our movement has a tendency to impeach the business ability of the leaders in our movement. Repetition of past mistakes should be avoided.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Reorganization of the International Fur Workers' Union

This story is but very briefly told on page 58 of the report of the Executive Council to this convention.

The Executive Council and those whom they selected to respond to the appeal of the International Fur Workers' Union are entitled to the unstinted praise of the delegates comprising this convention, as well as the entire labor movement. It is gratifying indeed to learn that the International Fur Workers' Union has again been placed under the banner of the bona fide trade union movement. We rejoice that this is true, while, at the same time, we admonish the officials and members of other organizations to be on guard, to the end that they may profit by the sad experiences of the International Fur Workers. There is no place in the American Federation of Labor for those who wish to employ the tactics of the Communists. We must purge our movement of all such characters or suffer the inevitable consequences.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Samuel Gompers Memorial

Your committee is pleased to learn of the progress made toward the completion of the Samuel Gompers memorial as reported on page 68 of the report of the Executive Council to this Convention. The old axiom, "out of sight, out of mind" can never be permitted to enter our thoughts when considering this very worthy project. The name of Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor are synonymous. They seem to be one, and so long as human rights and the bet-

terment of humankind shall animate men and women, just so long shall the name and fame of Samuel Gompers be cherished for that which he accomplished.

This committee approves of the efforts of the Executive Council and heartily endorses the recommendations that they present to this convention, providing that a week during the month of February, 1928, be set aside and known as Gompers Memorial Week, and the Central Bodies through Committees shall call upon local unions and members for contributions for this worthy undertaking.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workmen's Compensation

This Committee notes with regret the delay in having a workmen's compensation law providing for a federal fund being established for the District of Columbia. as referred to on page 75 of the report of the Executive Council, yet we are certain that a continuation of the effort will ultimately bring victory to those who aim to have the same degree of justice accorded the men and women who reside in the District of Columbia as is now accorded those who reside in forty-three of the forty-eight states of this nation. Therefore, this Committee advises that there be no let up in our determination to have a workmen's compensation law enacted that will be applicable in the District of Columbia.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

State Workmen's Compensation Legislation

Your committee can hardly conceive of the woeful lack of interest manifested in the future of the men and women who reside in the states of Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, as outlined on page 60 of the report of the Executive Council to this convention, they being the only states without workmen's compensation laws. How the people of those five states can expect to continue to deny that justice which people of 43 states have given the

workers of our land is beyond our comprehension.

It is pleasing, however, to note that year after year we witness new converts to the idea, and we are gratified to observe new features and greater benefits being added to the already existing laws in many of our states. In the judgment of your committee it seems advisable that continued publicity be given to the accomplishments referred to in the report of the Executive Council and that continued efforts be made to have workmen's compensation legislation placed on the statute books of those states where no such laws have been enacted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Non-Partisan Political Policy

This important subject is very thoroughly covered on pages 89 and 90 of the report of the Executive Council, and we commend the study of their review to all members of our movement.

Well do they portray the dangers threatening the primary laws of our country, and correct are they when they declare that "there is not a wrong that can not be righted if all those entitled to vote cast their ballots."

It is encouraging to learn that the Executive Council intends to begin an early campaign for the purpose of aiding the workers to enter the 1928 campaign in a way that will enable them to make their wishes and their rights clearly understood by those who aspire to office in city, county, state and nation.

We compliment the Executive Council for the thorough manner in which they have presented this phase of their report. Your committee urges the co-operation of all forward-looking people with the non-partisan political policy of our movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Mississippi Flood Control

On page 92 of the report of the Executive Council appears an illuminating article dealing with the catastrophe that came as the result of what is known as the Mississippi Flood, and it is hard for the mind to fully comprehend the terri-

ble suffering and loss that followed in its wake.

We profit by our experiences, and it is the recommendation of this committee that the Executive Council petition Congress to hasten the day when a plan shall be worked out and put into effect whereby a recurrence of a flood of this character shall be prevented, if that be humanly possible, and this regardless of the cost.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Supplemental Report of the Executive Council

Your Committee gave very earnest consideration to the supplemental report of the Executive Council dealing with the situation now prevailing in the bituminous coal fields of our country.

It pleases your committee to learn that a settlement has been reached in the State of Illinois and Indiana that meets with the approval of the United Mine Workers. The conflict continues, however, in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia and Iowa.

That this struggle is of great moment no one will deny, and because of its tremendous importance your committee commends the Executive Council for recommending that a conference be held in Pittsburgh, Pa., November 14. Your Committee approves the recommendation and suggests that the conference convene in the Roosevelt Hotel on the above date.

This committee feels it incumbent on us to urge that the views of the Executive Council be executed by having a large attendance of national and international unions and representatives of City Central Bodies and the State Federation of Labor in Pennsylvania meet with the officers of the United Mine Workers at Pittsburgh at the appointed time in order that those who would attempt to destroy the United Mine Workers of America may have it first-hand that the labor movement of America stands squarely behind the miners in their struggle.

President Green: May the Chair just impose upon your patience for a moment while I refer to the subject-matter dealt with in the report of the com-

mittee. I am personally and officially gratified to learn of this recommendation of the committee. I sincerely hope it will be unanimously adopted by the delegates in attendance at this convention.

The report briefly concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that a conference of national and international officers of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and of representatives of central bodies in the state of Pennsylvania and of the State Federation of Labor of that state meet at the Roosevelt Hotel in Pittsburgh on November 14 for the purpose of adopting means and methods by which and through which the great American labor movement can assist the heroic, fighting mine workers in Pennsylvania, Ohio and elsewhere.

For more than six months—think of it! half a year!—the mine workers of those fields have been struggling and fighting for the maintenance of their organization rights and for the maintenance of a wage scale that will guarantee to them a decent American standard of living. It is difficult to imagine how men can struggle and fight so consistently and so long, but the miner has been trained to fight—he is a courageous member of our union. The very nature of the industry calls for the exercise of most heroic and courageous qualities. Associated with danger, seen and unseen, in his daily life, he becomes indifferent, if you please, to danger; he is called upon to sacrifice and to suffer every day, and so a strike of six months means only the call to him for the exercise of his heroic qualities.

The President of the American Federation of Labor is proud to be associated with such heroic trade unionists. I came from this class and from this group. My whole life has been associated with them, and so you can understand how deeply interested I am in the mine workers and how closely related to them I have been all my life. For that reason I am gratified to learn of the response of the committee, and I know that the representatives of the international unions will

meet in Pittsburgh, as recommended by the committee, and I know further that these representatives will respond to the appeal of the miners that they will give to them all support possible.

One feature of it to which I wish to direct your attention is this: For some reason, in the State of Pennsylvania, the political authorities are clothed with power to issue commissions to coal and iron police in a promiscuous way. Under the administration of Governor Pinchot this abuse was in a large measure corrected. Governor Pinchot refused to issue commissions to coal and iron police unless the one to whom the commission was issued was a citizen of good standing in his community and unless he possessed the qualifications of citizenship that fitted him to serve in such a responsible position.

It seems that since a change in administration has taken place in Pennsylvania these commissions are issued promiscuously to men who are not fitted by either temperament or other qualifications to serve in such positions. I am informed that gun-men and thugs on the pay roll of the corporations are given permission to exercise these police powers. To me this is most reprehensible; I cannot conceive how such a condition can prevail in free America, and I know of no other state in the Union where such a condition would prevail except in the boss-ridden State of Pennsylvania.

The American labor movement at this conference can express itself on this subject. We can serve notice upon the political powers in Pennsylvania that we propose to mobilize the political strength of the working men and women in that state and to appeal to the political strength and the sympathetic interest of our friends in that commonwealth to go to the polls at the next election and to drive from power those who have so debauched their political office as to confer upon corporations in that state a power that was never intended to be conferred. And if we can mobilize the political strength of the workingmen and

women in that state, if we can unite them at the ballot box, their voice will be heard by the political authorities of Pennsylvania.

I wanted to say these things because I think they are appropriate just now, and I sincerely hope the recommendations of the committee will be unanimously adopted by the delegates.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green stated that Delegate Frank Hughes, Mine Workers, was not in attendance at the convention, and substituted for him on the Committee on Adjustment, Delegate Lee Hall, of the Mine Workers.

He further announced that Delegate Fljzodal, President of the Maintenance of Way Employees, had been called away from the convention, and substituted for him on the Committee on Adjustment Delegate Sillik, of the same organization.

President Green announced that General Charles P. Summerall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, would address the convention at 2:30 o'clock Tuesday afternoon. As a committee to escort General Summerall to the hall on that occasion the Chairman appointed Vice-President Noonan, Vice-President Wilson, Delegate Peter J. Brady, of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, and Major George L. Berry, President of the Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union.

Chairman Garman, of the Local Arrangements Committee, gave directions for reaching the El Patio Ball Room, where a ball would be given Monday evening by the organized labor movement of Los Angeles to the officers, delegates and visitors attending the convention.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers, announced that a band composed of members of that organization would play in the lobby of the Hotel Alexandria Monday evening from 7 o'clock to 8:30 o'clock. He stated that in different parts of the country from forty to fifty such bands have been formed among letter carriers.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock of the same day.

Sixth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

Los Angeles, Cal.,

Oct. 10, 1927.

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Beisel, Koch, Worthall, Daley, Ornburn, Flaherty, Paulsen, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Schmal, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney, Squibb, Duncan (J.), Bell, McSorley, Case, Moore, Brock, Finnan, Duffy (C. D.), Mugavin, Swartz, Askew, Bock (P.), Ryan (J. P.), Bjorklund, Fljozdal, Strother, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Pattison, McMullen, McCoy, Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Wilson (J.), Hannah, McGivern, Donlin, Blehl, McDonough, Huebner, Burke (T. E.), Anderson (C.), Rau, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Cashen, Perry, McMahon (T. F.), Conboy, Spencer, Gross, Atkins, Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Roberts, Stroud, Studard, Kosta, Cain, Buckland, Martel, Barry, Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, Rice, Contner, Denison, Dempsey, Brady, Conkey, Draper, Wickert, Francis, Crowell, Young, Bower, Reagan, Hopkins, McQueen, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Leavitt, Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Ostran, Miller (J. B.), Bock (A. J.), Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Caston, Flynn, Gayhart, Elliott, Fitzgerald (A. B.).

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Gibbs reported as follows:

Your committee on Credentials have examined the following credential and recommend that the delegate be seated:

Houston, Tex., City Employees' Union No. 16578—Norman H. Beard, 1 vote.

Your Committee has received a letter from President M. A. Greene and Secretary Martin Lawlor of the United Hatters of North America, requesting that the name of Charles W. Cullen be substituted for Wm. Harding, Jr., as a delegate from the United Hatters of North America.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

President Green: The chair desires to submit at this time a supplementary report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Briefly stated, it is a report of the Executive Council as directed by the Detroit convention, to inquire into the relationship of the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Mexican government for the purpose of ascertaining all the

facts possible and with special reference to the relationship alleged to exist between the Mexican government and the Mexican Federation of Labor, for the information of the affiliated unions. This report, therefore, will require no action. It is submitted to the delegates and membership of the American Federation of Labor as a matter of information. It will be included in today's proceedings.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor recommended:

"...the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to inquire into the relationship of the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Mexican Government for the purpose of ascertaining all the facts possible and with special reference to the relationship alleged to exist between the Mexican Government and the Mexican Federation of Labor, for the information of the affiliated unions."

In accordance with this instruction the following report is submitted. Our report deals with the subject within the limitations of the instructions fixed by the convention.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MEXICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT

PART I

Why Mexican Labor Supported the Revolution

Early in the nineteenth century Mexico began her struggle to throw off a foreign government and in 1821 won her independence of Spain. However, authority still remained with a ruling class, which was chiefly foreign, for the lands and wealth of Mexico had been seized by the conquering nation. The movement for reform, which represented in many aspects a nationalist movement, resulted in victory for the Liberal Party under the leadership of

General Juarez and in the constitution of 1857. The conservative leaders appealed to Napoleon III of France, who gave military aid that resulted in the brief ill-fated empire under Maximilian and Charlotta. With the help of the United States this foreign government was overturned and Mexico reverted to its problem of establishing a native government. Under President Benito Juarez, the Indian liberal reformer, a new constitution was adopted and the overthrow of militarism began. After the death of Juarez, General Diaz mobilized the discontent of the military group and was elected to the presidency, which he turned into a military dictatorship lasting thirty-four years. In 1910 the revolutionary movement to establish a constitutional republic began to make substantial progress.

Under the regime of Porfirio Diaz, workers, whether industrial or agricultural, had not the legal right to combine for mutual protection and advancement. The peons or agricultural workers were virtually serfs. The communal holdings to which the Indians were traditionally accustomed, had been taken from them and given as concessions to individuals. The majority of the agricultural population owned neither land nor homes, and were dependent upon plantation owners for a livelihood. Industry and the trades were much retarded and those workers who were employed were, for the most part, unorganized. Such unions as existed had a precarious existence and were necessarily secret revolutionary bodies. The native population of Mexico was dispossessed of its lands, denied opportunity to deal with their own problems, paid wages that did not permit adequate food, clothing or homes. The resources of the country were largely in the hands of foreigners who held concessions. These strong forces for discontent lent themselves to frequent revolutionary movements. As a result, any type of voluntary organization was watched suspiciously by the government. Active labor agitators inevitably were committed to prison on some grounds. Revolutionary leaders were banished and deported. Many of the refugees

fled to the United States and all efforts made by the Diaz regime for the surrender of political refugees failed.

About 1888 associations of workmen on railways were formed, but they lasted only a short time or were confined exclusively to mutual insurance, funeral benefits, or cooperative associations. By law collective bargaining was prohibited. The strikes of these days, such as in Cananea in 1906, and Rio Blanco in 1908, were suppressed by the help of the federal troops, and there were street fights in which the strikers suffered heavily by being killed and wounded.

The refugees in the United States cooperated with revolutionary groups within Mexico in keeping alive the spirit of freedom. The Diaz government fell in 1910. When Madero rallied the liberals in support of a program for political and agrarian reforms, it was the land reform that unified the masses solidly in support of Madero.

In the revolution the workers found an opportunity to unite and to have some personality in the nation. Among the first few unions organized were the printers, the shoemakers, the stonecutters, and some mixed building trades. In spite of their newness, the unions formed at that time exercised an influence that rapidly was recognized by the leaders of the industrial and political affairs of the nation as well as by revolutionary leaders. After the accession of Francisco Madero in 1911, workers were allowed to organize a real trade union movement.

The first central organization under which the work of the new labor movement was headed up, was the Casa del Obrero Mundial (Home of the Workers of the World). The stone masons claim the honor of founding this organization. The leaders in the organization were intellectuals, together with workers and revolutionists. The revolution was their creed. The organization was for propaganda purposes — to rouse workers to unite for political and economic betterment. The following groups quickly responded: Workers in the printing trades and the stone masons of Mexico City; the Mexican

Miners' Union of the north; the Federation of Labor of Torreon Coahuila; the union of cotton workers of Tampico, Tamaulipas; the Confederacion de Sindicatos Obreros de la Republica Mexicana in Vera Cruz.

President Madero created a Department of Labor to study conditions of work. However, there were still obstacles to the organization of workers, and when the administration organ, "Nueva Era," was sharply criticized by leaders of the Casa, its founder, Montecaleno, was exiled and its Rationalist School closed.

The reasons for the overthrow of Madero were varied and numerous. Some were due to the personality of the man himself, his rather limited experience in public life, his lack of administrative ability, his dependence upon his family, his permitting himself to be surrounded by the older reactionary groups of the republic, and finally his inability to fulfill the aspirations which had developed in the movement of which he was the nominal head. He was satisfactory neither to the reactionary nor to the revolutionary elements. This came out clearly both in his relations with labor and in his relations with the agrarian movement, especially with the latter. Zapata, who later became the great agrarian leader of Mexico, demanded of Madero as soon as he came into power that lands be distributed to the Indians immediately. Madero replied that the thing could not be done hastily, that it required a great deal of study, and there was no immediate urgency in the matter. Zapata returned to the hills of Morelos and continued to keep his men in arms and began to war on Madero, which was one of the important contributing factors in Madero's ultimate destruction. Madero was extremely theoretical and sentimental and impractical. He could not change Mexico from a state of absolutism to a state of democracy. He was able, but for a brief period, to hold authority. Then followed the murder of Madero which shocked the civilized world.

After the fall of Madero, Victoriano Huerta established himself as Dictator of Mexico. He dismissed the Congress

and legislative body. Many of the workers were sent to jail or shot, and the Casa del Obrero Mundial was ordered closed.

Huerta never succeeded in placing himself effectively in control. In response to a call upon the state governors and revolutionary leaders for support in 1913, Carranza, then Governor of the State of Coahuila, called upon all state governors to join him in an armed insurrection against Huerta. Then came the hostile demonstrations made by the United States forces on April 10, 1914, at Tampico, and on April 21, at Vera Cruz, followed by the downfall of Huerta, who resigned July 15 of that year. Villa supported Carranza in this revolution until victory was established over Huerta.

Due to the break with Villa, Carranza found opposition too strong at that time to take possession of the government, and disavowed all intentions to make himself president, and outlined the principles upon which he proposed to continue fighting. His first program, issued March 26, 1913, contained no social reform of any kind.

In 1915 General Carranza became Chief of the Constitutional Government. He was a liberal who realized the value of organizations for mobilizing national strength. On January 6, 1915, he issued a decree which won him the backing of the Agraristas, and which has been the basis of all subsequent agricultural legislation.

In March of that year representatives of the Casa del Obrero Mundial met with Rafael Zubaran Capmany for the Carranza government and reached a mutual agreement. After the signing of this contract thousands of working men paraded the streets, passed in review before General Obregon's headquarters—the military representative of General Carranza. The text of the contract was:

Agreement between the Constitutional Government and the Casa del Obrero Mundial

As the workers of the Casa del Obrero Mundial are supporting the Constitutional government headed by Citizen V. Carranza, we hereby declare that the following terms are to govern the relations between the said government and the workers and between

them and it bearing on the manner in which the workers shall collaborate with the Constitutionalist cause:

In witness whereof we subscribe our signatures to this document:

For the Casa del Obrero Mundial, the citizens Rafael Quintero, Carlos M. Rincon, Rosendo Salazar, Juan Tudo, Salvador Gonzalo Garcia, Rodolfo Aguirre, Roberto Valdes and Celestino Gasca, nominated on a sub-committee appearing before the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, and exercising executive power conferred upon it by the Revolutionary Committee of Mexico City, which in turn represents the Casa del Obrero Mundial, and by Rafael Zubaran Capmany, Secretary of the government and representing the above-mentioned First Chief:

1. The Constitutionalist government reiterates its decree of November 4 of last year to include the conditions of the workers by the means of appropriate laws, enacting, during the struggle, every necessary law to carry out the said revolution.

2. The workers of the Casa del Obrero Mundial, with the object of hastening the triumph of the Constitutionalist of the Revolution and of disseminating its ideals touching social reform and avoiding unnecessary bloodshed wherever possible, hereby declare the resolutions they have taken to collaborate in an effective and practical manner toward the triumph of the revolution, taking up arms both to garrison the towns in possession of the Constitutionalist government and to combat the reaction.

3. In order to carry out the proposed undertakings set forth in the two former clauses, the Constitutionalist government will attend, with all the solicitude it has used up to date, to the workers' just claims arising from their labor contracts with their employers.

4. In towns occupied by the Constitutionalist army, and in order that it may be free to attend to the needs of carrying on the campaign, the workers will organize in accordance with the military commander of each place, to hold it and preserve order. In case of the evacuation of towns the constitutionalist government, through the respective military commander, will advise the workers of its intention, giving them every facility to reconcentrate in the places occupied by the Constitutionalist forces. The Constitutionalist government, in case of reconcentration, will help the workers either by remunerating them for work actually done, or, under the caption of "solidarity," aid whenever work cannot be provided, so that they may attend to their principal means of subsistence.

5. The workers of the Casa del Obrero Mundial will draw up lists in every town where they are organized, and immediately in the City of Mexico,

which lists shall include the names of all their comrades who agree to comply with the undertakings stated in clause 2; these lists, immediately upon completion, shall be sent to the First Court of the Constitutionalist government, so that this court may know the number of workers ready to take up arms.

6. The workers of the Casa del Obrero Mundial shall carry on an active propaganda to win sympathy for the Constitutionalist government among all the workers throughout the republic and the working-class world, pointing out to Mexican workmen the advantages of joining the revolution, inasmuch as it will bring about the improvement the working class is seeking through its unions.

7. The workers shall establish centers of revolutionary committees in every place they deem it convenient to do so; these committees, besides doing propaganda work, will look after the organization of labor groups and toward their collaboration with the Constitutionalist cause.

8. The Constitutionalist government will establish, in case of necessity, labor colonies in the zones it may control to serve as places of refuge for the families of the workers who may have taken up arms or who may have in any other practical form shown their adhesion to the Constitutionalist cause.

9. The workers who take up arms in the Constitutionalist government, and also the female workers who perform service in aiding or attending the wounded, or other similar service, will be known under the one denomination whether organized in companies, battalions, regiments, brigades or divisions, all will be designated as "reds."

Constitution and Reform—Salute and Social Revolution.

RAFAEL ZUBARAN CAPMANY,
RAFAEL QUINTERO,
CARLOS M. RINCON,
ROSENDO SALAZAR,
JUAN TUDO,
SALVADOR GONZALO GARCIA,
RODOLFO AGUIRRE,
ROBERTO VALDES,
CELESTINO GASCA.

The government of the United States extended recognition to the Carranza government in October, 1915, and in September, 1916, Carranza convoked an election of Congress.

Two successful strikes brought encouragement to the movement to organize into unions — the street car workers of the Federal District, and the telephone and telegraph workers. These resulted in federal intervention.

When General Carranza came to Mexico City, he gave the Casa del Ob-

rero Mundial headquarters and office equipment. The Casa, through its revolutionary committee, promoted the enlistment of red battalions, that is, the enlistment of unions as a unit for service in the army. The first red battalion was organized from the union of National Arms Factory workers. Some of the best generals headed these battalions, such as General Trevino T. Aguilar. This arrangement enabled a revolutionary leader to have military support irrespective of the old army, which was feudal in nature and bound up with the old regime.

After Carranza had established his control of the government, his attitude toward labor organizations changed. When a strike of the railroad workers took place in January, 1916, he issued a declaration declaring strikes illegal; ordered the disbanding of labor battalions; the expulsion of labor unions from the Jockey Club, which had been given them as headquarters, and the suspension of revolutionary publications. However, the labor movement was too firmly rooted to give way before this reaction.

In 1917 a constitutional convention met in Queretaro for the purpose of amending the constitution. Labor was well represented in this Congress. In order to perpetuate labor gains the congress decided to incorporate in the constitution a statement of fundamental guarantees of justice to wage earners. They were influenced in this decision by the experience of Labor in the United States in having so much labor legislation declared unconstitutional. The result of the deliberations of the Congress was a much modified constitution, with Section 123 composed entirely of labor matters.

It was after Huerta was overthrown and the groups supporting Carranza had split among themselves that Carranza was forced into using an agrarian and labor program, a program which throughout his career he fulfilled with little enthusiasm. This hesitancy on the part of Carranza to comply with the program which he himself had been forced to accept by the revolutionary groups under his command later, in part, became a factor in his overthrow.

Carranza's lack of enthusiasm for the revolutionary program, and his attempt to force upon the government a candidate practically unknown to the Mexican people, Ignacio Bonillas, the former ambassador to the United States, drove Obregon, with the support of the trade union movement, into a rebellion against Carranza.

The work of carrying into effect the revolutionary program, which began under President Obregon, was continued more extensively by President Calles. The result has been to divide public opinion sharply either against or for the Calles government. Those opposed to the Calles administration present the situation briefly as follows:

In accord with the plan of Agua Prieta, adopted April 23, 1920, Carranza was overthrown in May, 1920, and Adolfo de la Huerta was made provisional president. In the election immediately following Obregon was elected president to fill the next constitutional term that began December 1, 1920.

It is said that an understanding was reached that Calles should succeed Obregon as president, and that Obregon should return to that office in 1928. De la Huerta is said to have developed an unexpected popularity, while Calles was unpopular with the army, without which the chances of success were negligible. Huerta started a rebellion against Obregon. This rebellion was opposed by General Calles, who espoused and most enthusiastically advocated the cause of the Agrarians. He likewise cultivated the friendly and sympathetic attitude of the Mexican Federation of Labor. Because of the support of Obregon, who had the backing of the majority of the army and the Mexican Federation of Labor, General Calles was elected president to succeed Obregon. While the majority of the army voted for Calles in his election, it is said that during his visit abroad a deputation of army officers called on President Obregon and declared they would not allow Calles to take the president's chair. In the meantime, Luis Morones, Secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor, was shot and wounded during a session of the Chamber of Deputies by ex-Governor Jose M. Sanchez.

It is stated that Obregon had great difficulty in persuading the generals of the army to support Calles. They hated him, and Calles was said to have been suspicious of them, fearing they would later turn against him. It is said that because of this fear of the army generals that Calles, two days before he was inaugurated as Presi-

dent of Mexico, entered into the following agreement with Luis Morones:

A seal bearing: Central Committee of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana. On the margin: Circular No. 69. In the center: To the Labor Organizations belonging to the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.

Comrade Secretary of the Interior of the Syndicate:

Because we judge it of importance to the life of the Labor Organizations of the Mexican Regional, we inform you for the knowledge of your group of the acuerdo (agreement) made between Comrade Luis N. Morones, as representative of this committee, according to the authorization it has under the rules of the Federation, and Comrade Plutarco Elias Calles, which acuerdo is as follows:

On the margin a seal bearing: Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles. The heading: Acuerdo made between the Representative of the Central Committee of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, Luis N. Morones, and Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles.

Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles contracts with the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana the following obligations:

First: To respect all the movements which the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana may engage in, provided they are performed in accordance with due authority.

Second: To furnish all the facilities and necessary expenses which the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana may require for their organization.

Third: To dissolve gradually the National Army within one year after having taken possession of the presidency of the republic and replace it by battalions of labor syndicates belonging to the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.

Fourth: To accept the head staff designated by the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana which shall take charge of creating the new organization of the Proletarian Army, the appointments to be made known to the War Department when the latter deems it necessary.

Fifth: To mediate with the governors of states by means of special committees to create good understanding when any disagreement arises between them and the Labor Organizations belonging to the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, or when any attempt may be made by others of different tendencies to vitiate this pact.

Sixth: In creating his cabinet he shall appoint Luis N. Morones Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor, so that he may organize all laborers under the program of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.

The Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana binds itself through its Central Committee to Comrade Plutarco Elias Calles:

First: To inform the General Government, or that of the States, beforehand, of any labor movement which the Labor Syndicates may undertake against capitalistic organizations.

Second: To render a monthly report of the amount of money received and of the expenses incurred in the organization of the laborers.

Third: To organize the laborers militarily to take the place, when the time arrives, of the so-called National Army.

Fourth: To appoint twenty men to form the head staff of the new proletarian army.

Fifth: To support, by means of labor movements, all the acuerdos, dispositions and decrees emanating from his government, particularly when tax payers attempt to elude any payments to the Federation or to the States.

Mexico, D. F., November 29, 1924.

(Signed) P. E. CALLES.

(Signed) L. N. MORONES.

We trust the good intentions of our Comrade Calles will not escape your good judgment in attempting to dissolve a great shame to our country, worse than the traitorous Federal Army a thousand times over. You, being an idealist, we are certain that you will do everything possible to have these acuerdos (agreements) receive the acquiescence of the members of your organization.

Mexico, D. F., December 2, 1924.

(Signed) RICARDO TREVINO,

Secretary General.

(Signed) FERNANDO RODARTE,

Secretary of Interior.

The entering into and existence of this agreement have since been repudiated by Calles and Morones, but those who insist that it was executed point to the following circumstances as justification of their claims:

1. That General Serrano had been sent to Germany to buy sufficient arms to equip the trades unions to make them strong enough, in a military sense, with the Agrarians to defeat the National Army if necessity demanded—and which alleged attempt was said to have been frustrated by the British government in seizing the vessels carrying these rifles on the grounds that the Treaty of Versailles did not permit the manufacture and sale of munitions of war by one country to another.

2. That a meeting was held between Calles, Morones and the Central Committee of the C.R.O.M., which is said to have resulted in a secret circular

being sent to all the regional leaders on the 13th of July, 1925.

Those who believe the revolution in Mexico is restoring the rights and property of a people that has been despoiled give the following interpretation:

It is generally assumed by students of Mexico that the leaders of Mexico agreed among themselves that Obregon, Calles, and de la Huerta should each have their turn at the presidency in the order named. To this group of three was added Jose Vasconcelos, Secretary of Education under Obregon, who made a very great impression upon the country. Such a succession would have given the Mexican revolution an opportunity to develop itself under a group of leaders who were recognized as representing most clearly the various aspirations of the different movements that have made the revolution possible. However, de la Huerta, who was himself less of a direct product of the revolution than either Obregon or Calles, became the candidate for the presidency of the Mexican reactionary groups. Before the election of 1924 the Mexican conservative groups found themselves in a position where the only possible candidate who could have any chance at all for success would have to be one who had a revolutionary history behind him, and so they prevailed on one of the three outstanding figures of Mexico, who at that time expressed the revolution at its best, and succeeded in breaking him away from Obregon and Calles, and under his leadership uniting the old conservative groups who were hostile to both the agrarian and trade union movements.

Those upholding the Mexican revolution see a justification in the alleged agreement between Morones and Calles in the revolutionary situation that made the support of the workers of Mexico necessary to Calles. They say that one of the aspects of the revolution has been to transform the army from an agency of the closed political corporation that controlled it into a real federal army by permitting officers to come from all groups. However, we are told the agreement has been repudiated by both Morones and Calles.

The advocates of the revolution advance the following arguments against the historical authenticity of the agreement: (For convenience we here repeat the clauses of the agreement.)

"TO RESPECT ALL THE MOVEMENTS WHICH THE CONFEDERACION REGIONAL OBRERA MEXICANA MAY ENGAGE IN, PROVIDED THEY ARE PERFORMED IN ACCORDANCE WITH DUE AUTHORITY."

"TO FURNISH ALL THE FACILITIES AND NECESSARY EXPENSES

WHICH THE CONFEDERACION REGIONAL OBRERA MEXICANA MAY REQUIRE FOR THEIR ORGANIZATION."

The accounts and records of the C.R.O.M. are public, and prove the inconsistency of this clause. The organization receives no funds direct from the government, and such as do come from that source are from the salaries of duly elected or appointed officials, and in no way a grant from President Calles.

"TO DISSOLVE GRADUALLY THE NATIONAL ARMY WITHIN ONE YEAR AFTER HAVING TAKEN POSSESSION OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC AND REPLACE IT BY BATTALIONS OF LABOR SYNDICATES BELONGING TO THE CONFEDERACION REGIONAL OBRERA MEXICANA."

As the facts now stand (3 years after Calles came into office), the army has not been dissolved. It is not much smaller than it was left by Obregon, around 60,000. It is better equipped, better disciplined, and better organized than ever before, and is very much larger (6 times as large), as the army under Diaz. Consequently, while there has been a tremendous growth of trade unions in the past three years, no evidence is found whatsoever that the workers have been armed or that battalions of workers have been drilled to organize. It is true that a labor man has been in charge of the governmental arsenal—but that was true under Obregon, when Morones was in charge of the arsenal and the government workshops all during Obregon's period in office, so there has been merely a continuation of Obregon's policy to maintain a general of the army affiliated with labor in charge of the arsenal.

"TO ACCEPT THE HEAD STAFF DESIGNATED BY THE CONFEDERACION REGIONAL OBRERA MEXICANA, WHICH SHALL TAKE CHARGE OF CREATING THE NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAN ARMY. THE APPOINTMENTS TO BE MADE KNOWN TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT WHEN THE LATTER DEEMS IT NECESSARY."

The head of staff of the Mexican army is General Amaro, who was one of the most successful of the generals that supported Obregon in the revolution. He has no affiliation with the C.R.O.M., and as a matter of fact, is known to have supported a candidate for the office of Mayor of Mexico City, who was opposed by the C.R.O.M. He is very loyal to Calles. He is an Indian by birth, and has had a long military career in the revolutionary army. There is no truth at all in any assertion that suggests that Amaro is representing the C.R.O.M. in any way.

(AGREEMENT SUBMITTED AS SIGNED BY CALLES AND MORONES

PERTAINING TO PROMISE OF C.R.O.M.) "TO ORGANIZE THE LABORERS MILITARILY TO TAKE THE PLACE, WHEN THE TIME ARRIVES, OF THE SO-CALLED NATIONAL ARMY."

Nothing of the sort has taken place in the Calles administration.

"TO APPOINT TWENTY MEN TO FORM THE HEAD STAFF OF THE NEW PROLETARIAN ARMY."

Some identify this group with the Group Accion, but the Group Accion antedates this agreement. It first consisted of three people, Morones, Salsedo and Juan Barrocan Hernandez, and was later increased by leaders from important unions. The Group Accion originated when the Casa was in control, and reached its present development in 1918 while Carranza was still in office, two years before Obregon became president, so that any relation between the Group Accion and the statement in question is far-fetched.

The second alleged agreement between Calles and Morones, say the advocates of the revolution, has never been submitted as proof with proper signatures. As it is supposed to supplement the first alleged agreement which is not accepted by the friends of the Calles government, it is not regarded by them as of sufficient significance to necessitate consideration. They furthermore submit as the true policy of the C.R.O.M. the resolution adopted by their convention held just prior to the inauguration of President Calles, as follows:

Resolution Number 5, approved by the General Commission on Resolutions of the Sixth Ordinary Convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor held in Ciudad Juarez, Chih.

In regard to the message of Comrade Luis N. Morones, dated the 17th of the current month, which was referred to this committee for its study and decision, we recommend to the Assembly of this Sixth Convention the following observations:

First: The convention approves the propositions made by Comrade Luis N. Morones in the message referred to, and which says: That, starting from the date on which Comrade General Plutarco Elias Calles takes charge of the Presidency of the Republic, the Mexican Federation of Labor will cooperate, with all the force it has, with the new Executive Power of the Nation, while the one in charge of the same is in accord with the principles and program of action which are upheld by the organizations represented in this Assembly, accepting in all its entirety the responsibilities which will be derived from this resolution.

Second: The Central Committee of the C.R.O.M. is fully authorized to act, under its own responsibility, in accordance with what is stipulated in the above resolution.

Third: The convention declares: That within the circumstances expressed in the first resolution it authorizes the Central Committee to dispose of all the forces of our organization in the form which it deems convenient, when required by the circumstances, in defense of the interests of the Mexican proletariat in its relation with the Government which will be presided over by Comrade Plutarco Elias Calles.

In the second place: With the end that the responsibility which is derived from the former resolutions be extended from the Central Committee to all the organizations composing the C.R.O.M., the Convention resolves also: That the organizations affiliated should have complete and absolute discipline and the fulfillment of all regulations which the Central Committee may dictate in regard to the aforementioned resolutions.

In compliance with the resolution of the Fifth Convention assembled in Guadalupe, Jal., referring to the responsibility of the parties who to any degree influence the labor movement, and with the purpose in view that the action of the same as represented in general by the C.R.O.M. maintains the characteristics of responsibility and of a disciplined organization which are demanded by the new situation in which it has been placed, all the individual activities that the members of the affiliated organizations develop and are related to the interests of the labor movement or that affect it, will be subject to the strictest discipline of the C.R.O.M. through the organizations to which they belong, and they should abstain from exercising acts which will prejudice or affect the labor organizations.

In the third place: The Central Committee should proceed immediately to give the greatest publicity possible to this resolution, with an extensive explanatory preamble in accordance with the contents of the telegram of Comrade Morones to which these resolutions refer.

Greetings and social revolution, Hall of the Commissions of the Sixth Convention of the C.R.O.M., Ciudad Juarez, Chih. November 21, 1924.

By the Commission,

(Signed) P. R. FLORES,
(Signed) J. B. FONSECA.

J. M. TRISTAN (Signed).

Approved:

JUAN RICO (Signed), President.

TOMADA RAZON.

C. P. RUIZ (Signed).

The Mexican Land and Labor Problem.

Mexican Labor is concerned with land as well as industrial problems. In the labor movement over sixty per cent of its members are agricultural work-

ers. It is important to remember that Mexican peons are not isolated farm laborers, but work and live in groups. They usually work under a management that hires from 100 to 1000 persons. They own neither the tools, materials or products of their toil.

The people of Mexico were much more concerned about social and economic problems than for political reforms. Under the Spanish regime, the old Indian customs of communal land holdings had been invaded by large estates known as haciendas. The minimum size of a hacienda had been legally fixed at 21,945 acres. The Diaz land policy was more onerous for the people of Mexico than his interference with constitutional government. During the rule of Diaz—1876-1910—by both legal and illegal methods 134,547,885 acres, or more than one-fourth of the total area of Mexico, were taken from the national domain and given to individuals for their personal ownership, control and use. This tendency despoiled many Indians of their traditional possessions, and hundreds of thousands became homeless.

Another and larger group were the Indians who live in villages which they owned and administered in their own way. Their villages, known as ejidos, possessed inalienable communal lands. Prior to 1890 these ejidos constituted the principal means of support of the majority of the Mexican population. On May 12, 1890, Diaz decreed that all villages should be expropriated. The order was carried out in a most rigid and brutal manner. Of the Indian population, which numbered about 12,000,000, who lost their land, over three millions lost their freedom and were listed as peones de campos, or agricultural laborers held in debt service. They, with their dependents, constituted over three-fifths of the Mexican population.

When Francisco Madero included in his revolutionary program a proposal to restore to the Indians the lands of which they had been dispossessed, the proposal won for Madero the general and enthusiastic support of the masses—the first genuine revolutionary movement since the time of Juarez.

Madero, however, had no real grasp of the agrarian problem, and he alienated his following by his dilatory tactics. The counter-revolutionary group, led by Victoriano Huerta, overthrew Madero, while the revolutionary groups headed by Carranza and Zapata still had many followers. Zapata was the leader of the agraristas, as those who wanted land reforms were called, while Carranza proposed constitutional changes. However, he had to have the support of the agraristas, as he had to have that of Labor, and on January 6, 1915, he declared for agrarian reforms. The decree provided for restoration of lands, waters and forests belonging to the nation, and the return of ejidos to village communities. The effect of the decree was to crystallize revolutionary sentiment in support of Carranza.

The agrarian decree of Carranza was modified by the constitution of 1917. Little headway in restoring the lands was made until the presidency of General Obregon. The agrarian problem and the agraristas have been the heart of the Mexican revolutionary movement.

PART III.

Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.

Before the Madero revolution, there had been a few scattered unions in Mexico that had a precarious existence. There had been occasional unions of stone masons, printers, tailors, carpenters and textile workers. Without political rights for wage earners, the union could do nothing in the economic field, so unions were primarily either fraternal organizations or revolutionary bodies. The union was an agency through which political opinion could be formulated. Election to union office was practically certain to bring sentence to jail on some cause or another.

During the Madero regime trade unionists of the United States visited Mexico and gave advice and encouragement to the struggling unions. In Pueblo and Orizaba textile workers formed unions; in Mexico City the National Federation of Graphic Arts was formed; the stone masons' union of the Federal District was organized; in

Vera Cruz revolutionary syndicates formed; in Zacatecas and the northern part of the country active labor propaganda was conducted by print and by word of mouth.

The leaders of the labor movement in Mexico City were syndicalists who got their literature and philosophy from Spain and Italy. They formed the Casa del Obrero Mundial. They were an idealistic devoted group who were indefatigable in their efforts to arouse the workers to take advantage of the revolutionary opportunity. The organization was local, but it sent representatives to many cities to develop similar local organizations. Though Huerta ordered the Casa closed, the organization continued functioning and was able to take advantage of the great opportunity that came under Carranza. It maintained a revolutionary committee and a committee for administering union affairs.

Because the Casa was fundamentally revolutionary, and would not assume responsibility for constructive development, other types of unions began to develop, and their opportunity came when Carranza withdrew the privileges extended to the Casa.

In March, 1916, the first national labor congress was held in Vera Cruz. The Congress, which was fairly representative, created the Confederacion del Trabajo de la Region Mexicana, committed the labor movement to a strictly economic program, and instructed its members to accept no public office. It was in this year a conference between the American Federation of Labor and representatives of various Mexican labor groups was held.

At the congress of Mexican workmen held in Saltillo in 1918, Luis N. Morones, Ezequiel Salsedo and Juan Barragan Hernandez proposed the formation of the "Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana" (Mexican Federation of Labor), and the present labor movement of Mexico was organized. The first convention of the C.R.O.M. (as the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana is commonly called), took place in 1919 in Zacatecas, attended by 103 delegates representing some 40,000 members.

The trade union movement of Mexico is represented by the Mexican Federation of Labor that has in a few years gained remarkably in strength, and is slowly but certainly developing along lines quite similar to the American Federation of Labor in its methods and policies.

In the report to the Seventh Annual Congress of the Mexican Federation of Labor, held on March 1-12, 1926, at the Theatre Hidalgo, where 1,525 delegates were present, it was reported by Secretary Moneda that he expected within the year 1926 that the Federation would reach about 2,000,000 members. The actual one and one-half million membership represented in the Congress was distributed in the following organizations:

Trade and labor federations of states and cities.....	75
Trade unions of the Federal District	105
Trade unions scattered all through the country	1,000
Agricultural workers' unions in the Republic	1,500

These organizations give to the Mexican Federation of Labor a substantial control over the industrial centers, as well as in the fields of agriculture. Their membership has increased in the following manner:

For the year 1919....	10,000 members
" " " 1920....	50,000 "
" " " 1921....	150,000 "
" " " 1922....	400,000 "
" " " 1923....	800,000 "
" " " 1924....	1,200,000 "
" " " 1925....	1,500,000 "

The Mexican Federation of Labor is directed by a central committee elected in the congresses held annually. They do not elect a president, but the secretaries of the central committee for this year, 1927, are as follows:

Jose Lopez Cortes, General Secretary.
 Jose M. Tristan, Secretary of the Miners' and Molders' Department and organization in general.
 Edmundo Sanchez, Secretary for the Agricultural organizations.
 Luis Navarro, Secretary for the Textile Workers' organizations.
 Jose Radillo, Secretary, Department of Treasury and Statistics.
 Eduardo Moneda, Secretary for the National Graphic Arts and of the Department of Propaganda and Publicity.
 Samuel O. Yudico, Secretary of the Transportation Workers on Sea and Land.
 Martin Torres, Department of Labor, International Affairs.

Vincente Lombardo Toledano, Secretary, Department of Labor and Education.

Juan Fonseca, Secretary, Department of Theatrical Employees and Public Performances.

The headquarters of the organizations are located in Allende 24, Mexico, D. F.

The income and revenues of the Mexican Federation of Labor are collected through the affiliated organizations at the rate of 1½ cents per member per year and other taxation levied, and by special dues voluntarily paid by the union labor members who hold high offices in the Mexican Parliament and the government. For a large portion of the workers, at least until recently, the dues were more than they could pay and many of the workers were carried on the books as organized without paying dues. In some instances there are records of members paying their dues by bringing a chicken to the trade union. In some cases a small town has paid union dues by selling a pig or some other possession. The incomes of the Federation were as follows (two pesos are equivalent to one dollar):

During 1923.....	43,728.08 pesos
" 1924.....	92,071.59 "
" 1925.....	78,447.98 "

The Federation keeps representatives at work throughout the country, to organize the workers and also sends labor delegations to the United States and European countries with the purpose in view of bringing about labor fraternal relations.

The labor papers of some influence in the Mexican Republic are: "CROM," organ of the Mexican Confederation of Labor; "Renovacion," "Luz y Fuerza," "Pro-Parle," "El Surco," "El Sol," "Mancomunidad," and others.

The progress made in wage increases and reduction of hours of labor is shown as follows: In 1910, the average day worked was 12 hours for all kinds of workers in the Republic. Today the average workday is 8 hours.

The agricultural workers' wage in 1910 was 18 cents (Mexican money).

In 1915 the wage was.....	37 cents
" 1921 " " "	50 "
" 1923 " " "	62 "
" 1925 " " "	75 "

In Mexico City the laborers were receiving:

In 1910.....	37 cents
" 1921.....	1 peso or 50 cents
" 1925.....	2 pesos or \$1.00

Conventions of agricultural workers, typographical and federations of graphic arts, textile workers, miners, longshoremen and seamen, railroad workers, and women's organizations have been held in Mexico during the last five years, with the results of perfecting their organizations and obtaining much better conditions of labor.

About sixty per cent of the members of the Mexican Federation of Labor are agricultural workers; then come in order of numerical strength the textile workers, the coal and mill workers, the miners, longshoremen and seamen, building trades syndicates, typographical and graphic arts, theatrical artists, manufacturer workers and the laborers in general.

The organization of the trade union movement is somewhat different from that in the United States structurally. Whereas in the American Federation of Labor the important unit is the national or international union, in Mexico the important unit is the central labor council. It is this body that authorizes the local strike of any one of the unions in a district or city. It is the central labor council which finances that strike and if it finds itself in a position where it cannot handle the strike, it surrenders power in that particular issue to the central executive committee of the CROM.

The conventions of the CROM, which are held yearly, are therefore made up of delegates not from national, but from central labor unions and states and from the local unions. If the central executive committee of the CROM feels the need for a national union, say in the mining industry, what happens is as follows: The central executive committee calls the different miners' locals into convention to discuss the problems of the mining industry, and the miners may elect a secretary and establish a national organization, but the secretary's salary is paid by the central executive committee of the CROM.

and the miners continue paying their dues to the locals and local central labor unions and the central executive committee of the CROM, but not to the national unions. The secretary of the national union therefore acts as a sort of advisor and agent of the executive committee of the CROM. All of the letters he sends out to his locals are countersigned by the secretary of the CROM; thus power, from the point of view of control, is highly centralized, and a strike could be called by the central executive committee covering all the workers in all districts or any one district. On the other hand, there is a great deal of internal democracy because the central and local bodies have really a considerable amount of power in their localities, and the conventions are made up of representatives of small local bodies. This type of organization is in a sense dictated by the fact that Mexico is largely agricultural and that there are really very few large industries, and that the most typical unit perhaps, when the movement gets rooted and adopted, will be an agricultural village, all of whose people are members of the CROM.

The agricultural workers who have joined the trade unions are of two types: First, the workers who live on the large estates or haciendas, and who organize for the purpose of bettering their conditions and things like that, and, second, a trade union village which joins the CROM for the purpose of securing land for itself according to the law, and to protect itself and its interests by the use of its larger organization.

One way of illustrating the usefulness of the CROM to the agricultural village may be the following: According to the law, which grew out of the revolution, certain types of Mexican villages are entitled to ask for land, but because of politics and details it has sometimes taken many years for these villages to get anywhere near the ultimate act of being given the grant they are entitled to and having it legalized for them. It must be understood, of course, that the land owners, and very often the politicians, find it more con-

venient to delay granting these requests of the Indians than in satisfying them. But if they are organized into the CROM, a village can appeal directly to the agricultural secretary of the CROM and he can in turn, being in Mexico City, and the organization having a considerable amount of influence and power, immediately reach the secretary of agriculture and the secretary of the National Agrarian Commission, which because of his direct pressure carry out the original implications of the law in a much more efficient and a readier fashion. The CROM is undoubtedly the most important single influence for stability in Mexico today.

The Casa del Obrero Mundial, after having performed its revolutionary function, found a place for itself in the constructive work of the movement. It became a local affiliated to the central body of the federal district. It is composed of trade unionists who have shown conspicuous ability, and for that reason have been invited to apply for membership and have passed the membership tests. The organization does two things: Educates these leaders and through them unifies action throughout the movement. The Casa studies the problems of the movement and considers policies, so the leaders are prepared to make recommendations to their own unions.

The anarchist element in Mexico is concentrated in a "Confederacion General de Trabajadores," which has a membership of some three thousand and is more or less connected with the I. W. W. element in the United States.

Another section of workmen are affiliated to the Third International of Moscow and they hardly exceed a membership of two thousand communists.

Another section of workmen is affiliated "Confederacion de Sociedades Ferrocarriles" (Railroad Workers), with a membership of approximately twenty thousand.

PART IV.

Mexican Labor Party.

In March, 1916, at the first national labor congress, the labor movement of Mexico intimated to members not to

accept public office. After about six years of refusal to have any part in politics, the Mexican trade unionists saw that the public offices which they were obliged not to accept were held by persons hostile to labor, who blocked labor's plans. This determined them on a change of policy, decided at the Congress of Zacatecas. Luis Morones, the head of their movement, formulated the present policy. A trip to Europe impressed him with the disadvantages for trade unionism from some of the policies pursued in permitting different socialist parties to struggle over trade union issues. He saw the trade union movement in France, Italy and Spain split asunder because their political theories were controlled by outsiders, and avoiding such divisions and outside interferences with the workers' economic endeavors, he organized a labor party on the following basis:

While not every member of the trade union movement is a member of the Labor Party, still it is understood that all might be expected to be, if there was a necessity. Many trade unionists are not members of the Labor Party and many trade union officers are not interested in politics, but those trade unionists who do participate in politics do so through the Labor Party.

The Labor Party meets every year in regular convention and elects an executive committee, nationally and by state and by locality. This Labor Party has one and only one function, and that is to elect to office those men who are either trade unionists themselves or have the approval of the trade union movement. The Labor Party has no platform, no program and no legislative policy. It takes its legislative program and its philosophy direct from the trade union movement. These legislative demands of the trade union movement become the program of the Labor Party. Any member of the Labor Party who does not support the trade union program is expelled from the Labor Party, and any man expelled from the trade union movement is automatically expelled from the Labor Party. That means that the Labor Party is a committee executing the legislative de-

mands and doing the political work of the trade union movement. For Mexico this labor party is a matter of very great importance, because in Mexico, traditionally, there have been no political parties. All political activities had centered about personalities, and hence parties were small affairs, local in character and disbanding as soon as the elections were over. The trade union movement is thus giving Mexico for the first time in its history the experience of a permanent political party, and this must be considered of great importance to Mexico as laying the foundation for a political democracy, which was impossible as long as there was no political organization of a permanent character in Mexico.

Within the C. R. O. M. is a group called the Group Accion (said to consist of not more than twenty members). This is a voluntary group, with no official status in trade union law. However, the official records of the C. R. O. M. show that this group contributes from one-third to four-fifths of its total income. Many of the members of the group hold governmental offices and contribute generously (twenty per cent) from their salaries to the "C. R. O. M." These contributions have become the basis of the accusation that the government supports the C. R. O. M.

With the election of Calles, the Mexican labor movement became an important political element. It was strongly behind his candidacy and was given representation in his cabinet by the appointment of Luis N. Morones as Secretary of Labor, Commerce and Industry.

The relations between the Mexican labor movement and the Mexican government are very intimate, but this is due to a series of natural causes which are not understood by outsiders and very frequently not understood even by the people in Mexico themselves. These causes may be recapitulated as follows:

The capital in Mexico is largely foreign-owned. Strikes at once involve international complications. As the constitution has made strikes legal, the government must uphold the rights of strikers. To fail to do so would not

only be a violation of law, but would put the government in the position of favoring foreign interests at the expense of its own nationals. This is an explanation for the impression that the government is always on the side of Labor, but it really is on the side of its own people against an outsider. This is something that cannot be avoided if there is going to be a Mexican government.

The Mexican constitution of 1917, in Article 123, embodies much that has been approved by legislative experience of other countries. There has been written into their constitution such things as the eight-hour day, limitation of child labor, etc. But in Mexico, of course, while these standards of trade union legislation are the law, they have not as yet been put into general practice either by the government or by the trade union movement. There have been during the last eight or nine years a series of strikes for the purpose of enforcing the law. That is, when the workers strike for an eight-hour day, or when the workers strike for certain requirements of compensation for accidents, they are really striking for the purpose of carrying into force what is actually a part of the law of the land, and the government inevitably finds itself in a position of having to defend the trade union movement because the trade union movement is really an agency interested in carrying out the law of the land.

There is one interesting point in this connection, and that is the interpretation of the Mexican government of the right to strike. The law provides that the workers have a right to strike, so that every strike is legal, and the government has taken the position that it cannot protect workers who would help the employer break the strike. In case of a strike the government ordinarily takes the position that it has to be neutral, and interprets neutrality as meaning that it is its duty to protect the property of the employer and to avoid violence, but that the best way of avoiding violence and protecting the property of the employer is to refuse to admit into factories any workers

while the strike is going on, thus taking the side neither of the employer nor the worker, but letting the employers and workers fight with their own resources and not count on the resources of the government as an aid.

Another factor in the general situation is of course the fact that the trade union movement contributed a great deal towards making the revolution a success, and many of the trade union leaders or their friends are in power and are using their power in the government to carry out the requirements of the law. That again tends to give this impression of a close unity between the Mexican government and the trade union movement, but as a matter of fact the Mexican government is not a trade union government in any sense of the word. It is not a labor government, and certainly is not a socialist government.

Since the time of Carranza the Mexican government has been representative of the Mexicans. Prior to that, beginning with the Spanish government, the government had represented the interests of small groups who supported personal armies. The contract between the Casa del Obrero Mundial and the Carranza government made possible a national army composed of citizens interested in maintaining a constitutional government. The present government rests upon the strong basis of citizen consent, which explains the failure of sporadic revolutions against it.

The Labor Party was successful recently in sending to the National Congress fifty-one deputies and six senators; three of its members are governors of the states of Hidalgo, Mexico and Zacatecas. Luis N. Morones occupies the post of Minister of Commerce, Labor and Industry. Many municipal governments, including the City of Mexico, have a majority of workers.

While the trade unions of Mexico, through the Labor Party, have sought political office and are largely represented in the Mexican government, their purpose is more to enforce existing labor laws and in conserving the purposes of the revolution rather than in dominating and making of the Mexican

government a labor government. Indeed, the Mexican Federation of Labor, through its official spokesman, clearly and definitely states that the forces of organized labor have no political objects.

In an address delivered February 12th, 1927, Ricardo Trevino, secretary of the C. R. O. M., said:

"We are firmly convinced that the program of the revolution of 1917 must be realized before the social program. The laborites feel no anxiety to conquer political posts. We do not pretend to control public life; that belongs to the revolutionary group. For us it is the same whether it is the regime of Calles or the regime of Obregon. We see no difference. They are both revolutionaries. Now I say, speaking for myself, that it seems to me that the man who has more control over the revolutionary elements is General Obregon. And if anyone should ask me for whom I would vote, I would reply, for General Obregon.

"What we desire, in all truth, is to obtain revolutionary unity; I consider it dangerous to cause any differences to exist between General Obregon and General Serrano. And we should not concern ourselves with personalities. Revolutionary unification before all. Let us bring together all the revolutionaries and in a large assembly discuss which man has the capacity to achieve power" (i. e., to win the election), and behind this man we should all put ourselves."

His idea of the relations between the C. R. O. M. and the Labor Party he expressed thus:

"The forces of organized labor have no political objects. The workers' syndicates do not propose anything (politically). The hour when the Labor Party becomes an obstacle to the onward march of the organization of workers, that hour the Labor Party will disappear. And already we have done this (i. e., dissolved the party) in some cases, as in Vera Cruz; in the hour when the Mexican Labor Party, in place of being a beneficial element, becomes an obstacle to the development of the organization of the workers, you may be certain that it will disappear. And the workers, members of the Labor Party, will abandon the political posts and return to their shops, because we are in politics temporarily, and through our syndicates we will continue being a helpful factor for the revolution (of 1917), and we are interested that the revolution should triumph, so that we may then be able to go forward with our program of social renovation."

V. LABOR LEGISLATION.

In 1917, a constitutional convention met in Queretaro and drafted a con-

stitution based upon that of 1857. One of the most striking sections in the constitution is article 123 which deals with matters which may be divided into the following classifications:

1. Regulation of Length and Time of Labor.

Among the standards provided to regulate length and time of Labor are:

The eight-hour day with a seven-hour limit on night work.

Children under twelve are prohibited from working under contract, and children between twelve and sixteen may work only six hours daily.

Women are prohibited from working for a period of three months preceding child birth.

Overtime is confined to three hours in any one day and is not permitted for more than three successive days.

Women and children under sixteen are not permitted to work any overtime.

One day's rest in seven is mandatory.

2. Housing and Community Conditions.

All employers are required to provide their workers with sanitary dwellings and may not charge more than one-half of one per cent per month of the assessed value of the property.

In rural communities the employer is responsible for seeing that schools, dispensaries and other community services are provided. He must also set aside in the village space for public markets and places of amusement.

3. Wages and Financial Regulations.

The constitution provides that the minimum wage must be paid for all classes of labor. This minimum wage shall be determined by special commissions appointed by each community and subordinate to the Central Board of Conciliation to be established in each state.

The wage shall be sufficient to satisfy the normal needs of the workman, to provide for his education and pleasures and his obligations as the head of his family.

The constitution further provides that the workers shall have the right to participate in the profits from the agricultural, commercial, manufacturing or mining enterprises in which they are employed. The same machinery that determines the minimum wage rate is also charged with the responsibility of determining the rate of profit sharing.

All wages must be paid in legal

tender and the basis of minimum wage rate is protected from "attachment, set-off or discount."

Overtime work must be paid for as double time, and for the same work there shall be no discrimination in payment because of sex or nationality.

No private agency or public office may charge a fee for finding employment for workers.

Wages for workers and salaries constitute a first lien on any business undertaking.

To protect the workers against a system of peonage which prevailed by getting them into indebtedness to employers, the constitution provides that debts contracted by workers may only be charged against the workers themselves and under no circumstances against the members or their families nor can such debts be paid by taking of more than the entire wage of the workman for any one month.

All debts contracted by workmen on account of work up to the date of the constitution were declared wholly and entirely discharged.

4. Organization of Workers and Work Disputes.

The constitution recognizes strikes and lock-outs as legal and provides for the right to organize on the part of the workers and employers.

Workers on public utilities are required to give ten days' advance notice of a strike to Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration.

Strikes are unlawful when the majority of the workers resort to violence.

Disputes between employers and employees are required to be submitted to a board of conciliation and arbitration consisting of equal representatives of each party and one representative of the government. Refusal to submit on the part of the employer or refusal on his part to accept an award subjects him to the penalty of paying three months' wages to all employees in the dispute in addition to making him liable to other penalties. Workers who refuse to accept an award terminate their contracts.

If a worker abandons his work because of mistreatment or misuse of any member of his family, the employer is liable to the payment of three months' wages.

5. Accidents and Sickness.

Employers are legally liable for accidents and occupational diseases arising from the work. The law also provides general and broad standards for the regulation and supervision of work places

with regard to sanitary and accident conditions.

6. Regulation of Labor Contract.

The constitution specifies a series of stipulations which cannot be made subject to contract and which are void if embodied in a contract. Among these are:

Any contract which provides for an inhuman day's work or a wage not remunerative in the judgment of the Board of Arbitration and Conciliation.

Wages must be paid at least once a week.

Places of amusement, cafes, saloons or shops must not be used as places for payment of wages.

There must not be any obligation to buy in specified places; there must be no reduction in wages as payment for fines; the worker shall not waive his claim to indemnities that may arise from disease, accident, breach of contract, or discharge. Neither shall the worker waive his right to any protection given him under labor legislation.

The constitution applies until the states adopt legislation to regulate their own localities in accord with the constitutional standards.

Other labor provisions are:

XIX.—"Suspension of work shall only be lawful when the excess of production renders it necessary to close down in order to maintain prices above the cost of production, and when previously approved by the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration.

XXII.—"The employer who discharges a workman without just cause or for being a member of a union or syndicate, or for having taken part in a lawful strike must, at the option of the laborer, either perform the contract or indemnify the workman by the payment of three months' salary. He will also have the same obligation if the workman leaves his employ on account of lack of good faith on the part of the employer, or of mistreatment either as to his own person or that of his wife, parents, children, brothers or sisters. The employer may not evade this responsibility when the mistreatment is committed by subordinates or agents acting with his consent or knowledge."

The language of this last section probably furnishes a key to the motives of the Constitution makers.

(1)—They were protecting the ignorant and helpless peon from the abuse of slave-driving employers, and

(2)—They were protecting labor organizations from wholesale discharge or discrimination against their leaders.

Paragraph 20 of Article 123 of the Mexican Constitution establishes Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation to be composed of three representative members—one of the workers, one of the employer, and one of the Government. The constitution gives such boards of arbitration the right to adjust all of the difficulties between the employer and employees, but between the adoption of the constitution of 1917 and the Obregon regime up to 1922, the courts of Mexico practically destroyed the value of those arbitration tribunals established by the constitution by declaring that the arbitration tribunals could not enforce its dictums, and then going to the extent of saying that neither the workers or employers were required to answer summons, placing it therefore in a position of being purely a civil organism without legal effect. Since that time the Mexican courts have completely reversed themselves and have placed the arbitration courts in a position where their power to call witnesses as well as to enforce their judgments have become a matter of recognized law. These arbitration courts are composed of organized workers that indirectly make representation by the workers through organization almost mandatory, because to be represented at all, the workers must be represented through some organized body which appoints a member to this arbitration tribunal.

When it became clear that the organization of the workers was an inevitable outcome, there developed an attempt to get around this by making it possible for the employers to organize their own unions and have them represented in those arbitration tribunals, but within the last two years at least the laws of some of the states as well as the judgments of some of the courts, have gone to the extent of saying that an employer can only organize one union in his shop and that union must be composed of the majority of workers in a shop and therefore as a matter of fact recognized but one union.

In the State of Puebla the law gives

precedence to the collective bargain over the individual contract and if necessary to the detriment of the individual contract. If workers in any establishment wish to secure a collective bargain the employer is by law required to comply with their request. The State of Vera Cruz has gone further than that and makes the collective bargain compulsory; that is, goes to the extent of making any labor contract for a group of workers beyond the given number illegal. Any employer that has above that number of workers must perforce deal with his workers through a collective bargain. This same provision has been written into Federal law, which was passed by the Congress, but not yet passed by the Senate. It makes collective bargaining compulsory, and if one adds to that the interpretation of the law to mean that you have collective bargaining with only one organization representing the majority of workers in any establishment, one arrives very nearly at a point where there is a strong legal pressure for compulsory membership in trade unions.

This whole development in Mexico is very recent and has grown up without previous premeditation and was made possible to a large extent by the fact that the employers in most cases were foreigners, which caused the government to throw its influence on the side of the workers ultimately in the form of law. This would not have been possible if the employers had been Mexican as well as the workers.

The result of all this has been the very rapid organization of the working people of Mexico, so that they at present have nearly two million organized workers and peasants and giving them every day a greater power in the determination of the conditions of labor under which they are employed.

With regard to allowing labor to share in the profits of industry, developments have been interesting.

The C.R.O.M. has declared that the basis of its present tactics, both in the economic and political field, is economic nationalism, development of

Mexican industry and the economic independence of Mexico.

In the Memoria of the C.R.O.M. (page 32) there is a statement describing the progress of Mexican Labor from the point of view of immediate socialization of industry to economic nationalism:

"In the good times of the Casa del Obrero Mundial in this metropolis (1912-1917) the principle was proclaimed that the working people should constantly and continuously antagonize the employer more and more from day to day; that by all possible means they should seek to bring pressure to bear on him in order to force the employer himself to bring about the socialization of industry since the demands of his workers were far higher than the profits of his enterprise. But, then, reader, we were a handful of agitators, and today, with the experience of the daily struggle, with the lessons that we have learned from the labor unionism from the other side of the Atlantic and from the other countries of this continent, we have reached the determination to protect industry, and so to make the entire nation prosper, and that we ought not to ask from industry anything more than it can logically give to the worker on the basis of facts."

"Holding to this as the norm every time that a conflict has arisen about wages the chiefs of the C.R.O.M. have studied it carefully to the point of sending to the workshop, the store or the factory, a technical commission to scrupulously study the books of the company."

"With this precise information we find ourselves in a condition to know how far the demands of our comrades should go in the matter of wages, and on many occasions when we observe that the situation of the industry is difficult we take whatever steps may be necessary that the federal and local government should aid it in solving the problems that make it less prosperous than it should be."

In accord with this same principle, the general secretary of the C. R. O. M., Ricardo Trevino, proposed in his speech of February 12 that organized labor was willing to co-operate with the employers as well as the government to do everything possible to increase the efficiency of Mexican industry, and to make Mexico economically independent, and proposed a joint campaign to increase the sales of Mexican products in Mexico. This statement of the official spokesman of the Mexican labor move-

ment reflects its progress from Socialism to its present attitude to protect industry and to permit industry to prosper, and not by seeking more for Labor than the industry can logically give. This statement is significant of the change in the purposes and policies of the Mexican labor movement since 1912 and the C. R. O. M. itself. From the vague purpose of socializing industry, its leaders have come to a clear understanding of the steps necessary to give the workers rights and opportunities in their daily work. Today they understand that industry must prosper if the industrial workers are to prosper, and the workers cannot secure more than industry can afford to pay as determined by fair standards.

Trevino's offer was at once accepted by the government and by the Mexican Chamber of Commerce, the latter body appointing committees to co-operate with the committees of the C. R. O. M., and the Department of Labor also instituting a committee under the direction of Vicente Lombardo Taledano, one of the C. R. O. M. leaders.

CONCLUSION

This historical record of Mexican events demonstrates clearly the revolutionary conditions with which all phases of public and private life there must deal. It is evident that the emotions and ideals which roused action in effort to establish a constitutional form of government, are being gradually steadied and made practical by responsibility for getting constructive results.

This is definitely evident in the change that has been taking place in the declarations and policies of the Mexican labor movement. There has been steady progress in understanding and in action. The Mexican labor movement is young, but it has made astounding progress in its brief life. To have built up a membership of two millions in ten years is no inconsiderable accomplishment. The movement, of course, works with conditions as they are in Mexico today. The Mexican labor movement is contributing to the devel-

opment and progress of Mexico and will share in the benefits that come to the whole nation.

Faternally submitted,
WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice-President.

FRANK DUFFY,
Second Vice-President.

T. A. RICKERT
Third Vice-President.

JACOB FISCHER,
Fourth Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL,
Fifth Vice-President.

MARTIN F. RYAN,
Sixth Vice-President.

JAMES WILSON,
Seventh Vice-President.

JAMES P. NOONAN,
Eighth Vice-President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

Executive Council, American Federation
of Labor.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate William P. Clarke, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Application to Change Term "Typewriters" in Title of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Unions to "Typists"

Resolution No. 69.—By the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16304, Seattle, Wash.

WHEREAS, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, while probably a technically correct name for those engaged in the general branches of office work, is nevertheless capable of improvement by substituting the word "typist" for the word "typewriter"; and

WHEREAS, The word "typewriter" is ambiguous in that it can properly be applied to either a machine or an individual using such machine; and

WHEREAS, The unnecessary use of this ambiguous word is obnoxious to office employees generally; and

WHEREAS, The word "typist" is much more explicit and definite in designating the operator of a typewriting machine, is acceptable to the highest authorities in the science of words, and much more acceptable and desirable from the standpoint of union office employees; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the names of Federal Unions of office employees, affiliated directly with the Federation, be changed at the earliest date practicable to read "Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union."

Typists vs. Typewriters

Resolution No. 69 having for its purpose the substitution of the word "Typists" for the word "Typewriters" in the title of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, was considered by your committee. It is our judgment that the request be referred to the Executive Council for consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Journeyman Tailors' Union Protests Issuance of A. F. of L. Charters to Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Unions Pending Jurisdictional Demarcation

Resolution No. 62.—By Delegates Gust. Soderberg and E. N. Bolander of the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

WHEREAS, Pursuant to Resolution No. 41, introduced by delegates of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America at El Paso, Texas, 1924 Convention, relative to the matter existing between the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America and the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers; and

WHEREAS, The committee of the Executive Council's report recommended at the aforesaid convention not to concur in the aforesaid resolution; but recommended that "the Executive Council call a conference between the representatives of the Journeymen Tailors and the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers within ninety days from the adjournment of this said convention, in order that the jurisdiction of each organization be delimited as closely as possible, in order that complete understanding be had of the rights of each organization and of other organizations that may be similarly situated as the Journeymen Tailors with reference to the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers"; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council was concurred in and, pursuant to such recommendation, a conference of the representatives of the J. T. U. of A. and representatives of the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers presided over by Vice-President T. A. Rickert,

was held on or about the 20th day of January, 1925, at the Morrison Hotel in the city of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, After due deliberation no agreement was reached between the aforementioned organizations; but the entire subject matter was continued to a future date, thus leaving the jurisdictional lines of the J. T. U. of A. and the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers undetermined; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council, notwithstanding the indecision as to whether certain tailors should belong to the J. T. U. of A. or to so-called Retail Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers, who are workers who have been engaged in the custom tailoring trade, over which the J. T. U. of A. has had jurisdiction since its inception in 1887; and

WHEREAS, These so-called Retail Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers are tailors, employed in the custom tailoring trade doing repairing, pressing, altering or remodeling old clothes, as well as being engaged in new custom tailoring, using our label, and being members of our organization; and

WHEREAS, The issuing of federal charters by the Executive Council to above described workers is in direct conflict with Article 9, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, as we deem it a direct trespass upon the jurisdiction expressly granted to the J. T. U. of A. when they first became affiliated in 1887 to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record reaffirming its stand on the report of the committee on Executive Council's Report of the El Paso, 1924, convention, viz.:

That no further federal charters be issued to the so-called Retail Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers until such time as final determination and elimination of the jurisdictional lines of the Journeymen Tailors' Union and Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers is reached, as recommended by the Committee on Executive Council's Report of the El Paso, 1924, convention.

This subject came to your committee through Resolution No. 62, introduced by Delegates Gust Soderberg and E. N. Bolander of the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

Much time was devoted to hearing the representatives of each side to this controversy, and after mature deliberation your committee disapproves of the resolution and approves of the action of the Executive Council.

For the benefit of the record we are incorporating a copy of an agreement entered into between two local unions involved Nov. 29, 1925, reading thus:

Agreement

Chicago, Illinois, Nov. 29, 1925.

Conference held between Journeymen Tailors' Union, Local 5, and the Retail Cleaners and Dyers' Union, Local No. 17792, and Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union, Local No. 17742, at 315 South Ashland Avenue, Thursday, November 29, 1925.

The following resolutions were adopted:

RESOLVED, That we agree that all practical tailors and tailoresses employed in the different stores should belong to the Journeymen Tailors' Union; and all the others to either of the other locals working in the cleaning and dyeing industry. We also agree to work in conjunction with each other, and all disputes that may arise to be left to a committee, consisting of S. Rubin of Local No. 17792; James Gorman, Local No. 17742, and George Ring and Gust Soderberg, of Journeymen Tailors' Local No. 5.

This is signed by B. Abrams, James Gorman and G. W. Ring; also Sam Marx and B. Taylor; Pat White, Gust Soderberg.

Finally, your committee recommends that if any further dispute exists between the contending parties that arrangement be made whereby said dispute shall be presented to the Executive Council for consideration and decision.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Soderberg, Journeymen Tailors, spoke at length in support of the resolution. He stated that charters had been issued to Local Unions of Retail Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers by the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Long Beach, California, since the El Paso convention, and he maintained that this action was not in harmony with the decision of the El Paso convention on the subject. After quoting Section 11 of Article IX of the Federation constitution in support of his argument, Delegate Soderberg read at some length from correspondence that had passed between his office and the organization in San Francisco in relation to this dispute.

He made the statement that eighty per cent of the men to whom the Federal charters had been issued by the Federation were properly considered as tailors, from their point of view, and that many of them had belonged to the Journeymen Tailors' organization for thirty years or more and had been compelled to transfer

to the Pressers, Cleaners and Dyers' Unions.

- Delegate Bolander, Journeymen Tailors, also supported the resolution. He said, in part:

In 1912, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Rochester, New York, the Tailors were granted jurisdiction over the cleaning and dyeing industry of this country, because it really was a part of the tailoring industry. When a man wanted to have a suit of clothes cleaned or pressed or repaired he didn't bring it to a blacksmith shop or a barber shop, he brought it to a tailor shop.

We will agree that conditions have changed. We will agree that the introduction of modern machinery, etc., has somewhat modified the system of work, but that has nothing to do with the question. This jurisdiction was granted to the Tailors without a word of protest from any one. Local Unions that were organized previous to 1912 by the Federation itself and chartered by the Federation were turned over to the Journeymen Tailors.

We have in this very city an organization organized by the Journeymen Tailors of 700 members, and they were perfectly satisfied to remain with us, and there was not a word of complaint. Then all of a sudden the Federation issued a charter to these people and we lost them. A similar situation was created in Long Beach, and let me say that the members of that organization are still loyal to the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America and want to be a part of our organization.

The agreement which the committee incorporates in its report is not of a national character, but one that concerns two local unions in Chicago. It has no bearing whatsoever upon the situation created in the country at large. It is signed by Brother Soderberg, and at the time of signing it he was not an official of the national organization.

After all the hearings that have been held I had hoped that the committee would report something more definite, something more clear. This report leaves the situation in a worse shape than it was before. All that the Tailors ask is

a square deal. Our industry is shifting from the smaller cities, and it is becoming necessary to establish mixed local unions in order to maintain charter organizations. If we are deprived of that right, many unions that we now have, particularly throughout the state of Ohio and in every mining section of the country, will naturally die. I cannot believe that it is the intention of the American Federation of Labor to injure the Journeymen Tailors in any way. We want to stay with the Federation as long as possible, but if we are going to be crucified for remaining with them for more than forty years, then I don't know what to think.

Vice President Wilson, chairman of the committee, assured the convention that there was no desire on the part of the committee to do anything that would injure the Journeymen Tailors' Union of North America. He said, in part:

It is a ridiculous proposition for the Journeymen Tailors' Union to claim the right to do all dyeing and cleaning, because the members of the United Garment Workers and the members of the Ladies' Garment Workers make clothes and garments of all kinds, and their product all goes through the process of cleaning, dyeing and pressing.

Your committee incorporated in its report a copy of an agreement that was entered into between a union of dyers and cleaners and a union of journeymen tailors. One of the gentlemen who signed that agreement was then a representative of the local union of journeymen tailors, and he is now the General Secretary of that organization, and he does not speak in opposition to the agreement that he made, but rather in opposition to the report of the agreement. The committee learned of that agreement, and we tried to secure a copy of it, and we did secure it from Brother Bolander, the other representative of the Journeymen Tailors. That agreement distinctly specified that tailors and tailoresses shall belong to the Journeymen Tailors' Union. There can be no misunderstanding or no two constructions placed upon that language, and the representatives of the Cleaners and Dyers, when questioned relative to their attitude upon this question, stated that they had no desire to organize the so-called

"buckeye" shops, to have enrolled in their membership the so-called tailor or tailor-ess, but what they contended for was the dyer and cleaner that worked apart and away from the tailor shop.

The incorporating of that agreement in the report of the committee is based upon this principle, that we are referring any future disputes that may arise between the Journeymen Tailors and the Cleaners and Dyers to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for adjustment. We believe that is a fair basis for the adjudication of any matter that may arise in this industry.

The Journeymen Tailors, through their representatives, were specific in their request that whatever our committee did, we draw a line of demarcation, and surely there is drawn a line, based upon an agreement entered into between two local unions on which the question of jurisdiction is in dispute. It is the judgment of the committee that no harm and no injury will come to the Journeymen Tailors through the adoption of this report. The representative of the Cleaners and Dyers specifically stated before the committee that they were not only willing and anxious to turn over anybody to whom the Tailors might have a proper claim, but they would render every influence at their command to help them acquire to their membership those who were not now members in the so-called "buckeye" shops.

Treasurer Tobin, speaking in support of the committee's report, said in part:

I am interested in this question, not only as a member of the Executive Council but as the President of an International Union that comes closely in contact with the controversy now before the convention. Those dyers and cleaners, in eighty per cent of the cases in which they are organized, could not have held their organizations together if it had not been for the drivers.

Just at this moment I do not know how the Journeymen Tailors assumed jurisdiction over this class of workers, but I do know this—and I have said it on the Executive Council—that a serious mistake was done to this class of workers when this jurisdiction was

granted to the Journeymen Tailors' Union. For the years during which they held jurisdiction, practically nothing was done for this class of workers.

The claim was made by the dyers and cleaners, on their several appearances before the Executive Council, that there was nothing being done for them and there was no hope for them in the Journeymen Tailors' Union. I call your attention to one local union of cleaners and dyers. In the city of Chicago, while under the jurisdiction of the Tailors, there was a struggling local union of cleaners and dyers, without wages or conditions, and consisting of about three hundred members. Today that same local union, since chartered by the American Federation of Labor and taken away from the Journeymen Tailors, has a membership of two thousand, and they have practically doubled their wages in the few years they have held such charter.

I cannot be convinced that there is the slightest relation between the journeymen tailors and those thousands of people who work in dye houses and cleaning establishments. In the city of San Francisco the Journeymen Tailors believe in an industrial form of organization. There we have an organization of cleaners and dyers dwindling down almost to nothing, outside the Central Body, because they have drivers in there. They believe in taking in anybody who works in or around the plant.

In the city of Chicago the drivers are segregated, the dyers and cleaners are segregated, and there are 2200 members in the drivers' organization who come directly in contact with these 2,000 members of the Cleaners and Dyers' Union. The Journeymen Tailors have no more right to claim jurisdiction over this class of workers than we have to claim jurisdiction over men who work in the glass industry. Since the segregation has been made, unions of dyers and cleaners have been organized in many cities in our country where, before this condition obtained, we had only six or seven hundred of these people organized, and where today we have six or seven

thousand, directly chartered by the Federation and waiting for the time when they can have an International charter of their own.

The report of the committee was adopted with one dissenting vote.

Delegate Clarke: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

JAMES WILSON, Chairman;
WILLIAM P. CLARKE, Secy.;
GEORGE L. BERRY,
WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
WILLIAM E. WEEKS,
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
J. J. HYNES,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES G. SHANESSY,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
COLLIS LOVELY,
PATRICK MCCARTHY,
WILLIAM A. CAMPBELL,
JAMES T. CAVANAUGH,
CHARLES A. SUMNER,

Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate Clarke, secretary of the committee, moved the adoption of the committee's report as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESENTATION OF GIFTS TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Following an established custom of the convention, President Green at this time presented to each of the three fraternal delegates attending the convention a beautiful gold watch and chain, suitably engraved, as a good will offering of all the delegates and as an expression of their appreciation of the presence of the visitors. To Mrs. Pugh and Mrs. Sherwood, the wives of the fraternal delegates from England, similar gifts were presented, and to Fraternal Delegate Farmilo, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, who was unaccompanied by Mrs. Farmilo, President Green presented a watch to take to his wife as a token from the delegates.

Each of the fraternal delegates spoke in appreciation of the gifts and in appreciation of the splendid hospitality which they had been shown on every hand since their arrival in America. Fraternal Delegates Sherwood and Pugh expressed the thanks of Mrs. Pugh and Mrs. Sherwood for the gifts and for the kindly courtesy

that had been extended them by all with whom they came in contact.

In concluding this portion of the proceedings, President Green expressed the hope that the remainder of the stay of the visitors would be pleasant and that they might return home safely and happily to their friends and families.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice President Woll, chairman of the committee: Your Committee on Resolutions has had submitted to it a large number of subjects from the report of the Executive Council and a very large number of resolutions. The committee has considered all matters submitted to it most carefully and thoughtfully, having given hearings to all who desired them on subjects in which they were interested.

However, during the morning and during the noon adjournment, one or two gentlemen desired to be heard by the committee. Unfortunately, the work of the committee had reached that point where it was necessary to finally conclude the report, and these several representatives could not be heard.

We also had presented to us several resolutions which came to us, not through delegates to the convention, but through the mail or by personal presentation. Your committee felt that the rules of the convention did not permit of the consideration or action on those resolutions that came to us in any other manner than through the officers or delegates in the convention, and therefore no report will be made on such resolutions.

Secretary Olander will present the report, dealing first with the subjects in the Executive Council's report and such resolutions as relate to any portion of that report.

Secretary Olander submitted the following report:

The Record of the Year's Work

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 34, the Executive Council reported as follows:

In reporting on the work and progress

of the American Federation of Labor, we are dealing with the record of an institution which constitutes one of the determining factors in life and in the civilization of the North American continent. It is the labor movement that makes it possible for the majority of the population to participate commensurately in material and social progress. Like trade associations, engineering societies, bar associations, medical societies, etc., trade unions are organizations of persons with mutual interests and common work problems. The way the membership works and the ideals they follow are important in shaping the development of economic progress and, hence, of all life. The basic objectives of all organizations which rest upon occupation are identical: advancement of the work itself, and economic returns that will enable the membership to have for personal use the material comforts of life and opportunities for abundant life.

The various technical, trade and professional associations promote the interests of important smaller groups while the labor movement is responsible for raising the standards of life in wide circles which constitute the major portion of the population. That nation is making most substantial progress where standards of life are rising consistently among all groups. Not only is it socially necessary to have the broadest basis for rising standards of living, but it is also economically essential in order that consumers' demand keep pace with increasing output.

The labor movement, therefore, is something more than a militant organization necessary to assert and defend the rights and interests of wage earners; it is something more than an organization that furthers the material personal interests of members exclusively; it is a force for social as well as individual advancement—a constructive as well as a protective agency; it is an agency through which workers may develop a partnership with management in the doing of work itself; it is the instrumentality through which workers achieve conditions of life that approach their ideals of constructive and creative living.

Viewed in the light of these services, the record of one year's undertaking is of fundamental importance. Our report for the year 1927 we have divided into two parts: First, an interpretative resumé of achievements and outstanding problems; second, documentary and detailed data.

Under the caption "The Record of the Year's Work," the Executive Council presents an introductory statement containing a number of pertinent truths, chief among which is this declaration, "That nation is making most substantial progress where standards of life are rising consistently among all groups." It is characteristic of the trade union movement that the benefits of its activi-

ties are never confined to the actual members of the movement itself, but always radiate throughout the community and ultimately result in improving standards of life for the people as a whole. The plan which the Council had adopted of presenting in its report, first, an interpretative resumé of achievements and of the more pressing problems, and, second, certain records in relation thereto, is a most satisfactory and instructive method of presenting information to the convention. The committee recommends approval of that part of the Executive Council's report which appears under the title above referred to.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Progress Toward Mutual Understanding

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 34, the Executive Council reported as follows:

The achievements of the American Federation of Labor during the past year are of the substantial nature prerequisite to future growth. Foremost among these achievements is a change in public opinion toward the trade union. Many employers and much of the general public are beginning to see that the union is not simply a militant organization with no interest in work itself, but that in addition to its militant functions the union is the agency through which the workers can make their fullest contribution to industry and society. This function of the union becomes possible when management attacks the problem of making the right adjustments between individuals as well as the right use of materials. Viewed in this way the union not only cares for the interests of the workers, but is an agency through which the workers cooperate in production and contribute the experience of those who handle tools and machinery.

This change in understanding of the trade union will do much to show that it is a better business policy to have the cooperation of trade unions than it is to fight them. It will also secure a more favorable public opinion in support of remedial labor legislation. In no small degree is this changing understanding due to the new emphasis Labor has put upon its constructive work. Formerly Labor has allowed spectacular incidents of strife to overshadow the more important events of constructive development and service. The Federation has taken the initiative in reversing this attitude by securing publicity for more substantial developments. By shifting attention from problems of defense or aggression to those of constructive building, the relative im-

portance of the sustained work of the union becomes more obvious. Effort spent in directing decisions of industry in accord with the welfare of wage earners is potential for permanent results. With the extension of this policy, throughout the whole labor movement is coming more general and keener appreciation of the value of the unions. The business advantage of unionization has become more generally accepted.

It is gratifying to note that, under the caption "Progress Toward Mutual Understanding," the Executive Council presents as the outstanding achievement of the American Federation of Labor during the past year the developing of a favorable change in public opinion towards the trade union movement. It is our firm conviction that the usefulness of trade union organization in relation to such problems as that of efficiency and economical production, as well as effectiveness in promoting other improvements in life and labor, is sufficient evidence to convince any observer that trade unions are an essential part of our national life. In order to develop a public opinion increasingly favorable towards the organized labor movement, the presentation of the facts in such manner as to properly inform the public is of increasing importance. This task is not a matter of easy accomplishment in the face of misunderstandings and misrepresentation still prevalent in many quarters. Your committee congratulates the Council and the Federation upon the progress made and recommends approval of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Constructive Activities of the Trade Union

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 35, the Executive Council reported as follows:

The establishment of collective bargaining opens the way for sustained cooperative relations between management and workers. The whole spirit of the work relationship is changed by the fact that the workers as a group participate in determining conditions under which they work. This spirit and relationship are the sources from which various types of cooperative undertakings issue. Every joint undertaking helps to promote reciprocal understanding and to show the way to additional mutual benefits. These constructive activities are based upon a

conception of the interdependence of all interests. Because interests are interdependent, undertakings to promote them must be the result of joint thinking and activity. Workers can not help themselves by injuring other legitimate interests in industry. It is equally true that every constructive advantage developed by any one element benefits all others more or less directly. Practically every union has some distinctive, constructive undertaking through which they are making the union of greater value to its members and the industry. The nature and the purpose of these undertakings vary widely—some are quite rudimentary while others have comprehensive machinery for union-management cooperation. The important fact is the foundation upon which all such developments must rest and which makes it possible for workers to have the spirit of partnership in doing the day's work.

The nature of the undertaking and the methods of work vary widely with the nature of the industry, the type of craftsmanship involved, and the relations between workers and management. Practically every establishment operating under a collective agreement has developed some kind of continuous cooperation. A few examples of different types are:

An agency for the interpretation of the agreement and for the adjustment of difficulties and new problems arising out of the contract. An agency of this type becomes a controlling factor in the work experience of the industry and enables the workers to participate in decisions of vital importance to them.

Arbitration based upon research. Joint determination of production standards.

Union control over work opportunities and supply of workers has changed intermittent work to stable employment under good conditions.

Joint undertakings for the education of apprentices to assure standards of craftsmanship.

Provisions to reward craftsmanship. A union technical school which trains apprentices and furnishes technical aid to union workers in industry so that craftsmen may get the best possible results from their labor. Care for the health of workers—various general undertakings as well as sick benefits, insurance, and such elaborate services as the Union Health Bureau.

Regular presentation of unsatisfactory work conditions and method which unremedied would result in waste and losses.

Joint communities of management and unions to consider and recommend economical and improved work methods in railway shops.

Joint committees of union and management to improve street railway service.

Joint committees in the paper industry to adjust,

A union performing the work of foreman in an upholstery shop and many other matters of equal importance.

As unions secure more definite opportunities to participate in the discussion and decision of work problems, they can contribute information and experiences gained in using tools, machinery and materials which will greatly help to promote efficiency and technical advance.

In its report on "Constructive Activities of the Trade Union," the Executive Council lists a number of trade union activities which serve to illustrate the growing tendency on the part of affiliated organizations to adopt improved systematic methods in dealing with their various problems. It is especially gratifying to note that much attention is being given to joint undertakings for the education of apprentices. This, we believe, is a matter of paramount importance. There is pressing need throughout industry for the restoration of craft skill and trade knowledge to an increasing number of workers. The formation of joint committees representing the unions and management to consider problems of production is in accord with well-established trade union practices. In relation to the subject of the health of workers, it should be understood that the "Union Health Bureau," to which the Executive Council refers, represents a definite trade union activity which has no connection with the so-called "Workers' Health Bureau." The committee is in hearty accord with the part of the Executive Council's report under the caption referred to and recommends approval thereof.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Union Wage Standards Maintained

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 36, the committee reported as follows:

The significance of the report of the Executive Council following the caption "Union Wage Standards Maintained" appears to be stated in the following sentence quoted from the report: "Industries are based upon the purchasing demands of the masses and, hence, reduction of wages results in industries being unable to dispose of their product—this in turn brings curtailment of markets and the

forces of industrial depression are set in motion." It follows, of course, that a rising wage rate, with its increased purchasing power, is fully as beneficial to industry, to commerce and trade as it is to the workers. The thoughtful observer, therefore, must agree that the low wage rates which apply to many unskilled and unorganized workers are a detriment not only to those workers and the communities in which they live, but to industry and commerce as well. The Council points out that the unions would gladly help these unorganized workers to a better condition of life and labor and invites them to join the ranks of organized labor in the movement for better wages and shorter hours. The invitation should be broadcast again and again throughout the land. The need for reliable statistical information to which this section of the Executive Council's report refers is apparent. The American Federationist has rendered a great service in presenting a series of studies on the subject of wages in relation to prices and productivity and we note that the Executive Council reports other studies on this and kindred subjects will be published in the near future. The committee is in full accord with that part of the Executive Council's report presented under the title above referred to and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legal Status

In connection with the section of the Executive Council's report on "Legal Status," page 40, the committee also considered Resolutions Nos. 17, 33, 42 and Resolutions Nos. 8 and 27, all of which relate to the general question of legal status. A report on the resolutions enumerated will be submitted by the committee immediately following the report on the section of the Council's report as referred to.

The title "Legal Status" in the report of the Executive Council serves to introduce matters of paramount importance. The existing federal anti-trust and anti-combination laws (except certain sections of the Clayton

Act which are not as effective as many had hoped) make little or no distinction between labor and the products of labor, and are directed against so-called combinations and so-called restraints of trade in such language that every sort of agreement or combination between two or more persons relating to production, transportation, sales, distribution or storage may be declared unlawful.

The enforcement of these laws, in their apparent literal meaning, has been directed exclusively against trade unions, notwithstanding the fact that the statutes were not intended to be so applied. In cases affecting business combinations, such as the steel corporation, the railroads and others, the courts have felt justified in softening by interpretation and in some cases even entirely ignoring the so-called anti-trust laws, regardless of the well known and admitted fact that Congress intended the statute to apply to such combinations. In relation to business corporations and organizations the United States may boast of more drastic anti-combination laws and more actual combinations than any other country.

The situation demands exactly the sort of action recommended in the report of the Executive Council, namely, the amending or repeal of the Sherman, Clayton or any other of the so-called anti-trust acts in such manner that inhibitions against monopolies in the products of labor may be enacted in place of the present laws which are being used to prevent workers from combining for purposes of mutual aid. The anti-trust laws referred to and similar legislation are predicated upon the conspiracy doctrine. The committee commends the Executive Council for the proposal to have legislation enacted so as to prevent that doctrine from being applied to labor organizations either in the form of legislative enactments or judicial interpretation. In all legislative proposals care should be taken to safeguard the interest of the farmers and the legitimate co-operative societies.

The necessity for clearly defining the jurisdiction of the equity courts, as

recommended by the Executive Council, transcends even the need for a change in the so-called anti-trust laws. The misuse of injunctions in labor disputes has become so notorious that unless a remedy is found the entire equity system will ultimately break under the increasing burden of disrepute which is attaching itself to it because of the misuse of injunctions against labor. The mere statement of the fact that in equity proceedings involving labor controversies the successful complainant's chair is invariably reserved for the employer or his representative, and that labor is always the defendant, should be sufficient to show the utter injustice of the present situation.

The use of equity proceedings as a means of setting aside law and denying the safeguards which the law provides are, in our opinion, a grave and dangerous violation of the letter and spirit of the constitution. The unwarranted seizure of jurisdiction by injunction judges is nothing short of judicial piracy which unfortunately has in some instances been authorized by the United States Congress and state legislatures. The equity court must be restricted to its proper field and this, the Council advises, necessitates the enactment of a statute defining the jurisdiction of the equity courts.

The committee also recommends that the President and the Executive Council take steps to bring to the attention of all affiliated organizations the need for participating in the nomination and election or selection of judges and that the candidates and their supporters be called upon to account for the misuse of the equity power. Require them to meet the issue in the open field of public discussion during campaigns for the nomination and election of judges within the states and when federal judges are being selected. It is true that this policy has been carried out to some extent in the past. It should be applied with greater persistency in the future.

The so-called "Yellow Dog Contract" is a grave menace. The alleged "contract" serves as a subterfuge upon which to base injunction to prevent

workers from organizing in trade unions. The term "yellow dog" has no reference to the unfortunates who are compelled to surrender their rights in order to obtain employment, but relates solely to the "contract" itself which, like the proverbial alley cur, is a menace to the community in which it exists.

The committee is in full accord with the hope expressed by the Executive Council that the evils of the "yellow dog contract" may be reduced through the efforts in some states, notably in Ohio, Illinois and California, to secure legislation declaring the alleged contract to be contrary to public policy and therefore void.

In accord with these observations the committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council on "Legal Status" be approved.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE FURUSETH, SEAMEN

When the committee reported that there is a growing tendency to understanding and friendly relations between the employers of this country and the unions, I felt like getting up and protesting. It may be true that that is the case in the East—I don't know. I know that it is not the case in the West.

The disposition to speak fair words when employers and employees meet has something in it that reminds me of what the surgeon does before he uses the knife; and if you need any evidence of the fact that the surgeon is using his knife, look at the way the equity power or the jurisdiction of the equity court is being constantly increased. Look further at the way in which we, step by step, come to the real understanding, if we want to use our understanding, of the real meaning of the Sherman Anti-trust Law and the Interstate Commerce Law.

I have heard on this platform since this convention has met, some rather remarkable statements with reference to this kind of legislation and the powers assumed by the equity court. The equity jurisdiction is absolutely and personally irresponsible. It was in that shape it came to the Roman people, it was in that shape it was developed, and it went from the Roman Tribune to the Roman Emperor; it was in that shape that it went from the Roman Emperor to the kings of Europe, from them to their chancellors, and from there to here.

The difference is this, that after two hundred and fifty years in England they stopped it and brought the country back to the government of the Saxon law.

What the English people have learned about the equity power or the chancery power in that time is best expressed in what the Englishman says when two men are fighting and one gets the other man's head under his arm and punches the life out of him, when he is absolutely defenseless—they say he has got his head in chancery.

Now there is no possibility of defending yourself against irresponsible, autocratic, personal absolutism, whether that absolutism is lodged in a king or in his chancellor, representing the king's conscience, or in the judge—it does not make any difference to us who are the common herd. It is now being used by the Third Estate, as it is called in Europe, by Big Business, as it is called here in America, and it is used for the purpose of taking away, not only all rights that men have acquired in two hundred and fifty or three hundred years, but all courage to assert any rights.

Don't let us be befuddled and fooled about things. Let us call things by their right names. I think I have as much a reputation of being conservative and truthful as the average union man, but I have no fear of being called a bolshevik or a communist or any other kind of "ist"—and if I am called so, I don't care.

It has been my misfortune to attend all the conventions of the American Federation of Labor since 1890. I have seen you drifting on this question from bad to worse because you didn't have the courage to face the facts. You have blamed the judges and I was among those who did—but for many years now and for many years before the passage of the Clayton Act, I have ceased to blame the judges.

When the legislative body passes a law it is the judge's duty to carry it out. You may think it is his duty to stretch a point in order to protect you, just like he stretches a point sometimes in order to protect the steel trust. If you think so, that is baby expectations and nothing else. If you want to get relief from the misuse of equity—which is a beautiful name attached to a rotten thing—if you want to get relief from it you want to regulate and define its jurisdiction so that the judge will not overstep—and he will not if the jurisdiction is defined.

If you have any doubt about that I want to call your attention to the fact that when the Congress of the United States passed certain reconstruction laws with reference to the South, all those laws were taken to the Supreme Court of the United States and when they were about to be passed upon there by them and declared unconstitutional Congress deliberately withdrew the power of the judges or the jurisdiction of the judges from it, because all the courts outside of the Supreme Court of the United States are creatures of Congress.

The judicial power of the United States is vested in a Supreme Court and any

such courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. All the power to pass upon legislation on appeal, that is to say, all the appellate power, as given to the United States Supreme Court by Congress. The jurisdiction of every court outside of the Supreme Court is determined by Congress. The Supreme Court itself has got original jurisdiction in certain specific instances, which you will find in the constitution if you can find time in the meantime to look it up once in a while.

Now, then, if you want to get rid of the so-called interference with your freedom, to assist each other, to carry each other's burdens, if you want to be permitted to use that fundamental American system that grew up first in the United States, of free men voluntarily coming together for the purpose of doing collectively what they cannot do individually, then see to it that you elect, not judges to construe, but legislators to legislate.

When Congress in 1890 passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Law they said, "this is not intended for labor, it is not to be applied to labor." That is the kind of talk that a fond mother uses to her little baby girl, it is the kind of fond talk that an old rouse uses to a girl just out of the convent.

I am going to deal a little in a few more words with the question of equity. It is an absolutely necessary function of the courts as long as it remains within the proper limits. Where it functions properly its powers to enforce its decrees must not be interfered with. If you have a little house and a little garden and some corporation comes along and undertakes to use force to take it from you, and you haven't got the physical force to defend it, you can't use the ordinary law to defend it, because it necessarily will have to take some time, and by the time you use the law the thing is done. There is only one thing you can do, and that is to go to a court and get an injunction ordering them to keep off your property and leave it intact until the courts of law have had an opportunity to determine whether you have the title and, therefore, are the owner, or whether the corporation has the title and, therefore, is the owner.

Equity under the English law prior to this last excursion into absolutism, that we have been told about by the English delegates, has, since the entrance into England by William and Mary, not had any such thing as equity or chancery used except for the purpose of protecting property where there is no protection for that property to be found at law. And in that shape the injunction is beneficent and the equity power is beneficent and necessary.

How did it come here and how was it extended? It came to us as it existed in England, not to be used except for the protection of property where there is no remedy at law. Then we changed it so

as to make it read, "adequate and complete," and we practice it now as if it read, "no better." So that if a man has some trouble with his wife he goes to an equity court; when a bootlegger can't be stopped, somebody goes to an equity court; when anything that somebody thinks is wrong is about to happen and somebody thinks it ought to be stopped, they go to the equity court and the equity court says, "Yes, by all means, I will take care of it."

Since when has a judge not been a good judge if he extended the jurisdiction of his court? That is inherent in the court, as it is inherent in all governing bodies. If you want to get redress from the equity court you want to regulate not only its jurisdiction, but you must define what is meant by property.

The old definition of property is that it must be tangible and transferable. Nothing is property unless it is tangible and transferable. Good-will is not tangible, and it is not transferable. The labor power of a human being is not tangible, and it is not transferable; it is the most personal thing in all the world, and it was this distinction, that you could control the labor power of the man without controlling the man, that was invented by some very clever lawyer and put over on the people by some very clever propagandists among the newspaper fraternity. It is the one thing that absolutely destroys freedom, that destroys initiative, that destroys the creative power inherent in man and makes out of a man a chattel—I don't care whatever pleasant name you may give it.

The committee had before it a bill that has only a few lines to it. It was introduced by Senator Shipstead in the Senate in the last session of Congress. I understand that the Executive Council has got a bill, etc.—all right! Let me suggest to you that this is a thing that you dare not fool with. This is a thing that you can't nibble at like a rat or a mouse does at a piece of cheese, because the trap will act and you are prisoners. You have got to take it wholesale and swallow it; you can't get half a loaf on this question, it is not possible, there is no half loaf on fundamental principles. If you go on in certain directions and can get a little today and a little tomorrow, that is fine, but there are some things in which that won't apply, and that won't apply to the question of personal liberty. Whether a man or woman shall belong to himself or herself or not is fundamental, as is the question whether or not that man or woman shall have a right to combine with others for the purpose of mutual aid, for the purpose of bearing each other's burdens, for the purpose of healing each other's wounds, for the purpose of doing collectively what you can't do individually.

If we cannot have the bill I suggested, I hope that the bill will be as

clear cut as that, and that added to it will be, "all laws or parts of laws in conflict heretofore are hereby repealed." Then we will put it flatly up to Congress, because it knows how it has grown, there is no question about that. They are no dummies, any more than we are here, and if they were sincere in 1890, when they passed the Sherman Anti-trust Law, they must necessarily be able to see that what they promised has never taken place, so, consequently, the only thing they can do is to change the whole thing.

Now, then, the reference to the Sherman Anti-trust Law—what is it? It is Caesar's anti-combination decree put into modern language. That is all it is—long used in the hands of Caesar and those that came after him. They are using their responsible power of the sovereign for the purpose of enforcing the anti-combination decree. Either you must have a law that will give freedom absolutely for any combination of the labor power of men to deal with themselves, or you must have it for everything, include everything that man creates; but it is a fundamental idea, fundamentally recognized in the Constitution and in the laws, not only of this country but practically every other country, that the property found within the jurisdiction is subject to taxation and subject to the regulations of law.

Here, in the United States it is fundamental that the labor power of human beings is not property or an article of commerce and that men coming together for the purpose of doing collectively what they cannot do individually—that is fundamental here—and all of those laws that have been passed have been passed to keep it so for the upper strata, while the lower strata, the working people, are more and more compelled to live under an absolute, irresponsible government.

The Third Estate, Big Business, has absolute control of the world today. It has had control of the United States except in two short periods of its history, but there has always been a wholesome fear of what the people as a whole would do, so they have not gone very far. It is only as industry has developed and as the population has increased and as man's fear of losing his job has grown that they have undertaken to use it as they are using it now.

The decision handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Stonecutters'* case is, in my opinion—I am speaking for myself and for nobody else, mind you—as a result of my study and comparisons and careful reading of what the men said who wrote the majority report and what the men said who wrote the minority report—the most emphatic warning that has ever come to the people of the United States to guard their freedom that was promised and that was given at the beginning of this

government. That is the meaning of that decision as I read it—the majority opinion. The majority opinion states the law and states the case and follows the law like a spirit level. It makes no distinction at all, no softening of the blow, and it falls like a whip on the scourged back.

The other two judges said this is so nearly involuntary servitude that we can't stomach it—this is my language, not theirs; you can look up the decision and get the proper words. There you have the absolute and inescapable warning, and if you want to do that which is your duty to do today or tomorrow, as the case may be, you will let the legislatures of the different states and the Congress of the United States know that you can no longer be imposed upon by soft words of the rouse! You are not going to listen any longer to that kind of soft music about, "oh, no, that does not apply to union, that does not apply to labor." Why?

If one man says that, or two men say that, or a dozen men say that on the floor of the Senate, or a hundred men say that on the floor of the House, what has that got to do with it? Not a thing. It is the judge's duty to look at the statute and not the promises of irresponsible people. He can look at the debates, yes, for the purpose of seeing what the reports are and what the reports lay down as to purpose, and then he is bound to follow that, but you can hunt through the debates of the Sherman Anti-trust law from now until doomsday and you won't find the word of any responsible party in an official way telling you it does not apply to labor.

Within eight months of its being passed it applied to the cotton screwers of New Orleans and applied in the name of the President of the United States, which ought to have awakened labor, but it didn't. They changed it so as to be run in the name of the courts instead of in the name of the President.

If you want an anti-monopoly law and you want that enforced, you want to go to the development that has come from the Saxon courts and the people who speak the English language today. That is where we want to go to find the reasons for that freedom and means to protect it. And anti-monopoly is all right. It may be that some people will be hurt a little, it may be that some co-operative society, forced into a kind of co-operation by the conditions surrounding them, by other laws that ride them too hard, will be temporarily hurt, but that cannot be helped.

It may be that that is necessary to look at, but don't let it stop you from following the right, clean-cut line towards freedom. I don't think you have many chances left in order to meet these questions. Enforce the Sherman Anti-trust law in all its vigor and there will be no conventions of the American Federation of Labor unless they meet in the cellar somewhere in secrecy or out

on the moors like the English trades unionists had to meet in former days and bury their records.

Yes, as they levied it against the Stonecutters, so they can levy it against everybody else. As they levied against the combination of the Stonecutters, so they can levy it against the combination of the musician, the cigar maker, the sailor and everybody else. Law does not know anything about your occupation, it only knows you as a citizen or subject. It does not care anything about your occupation, as a general proposition. It knows you as a citizen or a subject of the law and if you combine together the result is inevitable, if they want to apply it, if they dare to apply it.

And let me tell you now they will dare. It may not come tomorrow or next month, I don't know whether it is liable to come this year or the coming year—it may not—the Presidential election, you know, but after the presidential election is settled and there is peace for the next four years in the political field there will be plenty of time for our Big Business—who love us so much that they organize unions of their own, like the kings organize parliaments of their own—there will be plenty of time for those people to make use of the power that the legislators of the United States have put into the hands of the judges.

In conclusion I want to say to the lawyers and to you, don't shoot at the mark that you have been shooting at all this long time—shoot at the center, shoot at the cause. Tell your senators and congressmen that you understand, tell them that you are going to make them responsible, because that is what the change in our attitude means. If you can be made to think long enough on this subject to get it under your hide you will know that there is nothing in all the world that is so important, and if you can teach the people of the United States that the destruction of human freedom in the United States means the destruction of the United States, like it meant in Babylonia and Assyria, if you can teach the people that—and you can teach them a great many things when you go after it—then you will save the world, yourself first and then the world.

There is a world of difference between the United States and Europe. In Europe power comes from above and the struggle is to get it to come from below. The struggle in Europe has been to take away, little by little, the power of the king. That was taken away in our Revolution, and then with the recognition of the United States as an independent nation. That war was fought upon the principle that is laid down in the Declaration of Independence. The war between the North and South was fought on the same principle—the right to get together, for free men to come together to do col-

lectively what they can't do individually, to come together for the purpose of bearing each other's burdens and healing each other's wounds. That thing is so utterly and absolutely American that the fundamental principle in our law is that we have a constitution because we are free, and not that we are free because we have got the constitution.

You cannot find in American history a man worth his salt who has not believed in that fundamental idea of the voluntary association of free men for the purpose of doing collectively what they cannot do individually. It cannot be found anywhere else in the world in the same shape that is found here, because it is not made part of any State document that is determinative of things. But here it is, so you have got an absolute and unquestioned right to use it. And be sure that you use it, because if you don't, whether you can see it or not, I, with my own eyes and knowing the shackles, because I have had them on, can see your children wearing them and cursing the name of the father who was too cowardly or too lazy or too ignorant to make the protest when the protest would count.

VICE-PRESIDENT WOLL

(Chairman of the Committee)

In so far as the description of the historical development of the equity powers of the courts is concerned, or the play of forces which in all history have governed in organized society in order that the few may dominate the life and destiny of the great majority, or with reference to the great danger confronting the freedom of the American people, and particularly the American wage earners, I am confident not a single delegate, or one earnest and zealous in safeguarding and promoting and in setting forth clearly the human rights of citizenship as we know it under the American Constitution, but will say amen to the splendid, noble and inspiring address of Brother Furuseth.

I shall not take any time in this convention to deal upon the evils already presented to you, and the thoughts not expressed in this great question now before the convention. The committee's report deals almost entirely and exclusively with remedies that, in its judgment, ought to commend themselves to this convention, to the labor movement as a whole and to all freedom-loving peoples of our United States and that procedure, or that remedy proposed, includes every suggestion made by the previous speaker; in fact, the remedies proposed go beyond those suggested by the speaker.

It is all very well to say, "Let us limit and define the equity jurisdiction of our federal courts, or of our state courts." While that is of paramount importance, it is only important as co-related to the various legislative

enactments, both state and federal, which courts may yet take hold of, even after their jurisdiction might be defined as indicated in the committee's report, and used as a basis for the destruction of trades unionism or the right of two or more persons to organize or combine for their mutual benefit.

Even if we had the jurisdiction of the federal courts defined and limited, as proposed in the bill Delegate Furuseth mentions, and we would retain the Sherman Anti-Trust Law on the books, while we might be free temporarily from injunctions we would always have the dangerous legal procedure of being found guilty under the law with triple damages confronting us. If the legislature or Congress will enact a law and will not provide a legal method for redress for grievances, then even under the bill proposed by Mr. Furuseth and the Executive Council there would be the opportunity for courts to use their equity jurisdiction, in that no remedy at law would then be provided. So it is as important that legislative enactments be properly considered, as well as the defining of the powers of the equity courts and limitation of powers originally conceived for that branch of the judiciary. And your committee has taken into consideration all these and other subjects in connection with this proposal of remedies.

First, speaking of these anti-trust and anti-combination laws, which, as the committee indicates, have been applied almost exclusively to labor and not to capital or wealth, to which purposes they were originally intended. So far as I am concerned, I should like freedom of action for all groups, believing that the economic and social power of the people could well regulate this flow of forces, one against the other, but the committee recognized that the amending or repeal of both the Sherman, the Clayton and all combination laws and substituting some law that will prevent monopoly in the products of labor, leaving labor free to work out its salvation and destiny by voluntary and mutual action, and create ways of safeguarding the interests of farmers and co-operative societies whose labors cannot be dissociated from the result of their labors.

Dealing with the equity power, your committee states clearly that it is of paramount importance to limit and define the equity power of our courts as originally conceived. And there, I might say, we have a most difficult problem, for while the equity jurisdiction was originally intended to apply to what is known in law as only tangible properties, the courts and our legislatures, time and development, have created so many conceptions of tangible properties that one is almost agast in trying to determine what is tangible and what is intangible prop-

erty, because of their close relation to each other.

When the speaker says that judges are not to blame, I want to dissent from that expression, for while it is true that Congress and state legislatures have altogether too often, in the enactment of law, added in that legislative enactment specific power of equity courts for enforcement, yet we find in other instances where courts have issued injunctions without such legislative enactments. They have based their injunctions upon what is known as the common law, which has no statutory enactment in its support. In that regard legislatures are not to be blamed for shifting the responsibility and the obligation upon our judiciary and enlarging this equity procedure, which, to me, appears like a Frankenstein and is bound to devour the civil liberties of all classes of citizenship.

There is criticism to be directed against our courts, because we find in our state courts oftentimes injunctions issued, not upon statutory enactments, not only the Clayton Act or the Sherman Anti-trust Act, but founded on the old common law doctrine of conspiracy, which has no legislative declaration for its foundation and where its authority is entirely unwarrantably assumed by the judiciary.

I do not believe in shielding these judges and saying kind words about them and hurling criticism against our legislatures and our Congress; I feel that both branches of government are responsible for the situation that presents itself today, and the danger to which we are heading in the not far distant future. So I say that both courts and the legislatures and Congress are to be condemned for this misuse and the consequent abuses of equity authority.

While the the United States constitution gives to Congress the unlimited authority to define the jurisdiction of the federal courts, and there is no doubt about it, because the Supreme Court has been required to rule on that question time and again, having gone so far that even during pendency of a suit Congress may alter the jurisdiction of the federal courts outside of the Supreme Court. That, however, is not true with regard to all other state courts, and the constitution of our state courts will indicate clearly that any attempt to define the equity power by legislation will contravene the constitutional provision, because it is contained in the constitution and is not delegated to several state legislatures. I am speaking only of some states. In states of that nature it is not a legislative means of redress. It is a constitutional form of redress if we seek to curb this enlarging power of equity courts.

I believe our committee's report most clearly deals with this subject from a legal standpoint and from a legislative standpoint; but let me say to you frankly that all these declarations adopted by

this convention will gain us nothing as long as we have not the manhood and the determination to give effective expression and determination to that which we believe to be in the best interests of labor and of civilization within the United States.

This convention, time after time, has dealt with this subject and we have heard as working people, especially organized labor, that we should resist these unwarrantable injunctions, even to the point of defying the enforcement of them by courts, and thus bringing the issue dramatically and tragically before the whole of our population.

And yet, what do we find? Do we find these issues created, or do we find a cringing submission to these decrees or

calling them to the attention of all our people? Yes, let us adopt this report, but let us go further and determine to bring this issue dramatically, yes, tragically, to the attention of the whole of the populace, and then we will find some way of bringing about the human freedom of all our people throughout our land.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, further discussion of the report of the committee was deferred until the following session.

At 5:30 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned until 9:30 o'clock Tuesday, October 11th.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Los Angeles, Calif.,

October 11, 1927.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Mullaney, Nelson, Horan, Ornburn, Perkins, Gilboy, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Shamp, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney, Squibb, Duncan (J.), Brock, Finnan, Duffy (C. D.), Mugavin, Swartz, Askew, Bock (P.), Bjorklund, Fry, Wills, Fljozdal, Strother, Kelly (M. J.), Hynes (J. J.), Pattison, McCoy, Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Wilson (J.), Hannah, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Flynn (M.), Grimshaw, Cashen, Perry, Russell, Spencer, Manning, Atkins, Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Stroud, Studard, Kosta, Cain, Buckland, Martel, Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, Augustino, Rice, Elliott, Contner, Coulter, Dempsey, Brady (F. J.), Conkey, Draper, Crowell, Wickert, Young, Bower, Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Leavitt, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller, Bock (A. J.), Goldberg, Campbell (A. C.).

Secretary Morrison read a letter from City Fire Fighters' Union No. 67, Columbus, Ohio, extending an invitation to the Federation to hold its 1931 convention in that city.

He also read the following telegram:

"New York, Oct. 8, 1927.

"American Federation of Labor Convention,

"Cinderella Roof Ballroom, Los Angeles, Calif.

"The Delicatessen Counterermen's Union Local 302 of Greater New York send their heartiest congratulations on the forty-seventh convention of the A. F. of L.

"DELICATESSEN COUNTERMEN'S UNION LOCAL 302, HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES' INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE AND BARTENDERS' LEAGUE OF AMERICA,

"103 East 125th St.

"J. FELD, Secretary;

"A. ELKIND, President."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Legal Status

President Green: At the adjournment of yesterday's session we were discussing the committee's report in connection with matters under the

above caption. At that time several delegates were asking for the floor to discuss the matter, and this morning the Chair recognizes Delegate Ramsey.

(At the request of Delegate Max Hayes, Typographical Union, the report of the committee was again read.)

DELEGATE RAMSEY (Telegraphers)

I support the committee's report and wish to express my gratitude to the Executive Council for their persistent and splendid efforts in continuing to meet this most difficult situation. In my judgment, Mr. President, I believe that this is one of the most important matters before this convention at this time or at any other time in my experience in the labor movement.

So that you may know the position of the organization which I have the honor to represent here, I will ask your indulgence to read into the record a resolution which I had the privilege of presenting at our last convention in St. Louis in May of this year. It was unanimously adopted and it expresses in a brief way the sentiments of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers with reference to this damnable, diabolical misuse of the injunction process by some of the judges of our land:

WHEREAS, Certain judges, in both the federal and state courts, continue to usurp power, in violation of the Constitution and without authority of law, in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes and in restraining law-abiding citizens in the exercise of their lawful rights, thus attempting to control the activity of labor and of trade unions under the guise of equity jurisprudence; and

WHEREAS, The Order of Railroad Telegraphers was one of the first labor unions restrained by these prohibitive court orders, more than a third of a century ago, which was contested at that time to a successful conclusion, and since which time the order has consistently demanded the right of its membership to the free enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, as guaranteed by the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at all times, and for many years past at their annual sessions, adopted resolutions protesting against injunction abuses and the tendency of equity courts to substitute their judgment for legislative enactments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we affirm our opposition to this usurped abuse of injunction power, and we recommend unabated and continued effort to obtain proper and effective legislation.

My only excuse for speaking at all at this time—because I think the question has been fully covered by the chairman of this committee, Mr. Woll—is to simply say that I believe it is our duty to continue our efforts to obtain proper legislative enactment. And not only that, but I would second the utterance of Judge Thompson, who spoke to us last week, and say that, regardless of your Sherman act, your Clayton act, or any other act that may be placed upon the statute books, as yet we have not reached that stage in this country or this world where these laws are interpreted by machines made by union mechanics, but they are interpreted by men.

And when you come to the final analysis, regardless of how ably and well constructed your laws may be, it will finally revert to interpretation by some man. If that man is born with a silver spoon in his mouth, or if that man is not so born, but comes of poverty, if he is raised in a corporation office that knows nothing but the powerful character of the president or some of the other officers therewith connected, that man honestly will come on the judicial bench and will interpret those laws as he understands them.

I have the greatest respect for the press of this country. I think we have the greatest press in America of any country in the world, but I want to say to you that that man who is looking for judicial favor naturally respects the press and too often bows the knee of honest conviction to the clamor that is propagated in the press, and not the sentiment of the so-called common people. But even the press and the controllers of the press unconsciously publish matter, the tremendously harmful results of which they do not appreciate, because it is elemental that as the people of the country prosper, so prospers the country.

Then why bind the people of the country? I say now is the time for us to sharpen our swords and cut the fetters of those injunctions, and not wait until they are issued against us or until these laws are further amended, presumably to benefit us, yet we find some rider or some sleeper in there that makes the law react against us.

When you go to the polls to vote, vote for that man that you know has the heart and the understanding and the education—not to favor you, not to favor any class, but to interpret the law as the founders of our Constitution intended that the law should be interpreted, and to interpret the law as the makers of the law intended.

It has reached a terrible pass in this country when the members of our Congress, when the members of our state

legislative bodies enact a law in the hope that it will benefit the people—and when I say the people I mean the farmer, the mechanic, the man who holds no union card at all but who, perhaps, has as much sympathy with our cause as the man who carries a card in his pocket. I have carried a card in my pocket for forty-nine years.

I know the power of these damnable injunctions. One was issued against me—if not the first, one of the first—some thirty-five years ago, when I was leading the Order of Railroad Telegraphers. I opposed it at that time and our order has opposed these injunctions from that day to this, and we purpose to continue opposing them until such time as they are interpreted by the equity courts as they should be.

We hear a great deal about equity and equity courts. I hope to live to see the day, Mr. President, under your administration, when these equity courts, instead of being used as a club against us, will be used as a staff upon which we may lean, and for the benefit of mankind and for the union man. I shall not ask your indulgence at this time to give you a dissertation of statutory laws or on equity jurisprudence or anything of that sort, but I want to say in one word that it is not equity courts that are hampering us, it is the misuse and the abuse and the wrongful interpretation that is affecting us.

I wish at this time to differ with my distinguished friend, Delegate Furuseth, in one expression, when he said he did not believe that the employer and employee are getting nearer together. I believe the employer and employee are getting nearer together throughout the length and breadth of this land. While it is true there is a great deal we have yet to accomplish, and while there is a great deal that we should seek and should have as right, yet conditions are changing most favorably.

I know particularly in our line, the railroad line and the railroad telegrapher line, I remember some thirty years ago that one of the great railroads of this country in conjunction with other railroads, was spending fabulous sums of money opposing our organization, and the other railroads were asking for these yellow dog contracts and were enforcing them right down on this coast.

But what do we find today? We find less than two years ago one of these great lines that was hounding us, we find the splendid management of that railroad giving us a special train to go to the little town where the founder of our great organization was given birth—that splendid character, A. D. Thurston, who, a third of a century ago, used to sit in the halls of this convention—and there the officers of that great railroad came, from the vice-president down, and assisted the telegraphers in placing a tablet on

the depot at that little station where that man used to work as a night telegrapher.

This is a different situation we are finding today, and I say all hail and all praise to such men as President Gorman of the Rock Island Railroad, who will do such things. I condemned the officials of that company thirty-five years ago and fought them to the bitter end, and today I take my hat off and salute them and say, "More power to you." I don't mean to say they have given us the road, but I use this as an illustration to show that the situation is far better.

DELEGATE HAYES (Typographical Union)

I listened with a great deal of interest to the very learned discussion of this subject, especially the addresses of Delegate Furuseth and Chairman Woll of the committee, and while the brothers discussed the historical development of the injunction abuses that have confronted all of us, I dare say there are very few delegates here who have not felt the sting or the club of the injunction at some time during the period of their trade union activity.

I was in hopes, knowing the growth of this unjust and abusive system that is now in operation throughout the length and breadth of this land and directed principally against the unions, that something in the nature of a more aggressive policy would be outlined, so that our membership, the rank and file back home, might be directed along the lines of giving more thoughtful consideration to this and many of the other problems that now confront the American labor movement.

Yes, along with Delegate Furuseth and others, I recall distinctly the enactment of the Sherman Anti-trust Law in 1890, fathered by John Sherman, a man who was entirely out of sympathy with the working masses of this country, who unquestionably was the leading representative of the then banking, railway and other interests that controlled the particular industries in which they were engaged. The very environment of John Sherman precluded his ability to understand the struggles of the workers, and when that bill was passed through Congress I gave it some study and I wrote a number of articles, I spoke from the platform and declared that unquestionably it was a humbug enactment that would react upon the working people, the men of industry and the men on the farms.

I do not pose particularly as a prophet or as the son of a prophet, but taking conditions as they were, understanding something about economics and something about economic determinism of corporation lawyers, you could not help but come to the

conclusion that the law to restrain combinations in trade would be spread over the entire labor movement in the course of time. The Clayton Act was enacted for the purpose of overcoming some of these abuses later on.

I did not agree that the capitalist interests of this country would accept the dictum, the outstanding principle that labor is not a commodity and an article of commerce, and I so stated it upon this floor on a number of occasions, just as I referred to the Sherman Law previously as being enacted for the purpose of curbing and handicapping the workers wherever possible.

Now, as I say, I don't want to pose as a prophet, but yet when you take the historical development of our legal jurisprudence into consideration, when you take into consideration further, the fact that those who have the enactment and the administration and the interpretation of the laws come from other classes except the workers, why should we wonder that they take advantage of us as workers and safeguard their own interests or the interests of those who have elevated them into place and power?

In other words, it is a political question—we can't get away from it. The masses of this country elect the judges, or elect the president who appoints the federal judges, so it comes back home to the men who vote. Now we may pass resolutions, we may make speeches, but in all probability they will be given little or no consideration on the part of those who control the political machines in the dominant parties in this country.

Where do these men come from? Who are they? Who is your legal boss, who is your state political boss, who are your national political bosses? Certainly few, if any, spring from the ranks of the laborers or the farmers. The bulk of them come principally from the professions, from the legal fraternity, and among the legal fraternity unquestionably the majority come from the corporate crowd—those who are linked up, those who are employed by the trusts and corporations or who expect, upon retiring to private life, to practice, and, as they say, "make a little money for myself and family in old age." They expect to go into the corporation firms that are hired by the year by the steel trusts, by the railways, by all the big combinations of this country.

These are the men who dominate your political life. They are the bosses, they are the leaders, and you can't expect that they are going to espouse the cause of the workers unless those workers display a political militancy that they have not done heretofore.

Now, I presume after this convention has adjourned and when the great parties meet next year to make their nominations and formulate their platforms, we will again have the spec-

tacle of a committee from the Executive Council, or whoever may be chosen otherwise, waiting upon the bosses of these conventions and humbly begging them to incorporate in their platforms a declaration to restrain the equity courts or abolish the injunction so far as labor is concerned.

I remember distinctly, Mr. Chairman, when Brother Woll and a number of his colleagues came into Cleveland at the last Republican convention in 1924, and I think they were out clicking their heels together in the ante-room three or four days waiting to be heard. Finally they were called in and they were restricted to a few minutes' time to make their statement, and then in so many words they were told to get out of there. That is all the satisfaction they received, and then they went down to the other crowd. The other crowd, being on the outside, wanted to get inside and they were a little more susceptible to reason, of course, until they became the administration party and then that condition again changed. It was reversed so far as the dominating influence of those parties are concerned.

Now, is this policy to be repeated next year? For one, I want to say that while I would carry out instructions by a labor organization if directed to do so, I would keenly feel the humiliation and the insult heaped upon the great labor movement of the country as a whole, to receive a turn-down such as this committee was subjected to at the Republican Convention in 1924.

Talk about the dignity of labor! Everybody knows that the masses of the people of this country are workers in industry or in agriculture or in some other direction. Why should we be forever on our knees begging for a fair hearing and for just treatment from those political parties that the masses of the workers support? I don't want to amend the committee's report; I could not amend it now if I attempted to do so. I did not have the report before me, consequently I have not read it, and yet the idea suggested itself to me—I have no objection to continuing the policy as far as that is concerned—but besides going on for the Lord knows how many more years appealing to these dominant parties for redress, I would be inclined to take the bull by the horns—not as suggested in the heroic declaration of Brother Woll yesterday, that possibly it will be wise, if we reach the point of being enjoined, if we fill the jails to bring the matter to a crisis. I don't want to go to jail; I don't think any of the others want to go to jail.

I recall that we had the celebrated Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case before us for a number of years, and we fought hard and spent much money to keep them out of jail. I don't want to see any working man go to jail. It is not necessary to resort to force

and defiance of the laws. Instead of standing in front of the bludgeon, instead of being the victim of the injunction, it seems to me it is nothing more than common sense to secure control of the power that wields the injunction—and that is the government of this country—and exert every influence possible towards that end.

Why not do as they have done in other countries—take a position absolutely independent? The history of America shows that whenever a menacing third party movement entered the field the old politicians changed their policy from that of contempt and even became patronizing in the matter of making propositions and concessions to the workers.

I don't want to go back to the slavery period and the rights of the Republican party to prove it, but to establish it by our own most recent history. When the Farmers' Alliance and the Knights of Labor, and later on the People's party, exercised some industrial, economic and political power, if you read the political history of this country you will learn that even the most hardened, the most reactionary of the politicians of both old parties, hoping to coddle the voters, took a liberal attitude and promised legislation for the rights of these parties and these organizations. When we went to the legislatures of our states and appealed for the enactment of even ordinary safety laws, we were turned down without any hesitation whatsoever.

When the menace of these new organizations threatened their political dominancy, then they were willing to make compromise and, following the organization of the People's party, began a period throughout the length and breadth of this land, and particularly in states like Kansas, Nebraska and other states east where these movements were strong, when there were laws enacted for the protection of the workers. The same was true even when the Socialist party was at the height of its power—a great many of the politicians adopted attitudes that were somewhat friendly to labor, in order to hold the workers in their ranks and to prevent them from deserting to a new movement.

Now it is not necessary, and I am not here to claim that it is necessary, for a new party always to win. The very fact that it is in the field throws the fear of God into the hearts of the political bosses, and they make those concessions. In 1924, behind LaFollette, we polled five million votes. LaFollette's movement was largely composed of the industrial workers, the organized men particularly I am speaking of, as well as a great many unorganized men.

It is true that there were disappointments in certain districts, but if there had ever been a time when

the Populist party or the Socialist party, or any other third party, had polled five million votes they would have increased their enthusiasm to such an extent that nothing under the sun would have prevented them from being able to finally secure the power and control in the governmental functions of the country.

Now, over and against that, you have got what? A record of more than thirty years of appealing for justice from those who will not grant you justice because their class interests are distinct and separate from yours, and they will not make any concessions unless they are compelled by a battering ram of political revolt. So I say that the proper constructive proposition that possibly I should have introduced and made a fight for at least would have been that, in the event the old political parties next year refuse to incorporate a plank in their platform pledging to abolish the curse of the injunction and to restrain the power of the equity courts, the Executive Council call a national conference at some central point, inviting the representatives of the national and international unions, representatives of the farmers' organizations and representatives of the liberal organizations who are in sympathy with our movement, and then and there determine to take an independent stand and show the old-line bosses that they do not own the workers of this country, body, soul and breeches, as they believe they do.

Now I don't want to occupy much more time except to revert to this fact. It so happened that I was fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress in 1903. Standing on board the ship as we left New York harbor, Martin Lawlor, my colleague, and I read in the newspapers that action had been taken in the federal courts against the Danbury hatters, simply using the English attack upon the trade unions in the celebrated Taft-Vale case here on American soil and handicapping the hatters, and later on organized labor, with damage suits, which, of course, are related to the injunction process. I remarked at the time that it was singularly unfortunate that Brother Lawlor would have to be away from home while preparations were being made to try this case, which afterwards became a very celebrated one.

Now precisely the same policy was developed in Great Britain in the Taft-Vale case. At that time there were seven or eight labor men in the British Parliament. What did they do? Did they humbly petition, did they pass resolutions and send committees to the Tory and Liberal parties? To some extent that is probably true, but they took a more practical step—they began to enroll their membership in the British Labor party and threatened the Liberal and Tory parties that unless they enacted legislation to counteract the Taft-Vale decision they would give

them a political fight all along the line, and, subsequently, that decision was practically repealed, and there is no such thing as restraining the workers under the equity procedure in Great Britain or in Australia, where there was a similar occurrence.

Of course the Labor party did not win immediately, but the fact of its existence was a threat that was held over the heads of the old political parties, and they made that concession. In Australia a similar occurrence transpired, and over there the labor men went into politics, with the result that they control five out of the six states of that commonwealth today and are in a fair way of securing national control at the next general election.

That will undoubtedly grow in Great Britain. You have undoubtedly observed in the newspapers that the Tories are playing their master card by the enactment of the anti-trade union bill. It is the dying struggle of a dying class oppression, and the result would be that the liberal element in Great Britain and Australia, English-speaking nations, understand, will be in control of these governments probably inside of ten or twelve years at the utmost, and presumably we will still be on our knees asking for crumbs from the professional politician, instead of rising in our majesty, as free-born American workers, and exercising our rights, form a movement of our own, where we won't have to question the resolutions of platform committees or any boss with regard to what their attitude will be when they take power in Washington.

I cite as proof of that claim the very fact that the anti-injunction bill now pending in the Senate was introduced by Senator Shipstead, the farmer-labor representative of the state of Minnesota, and even though he is only one man, he will put on record the rest of the gentlemen in the upper, as well as in the lower branch.

I am satisfied that we have fine sympathizers in Congress, especially in the Senate. I have a very high regard for young Bob LaFollette, for Senator Norris, for Senator Johnson, for Senator Borah and others of those who are, to the best of their ability, fighting for the rights of the common man, but these gentlemen do not belong in the party of the Butlers, the Coolidges, the Daweses and the Wall Street Big Business group, who simply direct what shall be done and their office boys take care that it is done. These men belong in a separate, independent movement, and I am satisfied that with the tremendous unrest that prevails in the farming communities of this country, if we as workers join hands with these farmers, with these liberal and progressive groups, we can renew our fight that was started in 1924 and not only poll five million, but considerably more votes.

And when the old politicians see

those votes piling up and realize that in all probability the party has become a permanent institution, I don't think you would have to beg very long to secure a square deal. They would hand you some concession in order to maintain their positions in dominating the political and administrative affairs of this country.

DELEGATE WEAVER, MUSICIANS

I have no disposition whatsoever to speak in disparaging tones or attempt to minimize the seriousness of the issue which is raised by such decisions as the Bedford Stonecutters' decision. I am unable to endorse the one hundred per cent pessimism with which some of the language of it seems to be invested. I hope it will not be an exhibition of bad taste if I undertake to inject a few notes of optimism into my small contribution to this discussion.

I am one of those who firmly believe in the divine origin of the labor movement, and if that be its nature then its destiny is not a matter of serious concern. The cause of labor sprang into being under no cloud or taint of materialism. No sordid hand rocked its infant cradle. It first assumed concrete form under Judean skies from the lips of one of whom it was said that He spoke as never man spake, and was incorporated in the words, "The laborer is worthy of his hire"—an epigram which will be engraven upon the human conscience long after the aphorisms of Aristotle and Plato and all the other philosophers shall have faded like mist into the evening azure of the past.

If you will take the Bedford stone decision and read it and analyze it in the incandescent glow of some of the historic mille posts of the past, you will find new stars appearing in the sky of human aspirations. There was never a darker day in the history of the young republic than the seventh day of March, 1857. On the day before the United States Supreme Court, through Roger B. Taney, promulgated the seemingly infamous doctrine that the black man had no rights which a white man was bound to respect.

The abolitionists far and wide, the sons and daughters of America, who had identified themselves with the movement for human freedom, seeking to eliminate from American affairs the doctrine that any human being might be owned as a chattel, found their hearts sinking within them. All seemed to be lost, because the highest tribunal known to government had promulgated that kind of doctrine, and the American people turned to their homes and their avocations and to their firesides, but, while they were musing, the fires burned, and in 1861 the smoldering embers were fanned into flames by the shot at Fort Sumter, and the answer of the Dred Scott decision was found

in the emancipation proclamation of Abraham Lincoln.

I want to say to you that the Bedford stone decision might have been much worse than it was. We might have found nine-ninths of that court against us, but there was a minority opinion. Outside of our friends who live at Washington I doubt if there is a delegate on the floor of this convention who could call the roll of the United States Supreme Court, but I do not believe there is a delegate here who does not know the names of Louis Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes, who signed the dissenting opinion.

That is an asset, members of this convention, to our cause. Justice Brandeis, representative of a race whose fidelity to law and justice exists in the early history of mankind as the pillar of cloud by day and the fire by night which pointed to the oncoming civilization—he pointed out in language which none could misunderstand that the Bedford Stonecutters' decision pointed to involuntary servitude, and he was joined by Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose forefathers helped light the fires which illumined the crest of Bunker Hill in the early days of the republic.

That is good American blood, members of the convention, to be affiliated with the cause represented by the American Federation of Labor. And so, Mr. President, the thought that I want to leave is simply this, that while the clouds sometimes seem dark, if we will view them in the light of progress that has been made, we can see a very distinctive silver lining.

Amid the encircling gloom of the Bedford decision the voices of Brandeis and Holmes are prophetic voices pointing to the rosy dawn of a new day of one God, one law, one element, the one far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves.

DELEGATE T. J. DONNELLY

(Ohio State Federation of Labor)

It is many years since it has been my privilege to address the delegates of the American Federation of Labor as a fellow delegate. This morning I hesitated for a very great time as to whether I should presume to enter the discussion of the report of the committee, but after hearing it read again and listening to the speakers upon this platform I was impelled to ask the Chair for recognition. I appear upon this platform to advocate the adoption of the report of the committee.

Thirty years ago, when I was attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the great and paramount question at that time was the question of labor injunctions, and the American Federation of Labor set its hand to the work of securing legislation which it thought would meet the evil then developing. And, as you know, under the late President Wilson,

we succeeded in passing the Clayton Act. The Clayton Act was thought at the time to be the last word, that we had secured our liberty, that the rights of working men and women had been definitely decided by the national Congress and that the courts would recognize those rights when matters came before them on injunctions. We found with that, as we found with most of our labor legislation or legislation promoted by labor in the interest of the rights of all the people, that phraseology, the terms of the law, the legal interpretation of certain phrases and terms are frequently not in accord with the thoughts and views of those who have the bills drafted or of the members of the legislative body that voted for them.

We have had in Ohio, as you know, a senator in the state senate who now sits as president of the American Federation of Labor, to whom labor gave what it thought was the last word on workmen's compensation with the state fund plan. And yet, notwithstanding the splendid bill that was drawn, notwithstanding the fact that the legislature enacted it into law—and it was a good law—we have found that year after year when the General Assembly meets in Ohio it is necessary to make some correction.

And so I take the report of this committee and the recommendations of the Executive Council to be that they feel the time has arrived to make some changes in the Sherman anti-trust law and to endeavor to secure at the hands of the federal Congress certain legislation relative to equity courts. Listening to the discussion, I noted that one phase of the report of the Executive Council, or one phase of the report of the committee, was not being discussed by the speakers, and feeling very deeply upon that particular phase of the subject before the convention, which is all-embracing of injunctions, I felt that perhaps a word might be said this morning upon the subject of the committee's report which relates to yellow dog contracts.

The yellow dog contract is as surely a denial of inherent, fundamental rights as any instrument as was ever penned by man. It is an instrument fashioned by one set of citizens who exercise their fundamental and inherent right of voluntary association to prevent other classes of citizens from exercising a similar right. Manufacturers, employers, organized in their associations of various kinds, use the power of their voluntary organizations to say to the working men and women of America, "Thou shalt not go into a voluntary organization with your fellow workers to promote your welfare."

And taking advantage of the necessities of working men and working women, they forced these pseudo contracts upon them in times of stress. And then they used this instrument to deny to other classes of citizens the right to solicit membership in volun-

tary organizations, and threatened that if these other citizens who are no party to the contract, solicit membership from any person that is a party to the contract they will invoke the injunctive process and bring them into court under the sacred law of contract. In considering this committee's report it appears to me that the particular part that refers to the yellow dog contract is as important as the other features of the report.

Mr. President, may I take just a moment more? May I not say that all the progress of the world has been made through the voluntary associations of men and women? It is recognized by society that the great organizations that promote human welfare are the voluntary organizations of the world. And among these great voluntary organizations of the world are the trade unions of the world, men and women joining together in voluntary association to promote their immediate and personal welfare and make their contribution to the general welfare of the nation.

And yet, because certain employers and certain employers' associations feel that they can through the injunction as it has developed, prevent men and women from soliciting other men and women to join these organizations, they promote this so-called yellow dog contract. It seems to me that must be given due consideration by the American Federation of Labor, by the state federations of labor and by the international organizations of labor when they consider the injunction evil.

It will not be enough to amend the Clayton act; it will not be enough to restrict the equity courts; it must also be provided in the legislation we shall secure that there shall be an exercise by the legislative bodies of this nation and by legislative enactment to declare that such contracts are against public policy and are null and void. We must not depend upon these contracts being brought before the courts to have them define public policy, because we have a greater and more representative body to which the electorate can go, namely, the legislative bodies of the several states and the nation, within whose power is the power to declare public policy.

And I fear very much, Mr. President, that, because of the discussion which is taking place in the United States today upon the subject of the yellow-dog contract, that some may imagine that the shortest course is to carry such contracts to the courts, so that the courts may declare them against public policy. It is my fond hope that such cases will not reach the courts until they are brought there because of objection to some enactment which declares them against public policy and null and void, and we can do that if the American Federation of Labor can carry its program through as outlined by the Executive Council's report and

by this very comprehensive report of the committee, and due consideration can be given the feature of the yellow-dog contracts. I feel that we are going to make progress; I feel that we are going to rectify some of the errors that have crept into the Sherman anti-trust law, and I think we can appeal to the American people that we are asking no special privileges, but simply common, every-day justice.

PRESIDENT GREEN

It is not the purpose of the Chair to indulge in an exhaustive discussion of the subject-matter before this convention, but because I am impressed with its importance and with the addresses that have been delivered. I want to, with your permission, say just a word or two.

As you will observe, the Chair has permitted the exercise of the widest latitude in the discussion of the committee's report. This was done because of the deep impression that prevails regarding the importance of the subject dealt with, and I am happy to observe in most of the discussion that there is a unanimity of opinion in support of the committee's report. You will observe that the committee's report makes certain recommendations and offers what we believe to be a proper remedy as a relief from the ills from which we suffer.

First, it proposes that we shall introduce legislation which, if enacted into law, would define and limit the jurisdiction of equity courts. That sort of legislation is in accord with the views with our most respected delegate, Andrew Furuseth. The other proposal is that we shall introduce legislation providing for the amendment of certain sections and for the repeal of other sections of the Sherman anti-trust law.

Then we deal, as Delegate Donnelly pointed out, with the yellow-dog contract. Are those not constructive remedies? We are going to the people and to Congress with most specific suggestions. We are not dealing in generalities; we are offering remedies, and we hope to so develop a healthy public opinion, and we hope to so arouse the interest of the workers everywhere in support of this legislation, that we will make a most profound impression upon the law-making bodies of our country. We are mapping out a definite program, offering specific remedies, and the American Federation of Labor will mobilize all its resources and all its power behind and in support of these proposed remedies.

I cannot agree with all that has been said. While I agree with much of the logic and the conclusions expressed by our good friend, Furuseth, I cannot agree with that part of his address wherein he stated that he did not blame the judges for their actions in issuing these injunctions against which we

protest. I hold that in most instances the issuance of these injunctions depends upon the court's point of view. They are creatures of environment. If their training has been along corporation lines and if they have been taught to place the value of a dollar above the value of human rights, then they look at this subject in a far different way.

For instance, if there was upon the Supreme Court of the United States a majority of the judges who entertained the same point of view as Judge Brandeis and Justice Holmes, we would not have the soft stonecutters' decision. Suppose that a majority of the court had reasoned along the lines announced by Judge Brandeis and Justice Holmes, then we would not be complaining so bitterly against these injunctions. That leads me to this conclusion: That, after all, it depends upon the point of view of the majority members of the court. Speaking for myself, I wish that a majority of the members of the Supreme Court of the United States were men of Justice Holmes and Judge Brandeis' kind. Then, I believe, a far different legal enunciation would be made upon the subject of injunctions.

I listened with profound attention to the address of our good friend, Max Hayes. He is the same Max, the same Delegate Hayes; he still sticks to the ideas he enunciated in a convention of the American Federation of Labor about twenty-five years ago. I admire his enthusiasm and his sincerity, but I cannot agree with his logic. He feels that the remedy for it all lies in independent political action. If the American Federation of Labor would follow that policy we would sink into the depths of despair. We want to correct the evils against which we complain in our own day and in our own generation. We want relief now. If we did follow the policy enunciated by Delegate Hayes we would probably wait until Gabriel blew his trumpet, and there is no American working man who wants to wait that long.

What are the facts? The facts are that here in America we have pursued a non-political policy, and that under that policy we have secured legislation in the states and in the nation that compares quite favorably with the legislation secured in other countries. In our own country, under the direction of such a policy, we have secured the passage of workmen's compensation legislation in forty-three out of the forty-eight states of the Union.

And while we in our nation have the injunction evil and we have other evils, let us bear in mind that in Great Britain they have their Trade Union Act against which they bitterly complain. The power to which Delegate Hayes refers rests with the voters of our nation. They can vote independently if they please, but under our policy we have elected members to the United States Senate who speak for labor,

who are sympathetic with labor, who vote with labor, and I think I can say without fear of successful contradiction that if we had followed the policy advocated by our friend Hayes we would not have in the Senate of the United States, battling for us and speaking for us, such men as Senator LaFollette, Senator Norris, Senator Shipstead and others of that kind. Nor would we have in the Congress of the United States such representatives as those progressive congressmen who readily recognize and admit that they owe their election very largely to the support which labor gave them in their respective districts.

What we want is to elect men to the Congress of the United States, to the Senate and to the state legislatures who are in sympathy with us, men who will stand for the rights of all the people. We are not ready to have the great American labor movement isolate itself, to stand separate and apart from its friends and sympathizers, to withdraw its political support in co-operation with its friends from behind those who are for us and against those who are our enemies.

As a result of this policy we secured the passage in many states of legislation that compares favorably with the best legislation of any country in the world, and I am happy to say that in some states we secured the passage of the anti-injunction measure framed and developed by the American Federation of Labor. And if we had followed that independent policy referred to by our friend Max Hayes we would not have made any impression in these state legislatures and in the Congress of the United States.

I am glad to note the optimism announced by many of the speakers. I look forward to a brighter and a better day. We are going to correct these evils; we are going to make an impression; we are going to elect our friends; we are going to defeat our enemies, and we are going to do it through the exercise of the sovereign rights conferred upon the working men and their friends in this country. There is no wrong which we suffer that cannot be righted when the conscience of the people is sufficiently aroused so that public opinion will stand with us.

DELEGATE WALKER

(Illinois State Federation of Labor)

This question has been pretty thoroughly discussed and I don't want to tire you by repetition. In my opinion it is a vitally important subject. I believe that the injunction is used more than any other one influence in our country to prevent organization where the workers want it, to destroy organization after it has been established, to weaken it and to defeat its efforts. And that, of course, means that it is most fundamental in its

nature. We can make improvement in almost any other direction, and the only thing that comes from it is that particular improvement, but release our organization and enable it to grow and it means that we can make improvements in every direction, so that if we can make any progress on that particular question it not alone means progress in that matter, but it means increase in the membership, the strength and influence of our movement, and that means better wages, shorter hours, better treatment—it means progress all along the line.

It is not a new subject and it is rather many sided. I believe that everything that can be done in every way which will mean better understanding upon the part of our people with reference to this theme, and which will mean preventing the successful efforts of those who would use this despotic power under the name of a court writ and would bring their action and its meaning clearly into the minds of our people, would mean progress on this question.

I think we have got to do the work of education, we have got to attempt to secure the enactment of legislation, we have got to build up and strengthen our political influence, and finally I believe the most important thing there is to do in connection with this problem is to secure the election of competent, honest judges who have the courage to stand for the thing that is right. I believe that that not alone must be done for the moment, but we must continue to keep up the work of education, and strengthen our political influence so that we can keep that kind of judges in our courts perpetually.

I believe the legislatures have a share of the responsibility in this matter and I believe the executives have a share of the responsibility. The President of the United States appoints practically the entire federal judiciary. Men in positions of influence within the political organizations also exert influence in securing the appointment of judges, and the nomination in many cases means the election of judges. I feel that we must be active intelligently and vigorously in every one of these directions if we want to solve this problem.

In Illinois we have secured the enactment of an injunction limitation bill. The judges of our state have not issued as drastic injunctions since that law was enacted as they did before, and practically all the judges in our State are much averse to the issuance of injunctions of this character at all, mainly due to our success in securing the enactment of that measure.

The situation in our state leaves little room for doubt as to the responsibility of judges in this matter. After our law was enacted a case was brought up. The constitutionality of that law was one of the issues in the case and Judge Pam upheld the constitutionality of the law. Another strike took place and Judge

Denis Sullivan, on the basis of an injunction issued before the enactment of the law, had the men arrested and sentenced for violating that injunction. In making his decision the judge decided that law unconstitutional. The case in Sullivan's court went to Supreme Court and they, although the issue was brought to them squarely in Judge Sullivan's decision, decided the constitutionality of the law was not involved. They nullified a portion of his judgment that the law was unconstitutional, but upheld the sentence for violation of the original injunction. I think that leaves little room for doubt, either as to the responsibility of the courts or as to their infinite and infallible wisdom in rendering decisions based on the same evidence and the same law.

We have discovered from experience that the most important officer in our government in the United States is the precinct committeeman, and we have worked in a practical way on that theory. And let me say to you men that love a battle that you will get all the elements that will satisfy that particular characteristic of yours, more so in a fight to secure the election of decent precinct committeemen than you will in any other election. We have let it go by the board largely in the past but the other side has not. They have recognized the importance of it, and the different elements among them who are organized to serve their own interests, up until our advent in that struggle, always, regardless of what they did with reference to any other office, formed a slate of precinct committeemen, and the battle was fought to the death on that issue. They knew if they could secure control of the men who elected the county chairman, the state chairman and the national chairman who write the platform, who make nominations and who influence the appointment, it did not make so much difference about the others, they could usually make them come to their terms.

In the Belleville district of Illinois we had an injunction judge for some seventeen or eighteen years. He could not be touched, but when we started the method of trying to reach that court we defeated him for the nomination in the judicial convention of that district. He ran independent, but with our organization of the precinct committeemen we were able to prevent fraud in the election sufficiently to prevent his being elected.

We were not so successful in another case, although we had a majority of the precinct committeemen. In Peoria County, in an effort to secure the instructions for the delegation for that county for a member of the Supreme Court who would be square with labor, we made the fight for the precinct committeemen. We got a majority of ten who agreed with us. When we got to the convention the other side thoroughly understood the situation, and because they had control of the original machinery they selected the place in which the convention was to be held.

When the delegates assembled there were five hundred members of the bar association sitting along side the delegation of precinct committeemen from that county. When the majority organization of the precinct committeemen nominated their chairman and the other side nominated theirs, the original men in charge who were friendly to the old organization, when called upon for a roll call vote on the question, put that motion as to whether or not there would be a roll call vote to a ye and nay vote of the delegation, and the five hundred lawyers voted no along with the minority of the precinct committeemen, and as compared with the majority of the committeemen the volume of noise was on the side of the lawyers, and the chairman declared the motion lost.

When the delegates representing the majority were nominated and those representing the minority were nominated the chairman, when asked to have the question put to a roll call, put that action also to a ye and nay vote, and the five hundred lawyers voted against it with the minority of the committeemen. The chairman declared that motion lost.

In the adjoining county the representatives of those who were unfriendly to us went into the home of one precinct committeeman. He was working for the city of Galesburg for fifty cents an hour in the water department. He had a wife and two dependent grandchildren. He was told if he would vote for their judge he would not be disturbed in his position. The meaning of that was that if he did not deliver his vote for their judge he would be discharged. They went to another who was a policeman, who had a wife and four children, and said the same thing to him. They went to a small merchant who had a mortgage on his stock of goods. They said they were sorry, but unless he cast his vote right he would have his stock put up at auction.

As a result of that method they secured the vote from that county, but with the contested delegation from Peoria we still had a majority of two in the judicial district convention. As they had control of the machinery, they selected the place in which the meeting would be held, the Marquette Hotel. They got the key, locked the door, took the minority of their delegation in by way of the kitchen, and the minority of that district convention nominated a member of our Supreme Court—which meant his election. They had an automobile waiting, and inside of two hours the Secretary of State filed their petition, declared it legal, and the State's Attorney General within a few minutes made the same decision.

If ever there was a conspiracy to corrupt the Supreme Court of our state that was one. And that was done by the members of the bar association, those who declare for a non-partisan judicial ticket while they fix up the nomination and make it sacrilege for a layman to interfere in the nomination and election of judges that serve the special interests.

I am saying this to warn you against the bar association. In saying that I do not mean the members of the bar association are any more dishonest than the average man, but there are many things that enter into this question that justify us in dealing with matters carefully in which these gentlemen are involved. In the first place, a lawyer is the only man in our country that has a legal right to be an accessory after the fact of every crime in the calendar. These lawyers have a complete monopoly on every position of judge from the highest to the lowest in our nation, and they got to the place where they not only maintain that monopoly for themselves, but consider it a crime for any layman to have any voice in the selection of members of the Supreme Court.

A lawyer is the only man that can sit in our legislative halls and take a bribe to defeat legislation we are seeking the enactment of, or take a bribe to secure legislation the corporations that employ them are in favor of, without being guilty of treason. If a layman took money under those circumstances he would be guilty of treason, and if the facts became known the chances are he would be impeached, and the lawyers would probably lead the fight to have him impeached.

I am going to say as a final word that if you want to get a new experience, to get into the real fight in political matters when you go home, just start out trying to get a majority of the precinct committeemen in your county and state and nation and you will have it. Twenty-five years ago, when I was full of ideals, I had exactly the same views as Max Hayes had then and has now. I loved Max Hayes. He knows that those he has been fighting against have their minds closed, that he cannot reach them, and if Max Hayes will only discover that he, too, has his mind closed and that we cannot change him, no matter what facts we reach him with, if he would only wake up, I believe he would shake himself loose from those beliefs. If men like Max in this nation will join us in a vigorous, intelligent fight on these matters we will get what we are after.

If there is one thing in the world I would like to see the men and women in the labor movement united on it is on this fight. They should let nothing divide them. If we can do that, I say with you, President Green, there isn't a wrong we are suffering from that cannot be set right, and there isn't a constructive thing that we need that is right that we cannot bring about.

Delegate Maloney: I desire to ask a question, and in order to emphasize the point brought out in the splendid addresses we have listened to this morning, as a result of the non-partisan political policy of the American

Federation of Labor, is it not a fact that in the next Congress the progressive, forward-looking United States senators will hold the balance of power?

President Green: I think you are right on that, Delegate Maloney. As you say, that situation was created largely through the influence and support of the membership of the American Federation of Labor and their friends in conformity with their non-partisan political policy.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Chairman Woll: There are several resolutions dealing with the same subject which the committee will now present.

Denouncing Decisions of Federal Courts Depriving Workmen of Right to Quit Work

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates J. P. Noonan, Julia O'Connor Parker, Chas. M. Paulsen, Martin T. Joyce, T. C. Vickers and Edw. J. Evans of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court has recently held in the case of Bedford Cut Stone Co. et al. v. Journeymen Stonecutters' Association, et al., that it is a conspiracy in restraint of trade for union workmen to refuse to work on material which has been partially prepared by non-union workmen; and

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the United States District Court at Chicago, a suit in which the Western Union Telegraph Company has procured a temporary injunction restraining members of several building trade unions from quitting work when non-union electricians in the employ of the Western Union Telegraph Company come to work on the same job; and

WHEREAS, In numerous other decisions of the federal courts the right of union workmen to go on strike has been limited or denied; and

WHEREAS, The right of workmen to quit work for any reason is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and is the only effective means which labor has for resisting oppression and for making economic progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protests against this tendency of the federal courts to deprive workmen of their right to quit work for any reason they see fit, as being an invasion of the constitutional

right of all men to freedom from involuntary servitude; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated unions to oppose this encroachment on their rights by every legitimate means and to that end we pledge our unqualified and unfaltering support; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated unions against whom such court proceedings have been, or may hereafter be instituted, to procure the services of able and experienced counsel, known to be in sympathy with organized labor and familiar with the law pertaining thereto; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated unions and all members and friends of organized labor to patronize the competitors of any concerns that institute court proceedings of the above character.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 17.

Delegate Evans, Electrical Workers: Just a few words to direct your attention particularly to this resolution. It is a most important subject. It is a controversy wherein the Western Union Telegraph Company in the city of Chicago has endeavored by injunction to prevent union men from fulfilling their contracts with their contractors, or preventing them from ceasing to work, when they so desire, for employers that are unfair to them.

Those of you who are familiar with the Western Union Telegraph Company know its unsympathetic attitude toward trade unionism, and it is a bitter surprise to me to see so many delegates and international officers in this convention patronizing the Western Union Telegraph Company that does so much to break down unionism and will not permit the organization of its employees. I am sure if you gentlemen will assist in carrying out the policies of the American Federation of Labor and assist the building trades in Chicago, particularly the Electrical Workers, in their fight with the Western Union, you will be a great help to them.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

In connection with part of the subject matter in the report just acted upon, relating to the equity jurisdiction, the

committee reports upon Resolution No. 33 as follows:

Endorsing S. 5829 Designed to Limit the Jurisdiction of Courts of Equity

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Equity Power — earlier known as Chancery Power, Royal Prerogative, Imperial Power and Tribunal Power or Veto Power, must of necessity be swift, autocratic and irresponsible, if it is to be of use in protecting property, where there is no remedy at law; and

WHEREAS, All such power has within it an almost irresistible tendency to expand so as to take the place of all other power, the power of law, the power of custom, the power of the democratic will, and thus result in return of autocracy, no matter in whose hand it be lodged; and

WHEREAS, The Equity Power came to this country from England in the form into which it had been hammered in a struggle of the people led by the Judges of the Courts of Law; and

WHEREAS, This struggle had finally reduced the jurisdiction of Courts of Equity to the power of protecting property, where there was no remedy at law, a necessary and beneficent function; and

WHEREAS, In this country the jurisdiction of Courts sitting in Equity has so expanded that there seems to be no limits to its power, and is thus transforming our concepts of human freedom, of our constitutional government and of our lives; and

WHEREAS, Honorable Henrik Shipstead, U. S. Senator from Minnesota, in the short session of the Sixty-ninth Congress introduced a bill, S. 5829, to amend chapter two of an Act entitled "An Act to codify, revise and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911; and

WHEREAS, It is designed to and will limit the jurisdiction of Courts of Equity to what it was before it was expanded and to bring it back to its beneficent purpose and restore Government by Law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this bill be endorsed and that we do our utmost to see it enacted into law by the Seventieth Congress.

The committee is in full accord with the analysis of the equity power of the courts as set forth in Resolution No. 33 and approves the principle of the Shipstead Bill to which the resolution refers. It is the understanding of the committee, however, that there is some slight difference in language, though not in principle, between the bill prepared by the Executive Council and the bill referred to in the resolution, and the committee

therefore recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and such action as the Council may deem wise.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE FURUSETH, SEAMEN

I think the committee should have gone a little farther in its report, however, if the Executive Council will meet quickly, so that the bill can be introduced at the very beginning of Congress, there is no doubt, or hardly any doubt in my mind that they will select the Shipstead Bill.

I should like to see the bill adopted here and sent from this convention throughout the country with just one amendment which I know Senator Shipstead would be perfectly willing to accept. If this convention could see its way clear to express an opinion that would, in a sense, bind the Executive Council to this bill, with an amendment that a repealing clause "that all laws or parts of laws contrary to this are hereby repealed"—if that could be done, and done quickly enough so that the bill could be introduced at once and hearings held on it at once when Congress meets, I feel that we might accomplish that very great work in this coming Congress. You must understand that back of all these injunctions, back of all the work that has been done to rob the common people of their rights under the constitution, is the struggle of the Third Estate, as we call it in Europe, the struggle of Big Business, as we call it in America, to differentiate in its reasoning in such a way as to make the people who are not watching very carefully willing to accept some modification here or some modification there that simply nullifies it all.

I want to call your attention particularly to section 20, I think, of the Clayton Act. When that was before the conference in Washington I called attention to two expressions used which put the entire thing back into the hands of the judges. One was the expression, "lawful and peaceful." I said, "As long as you have those expressions there, necessarily the judiciary will have the jurisdiction you are trying to get away from." Any qualifying clause, any exception, no matter what it is, put into a fundamental question of this kind destroys it altogether because it gives those who want to construe it an opportunity to do so.

I said here yesterday that I did not blame the judges as much as I blamed the legislators, and I stand by every word of it. The equity rules as they existed upon the passage of this legislation provided that equity should not be used to enforce law, it should not take the place of law, but the legislature found it was much easier to go to the court to get an injunction and put all the terrors of prison behind it than to go to the law courts and get the conviction from a judge. And so you have it growing, grow-

ing, and growing, and as long as you permit any qualification, any exception to a fundamental, clear-cut rule, such as the British people finally succeeded in getting adopted at the beginning of the reign of William and Mary, you will get no where because the opening is still there and the judges will extend and extend as they have been doing all along.

I joined with you in years gone by as much as anybody in complaining about the judges. I had a feeling then, and I argued it with men who were willing to listen to me, that the question of jurisdiction was the fundamental question, but it was not altogether clear. Now it is as clear as sunlight, because we not only have the constitution here, but we have got the decision of the Supreme Court itself in which it says that the jurisdiction of a court is determined by Congress.

The difficulty with us is to understand the simplicity of this thing. If Congress promised in 1890 and in 1913 or '14 when the Clayton Act was passed, that these laws would not apply to labor, and they were honest in it, there is no question but that they now must be willing to change. If, on the other hand, they are not willing to change, if they are not willing to so limit the jurisdiction that it will restore government by law, then they will write themselves down as being dishonest right along. I don't believe that, I will not charge that.

The fact of the matter is I am satisfied that it is not so, and for the reason that some of them knew perfectly well what was coming. I haven't the slightest doubt that a great many of them knew perfectly well it would be used against labor, and labor particularly, but that the majority of the Senate and House thought that I do not believe. Therefore, I believe we have a chance to change it, and I hope that the Executive Council will deal with this question very swiftly so that the bill—I hope it will be this bill, because it has no qualifications or exceptions in it—will be ready to introduce the first day Congress meets. The moment it is introduced I know the Judiciary Committee will give hearings as soon as that can be arranged. The chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate is Senator Norris, and I am perfectly satisfied that he will be glad to do this.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Secretary Morrison: A page of copy dealing on the part of the report of the Executive Council was not printed in yesterday's proceedings. I ask consent to incorporate it in today's proceedings so that the delegates may have an opportunity to read it.

President Green: Are there any objections? Hearing none, the request of Secretary Morrison will be granted.

Following is the section of the report referred to by Secretary Morrison:

No Communistic Control

The caption, "No Communistic Control," page 39, under which the Executive Council reports successful efforts in defeating plans of communists to control trade unions, might very well serve as a slogan in all trade union centers throughout our great country. The philosophy of the communist seeks the complete surrender of the workers to government control, while the philosophy of the trade unionist demands responsible self-control for the workers. The worker who understands the nature and value of freedom will not hesitate in choosing between the two. It follows, therefore, that the surest way to avoid communistic control developing within any part of the trade union movement is to keep the members everywhere thoroughly informed upon the basic principle of trade unionism which seeks progress through freedom. The committee recommends that all affiliated national and international unions should carefully survey the activities of their respective local unions for the purpose of uprooting every communistic development that may present itself within their ranks. It is well that even unintentional misinformation on this point from within our movement should be guarded against. We congratulate the Executive Council upon

the efficient aid given to the United Textile Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the Fur Workers' Union in preventing communist agitators from securing a stranglehold upon those organizations. The committee recommends approval of this part of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Bolander, Tailors, asked that a correction be made in the records of Monday's proceedings, page 285, line 8 from bottom of first column. The corrected statement to read that "Brother Soderberg was not an officer of the union," instead of "not a member of the union at the time of signing the agreement."

Mr. Jason S. Joy, Director of Public Relations, Association of Motion Picture Producers, was introduced by the President, and made a brief statement as to the manner in which the delegates and visitors would be received and entertained on their trip to Universal City on Wednesday afternoon. He extended a very cordial invitation to all officers, delegates and visitors to attend, and in doing so extended the personal greetings of Mr. Will Hays.

At 12:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Fischer, Baker, Kasten, Nelson, Ryan (D. J.), Ornburn, Flaherty, Engelhardt, McAndrews, Snow, Schmal, Shamp, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney, Duncan (J.), Gainor, Finnan, Duffy (C. D.), Mugavin, Swartz, Askev, Bock (P.), Ryan (J. P.), Fljozdal, Strother, Gorman, Kelly (M. J.), Hynes, McCoy, Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Wilson (J.), Hannah, Burke (J. P.), LaBelle, Grimshaw, Cashen, Perry, Manlon, Spencer, Jewell, Gross, Atkins, Lewis (J. C.), Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Reed, Roberts, Stroud, Studdard, Kosta,

Cain, Buckland, Martel, Starkweather, DeVore, Sands, O'Dell, Rice, Contner, Dempsey, Brady (P. J.), Conkey, Draper, Wickert, Francis, Crowell, Young, Bower, Tosh, Reagan, Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Trimmer, Leavitt, Daly, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller, Campbell (A. C.), Caston, Flynn, Gayhart, Elliott, Fitzgerald (A. E.).

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"San Diego, Calif., Oct. 10, 1927.

"Mr. William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor,
"Los Angeles, Calif.

"Greetings to the convention. Good work, but remember the Kelly policy

postal bill and postal employees' retirement bill, asking thirty-year service, one hundred dollars per month, with three and one-half per cent deduction. Navy received seventy-three dollars for sixteen years, one hundred and three dollars for twenty years, no cost.

"HARRY S. BELLIS,
"Branch 70, N. A. L. C."

"Quincy, Mass., Oct. 11, 1927.
"William Green, President,
"American Federation of Labor,
"Alexandria Hotel,
"Los Angeles, Calif.

"Your letter, with action of convention, reference to my health received and is as encouraging as appreciated. My general health is now good and when I regain my strength a lameness, an aftermath of my illness, will disappear, leaving me many years, I hope, loyal and active service in the greatest cause of our time, namely, the purposes of organized labor, as expressed in these conventions and by their constituent parts. Sorry am not with you, bearing share in your deliberations and conclusions, which I know will be constructive.

"Respectfully,
"JAMES DUNCAN,
"First Vice-President,
"American Federation of Labor."

President Green: Fellow delegates and visitors to the convention, I am happy indeed to present to you this afternoon Major General Summerall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army. General Summerall accepted our invitation to address the delegates in attendance at this convention most graciously and with alacrity.

In presenting the gentleman to you this afternoon my mind reverts to a very pleasant experience which the members of the Executive Council enjoyed at the Citizens Military Training Camp at Plattsburg, New York, during the summer of 1926. At the invitation of the War Department and supplemented by a very cordial invitation from General Summerall, Colonel Hughes and others, the Council visited Plattsburg for the purpose of learning at first hand the work of the administration of these Citizens' Military Training Camps.

At that time we became acquainted with the gentleman. He was with us for several days. I recall very distinctly that he attended a banquet given by the Central Trades Council at Plattsburg, New York. The Trades Council was host to the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Gen-

eral Summerall and his aides, Colonel Hughes, Commandant of the Citizens' Military Training Camp, and others, and we learned to know and to understand each other.

I recall with very great pleasure the wonderful address delivered by General Summerall on that occasion. One sentence made a deep impression upon my mind. It was that he was enjoying one of the most happy experiences in all his life. General Summerall is very, very sympathetic toward the aims and purposes of organized labor. He believes in the things we believe in. His great heart beats in sympathy with the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the organized labor movement.

While he is the Commander of the Army of the United States, having been appointed to the highest honors and the highest position that can be bestowed on a general in the army, he is a man of peace, he is not a man of war, he is a man who believes in peace, for as he said, no soldier can participate in wars without cultivating and developing a passion for peace.

A charming personality, a big hearted, human, loyal American citizen—I present him to you—Major General Summerall, chief of staff, the army of the United States.

**ADDRESS BY MAJOR GENERAL
CHARLES P. SUMMERALL
(Chief of Staff, the United States Army)**

President Green, Members of the Executive Council and Fellow Citizens—I do not mean by that that they are not fellow citizens, too. They are closer than that, they are my dear and good friends. When President Green said that I responded to this invitation received some months ago with alacrity, he chose the right word. After traveling some four thousand miles to get here I punched the clock ten minutes ahead of time. If that isn't alacrity I don't know what it is.

I have a great many things on this visit of mine, but one of the chief things, if not the outstanding thing, was to be here today to shake hands with my good friends, the President and the members of the Executive Council, to meet you all and to say a word of greeting as a citizen of our great Republic.

The President has already stated something of the background for our relationships and why I want to come and look you in the face and say a word of friendship and good will to you today. We have a background for everything. We have a great country.

We think we have the greatest government that has ever been, and we go back for a hundred and fifty years and find that a group of men fought for ideals which they incorporated in a constitution. They made a declaration which gave the world new hopes, new life and new meaning.

Those telling words, that all men are born free and equal and that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed—that is a new thought in the human experience of government. Because they were declared a hundred and fifty years ago they have lost none of their meaning and none of their power to make a people have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The expression "free men" came down to us from the old English ideals developed through centuries of our ancestors' efforts. They mean as much to us today as they ever did in history. In those long years that have followed we have great movements afoot, all of which tend to the evolution of a better people, of a better government.

We find our people almost segregated in categories following this ideal of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but all leading toward that one great goal. As a soldier of the republic I find myself, through destiny or opportunity, or whatever it may be, in one category which in no sense separates me from the great mass of my fellow citizens.

Mr. Green has referred to the functions of the military profession. It seems to me few things are less understood than that of the profession of armies. He spoke of the way we cherish peace. We must have peace. No man, no community, no society, no nation can live unless it has what we understand to be peace, and peace must be cherished for itself.

If we look back in our history we find that our nation was born in war, and the military forces, the armed forces of the country, conquered a peace and placed it into the hands of the constitutional civil agencies for safe keeping. It was a trust, a sacred trust. They tried, we will concede, to the best of their powers to keep it, but they lost it and they have lost it over and over, and just as often have the armed forces, consisting of the manhood of this country, irrespective of religion, of calling, of trade or profession, of business or of ideals, responded and regained it and placed it back in the hands of the constitutional civil agencies.

My friends, that is the meaning of the military establishment and the armed forces of the army and navy. They exist, not to destroy, not to threaten the safety of any other nation or of any part of our own citizenship—they exist, first of all, to preserve this priceless possession of peace, and then, second, to regain it if unhappily

the agencies of peace fail in their trust.

Now, there is a tremendous bond between all of us as citizens of this noble country. We all love it, we are loyal to its flag, we stand ready to defend it. Thousands and thousands of our men who died in battle in recent wars have had the union labor card in their pocket or among their effects. Thousands and tens of thousands of the men who wore their country's uniform in battle to regain this peace which had been lost now belong to the great army of labor, struggling to develop and upbuild our industries and make our country greater by the development of its resources.

There is a blending that is infinite among every class of citizens in this great land to make it better and to carry out its destiny among the races of the earth. The purpose of this great convention today is to consider nationwide questions for the betterment of a great number of toiling men and women who would, by destiny, have certain callings, just as by destiny, we will say, others have different callings, following out the great ideal of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as free men.

And you are doing it, my friends, under the leadership of the most patriotic men, men of the highest and finest ideals that this country has known. Your President and his advisers deserve being numbered with the great patriots of the land. You are loyally supporting their purposes and you are blending your efforts in the great momentum of the American people to take and preserve their place in their own way without interference with individuals, without wishing anybody else harm, but to make our own people better.

I don't believe there is anything advocated on this floor or on the floor anywhere else in the organized bodies of labor that is not honestly intended to be for the betterment of great numbers of people, for the creature comforts to which men have a right to aspire, for that estate in progress, in standards of living, in enlightenment, in education, in skill of the hand or of the mind that will make us a more progressive and a more efficient people.

And so it is a pleasure to come here today to cement still further those bonds that have been so happily formed through your President and the Executive Council at Plattsburg, in New York, in Washington, and wherever it has been my privilege to meet with them on social, friendly or patriotic observances. I wish for you every success in the attainment of every legitimate end. I know that your aspirations are the aspirations of the good men in industry and in finance. I have sometimes been startled by almost the same sentiments that I have heard from Mr. Green and that I have heard

from what we might call captains of industry and finance.

There is not so much a neighborhood or community, as there is a nation-wide and all-pervading understanding today in all elements—employer and employee, the man who works with his hands and the man who gives him an opportunity to work, and the participation in the creation of the individual, the reward of skill, of merit, and of accomplishment.

Those are great, fundamental, essential truths and nobody can quarrel with them, whether they are advocated by capitalist, by industrialist, by labor or by any category of our citizenship. It is a great day for us to live in; it is a day when the mists and the clouds of misunderstanding are being dissipated by personal association and understanding, just as Mr. Green has so ably pointed out, and I know that each year is finding you and our country approaching further and further towards our ideals.

I know you have many things to do here. Your committees are busy and your convention is momentous, but I want to thank you for this opportunity, for giving me the privilege of saying these few words, to show to you that, as a representative of one great category of our people, we understand you and we know that you will understand us. I thank you.

President Green: The Chair desires to submit a supplementary report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, containing the report of John Coeffield and Michael Casey, fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. This report will become a part of today's proceedings.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Report of Fraternal Delegates

MONDAY, SEPT. 5, 1927

The Fifty-ninth Trades Union Congress, which was attended by 646 delegates, representing 4,163,994 members, began in the Synod hall at noon with a civic welcome from the Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

Mr. George Hicks then delivered his presidential address, which was very well delivered and quite well received, and in fact was a masterpiece, and which your delegates were very much interested in listening to.

Congress proceeded to the discussion of the annual report of the General Council. The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress holds the same position as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the

report of the General Council and action thereon constitutes a large portion of the work of the convention.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 6, 1927

Organization by Industry

After a lengthy debate on the question of union amalgamations and the policy to be adopted to promote more effective labor organizations throughout industry, the section of the General Council's report dealing with organization by industry was adopted. On instruction from previous Congresses, the General Council had considered the problem, and it now reported that it had been "forced to the conclusion that as it is impossible to define any fixed boundaries of industry, it is impracticable to formulate a scheme of organization by industry that can be made applicable to all industries." The General Council pointed out in its report that Trade Union organization had assumed complex forms which were the growth of generations. Organization would therefore have to be gradually remoulded, and that was only possible so far as individual Unions expressed their desire to co-operate.

Prime Minister's Appeal—Industrial Peace

On behalf of the General Council, Mr. Bevin moved and Mr. Thomas, M. P., seconded an emergency resolution (No. 8) in reply to the Prime Minister's appeal for industrial peace. The resolution pointed out that "no section of the community is more desirous of industrial peace than the workers." Congress was "compelled, however, to inform Mr. Baldwin that the greatest hindrance to a response to these appeals is the legislative and industrial policy pursued by him and his government." The resolution was carried unanimously.

Minority Movement and Trades Councils

At the opening of the afternoon session, there was a vigorous debate on the General Council's decision that trades councils connected with the minority movement should not be recognized by the Trades Union Congress. Mr. V. Beacham (Painters) moved the rejection of the section of the General Council's report recording the decision, but the motion was lost by a majority of 3,746,000 to 148,000.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 7, 1927

This entire session was devoted to the speeches of the following fraternal delegates, which were all well received by the delegates to the Congress: Mr. G. R. Brunet, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress; Herr J. Sassenbach, I. F. T. U.; Mr. S. O. Yudoci, Mexican Confederation of Labor; Mr. G. Sethi, All-India Trades Union Congress; Mr. P. J. Agnew, Co-operative Union; Mr. J. Coeffield, American Federation of Labor, and Mr. M. Casey, American Federation of Labor.

After these speeches President Hicks of the Congress presented the fraternal delegates with appropriate tokens on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 8, 1927

Speech by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., addressed the Congress as fraternal delegate from the Labor party. His speech, which dealt largely with the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, was received with great enthusiasm.

Relations With the Russian Trade Unions

On the previous day, a printed statement was issued and circulated to the delegates by the General Council on the subject of relations with the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, including a copy of the telegram received from Russia on the eve of the Congress.

Mr. Citrine, General Secretary of the T.U.C., moved the adoption of the General Council's report on the relations with the Russian Trade Unions and its recommendation that no useful purpose could be served by continuing the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council while the present attitude of the Russian Trade Unions was maintained.

After an interesting discussion, the General Council's recommendation was accepted by the overwhelming majority of 2,551,000 to 620,000.

Delegation to India

On a resolution (No. 60) moved by Mr. P. J. Johnson of the Furnishing Trades Union, Congress decided to send a delegation to India to investigate conditions there, and to assist in the organization of the Indian Trade Union Movement.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 9, 1927

Workmen's Compensation, Safety and Welfare and Legislation on Factories, Workshops and Mines

Congress considered a number of resolutions relating to factory legislation and to questions of industrial disease and workers' compensation. A number of these resolutions were considered favorable to the workers and were adopted.

Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act

On behalf of the General Council, Mr. A. B. Swales moved a resolution (No. 53) protesting against the passage of the Act without enquiry or mandate, expressing appreciation of the Labor party's resistance to it, declaring the determination of Congress to maintain the rights and liberties that organized workers had secured, and further pledging Congress to work for the repeal of the iniquitous measure and the defeat of the government. This resolution and a composite resolution (No. 4) on the same subject, were carried unanimously.

Eight Hours Act (Mining Industry)

A resolution (No. 34) moved on behalf of the Miners' Federation, by which the Congress pledged itself to adopt every means to secure the repeal of the Coal Mines Act, 1928, was carried unanimously.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 10, 1927

Miscellaneous Resolutions

During this session of the Congress several resolutions on miscellaneous subjects were passed.

General Council (1927-28)

The only change in the General Council as a result of the new election was the substitution of Mr. A. J. Cook in place of Mr. R. Smillie, M. P.

We desire to express our thanks and appreciation for the entertainment provided and the hospitality shown to the representatives of the American Federation of Labor at the British Trades Union Congress.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN COEFIELD,
MICHAEL CASEY,

Fraternal Delegates to British Trades Union Congress,

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President;

JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice-President;

FRANK DUFFY,
Second Vice-President;

T. A. RICKERT,
Third Vice-President;

JACOB FISCHER,
Fourth Vice-President;

MATTHEW WOLL,
Fifth Vice-President;

MARTIN F. RYAN,
Sixth Vice-President;

JAMES WILSON,
Seventh Vice-President;

JAMES P. NOONAN,
Eighth Vice-President;

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Treasurer;

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary;

Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, chairman of the committee, submitted the following report:

With further reference to the subject of anti-trust laws, the committee desires to submit a report on Resolution No. 42.

Repeal of Sherman Anti-Trust Law

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, The Sherman anti-trust law is in fact an anti-combination law, which, properly construed and fully enforced, will make all associations of men and women for mutual aid and protection illegal and a crime, as plainly shown in the decision by the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Stonecutters'* case, where it was held that the organized stonecutters may not protect themselves by refusing to finish stone, which had been partly cut by others who are hostile to the organized stonecutters; and

WHEREAS, Any continued vitality of this law must result in the abolition of all trade Unions organized for mutual aid and protection of the working people; and

WHEREAS, Industrial organizations based upon industrial discontent are essential in the future evolution of Christian civilization and to prevent the return of slavery; and

WHEREAS, Trade unions are voluntary associations of free men who come together to do collectively what they cannot do individually, to obey the divine command to men, that they shall bear each other's burdens, and to put into practice in their industrial life that fundamental American idea which was practiced by the fathers, and through which this nation was born, the trade unions being in form and purpose a continuation of the voluntary associations of pre-revolutionary days; and

WHEREAS, W. R. Hearst, then a Representative in Congress from New York, on February 18, 1905, introduced a Bill, H. R. 19048, to protect trade and commerce against restraints and monopoly, which bill is in fact an anti-monopoly bill designed to apply to prevent monopoly in the products of labor, or of any mineral product or products of the soil or of the sea, and to leave to men and women the right and the opportunity to protect themselves by combinations for mutual aid and protection; and

WHEREAS, Congress in the Clayton act already has enacted that the labor-power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, thus plainly intending to take all human labor power from under the jurisdiction of the Sherman law and the amendments thereto; and

WHEREAS, This enactment has failed of its purpose and has remained a disregarded or misunderstood enactment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we demand the immediate repeal of the Sherman anti-combination law, which has been found of no especial value in suppressing combinations except the combinations for mutual aid and protection organized by laboring men and women, together with all amendments thereto except the above quoted definition of labor-power is not a commodity or article of commerce, and promptly enact in its place the anti-monopoly bill, H. R. 19048, introduced in

the Fifty-eighth Congress by W. R. Hearst.

As indicated by its action on the report of the Executive Council in relation to the anti-trust laws, the committee is in full accord with the principle of the legislation proposed in Resolution No. 42, but is of the opinion that the specific bill referred to (which the committee has carefully examined) does not fully meet present needs, and it is therefore recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and such action as in the judgment of the Council may seem wise and proper.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions No. 8 and No. 27 also deal with anti-trust laws:

Favoring Amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to Prevent Distortion by Court Decisions

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Sherman anti-trust law was enacted by Congress over a quarter of a century ago for the announced purpose of breaking up powerful trusts at that time engaged in destroying competition in interstate commerce; and

WHEREAS, The only reason for the enactment of such a law was to maintain the purchasing power of the American dollar in the hands of wage earners against the encroachment of criminal monopolies over the necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, The purchasing power of the American dollar has now been reduced through the operations of powerful trusts to a degree that it is now unable to purchase as much as a wage earner could buy for a quarter of a dollar twenty-five years ago, with the inevitable result that, despite higher wages, the social, economic and material conditions of wage earners are in reality lower than before; and, despite the foregoing truths, these powerful trusts, greedy for more wealth and greater power, are now engaged in a definite undertaking to destroy organized labor through distortion of the Sherman anti-trust law—through government by injunctions and even criminal indictments as a means of coercing and enslaving American wage earners, through preventing them from exercising their inalienable rights as free men, even to the extent of coercing union labor to buy, use, work upon and handle scab materials; and

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court has recently gone so far as to declare that it is a crime for union labor to refuse to use, handle and work upon non-union materials and that an injunction should issue against union labor to prevent it from refusing to use, handle and work upon scab materials; and

WHEREAS, The Attorney General of the United States has now instituted in the Federal Court of the Southern District of New York a blanket injunction, proceeding in the name of the American people against building trades unions of New York, to compel them to install and set in buildings cast stone manufactured under deplorable scab conditions by men not even American citizens—who cannot speak the language of our country and whose standards of living are conspicuously below the standards of decent American wage earners—and has even indicted and threatened with imprisonment honorable representatives of American unions; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of the State of New York, in convention assembled, representing hundreds of thousands of American wage earners in this state, call the attention of our fellow citizens of such late-in-the-day distortions of the old Sherman anti-trust law by our present federal administration and our courts; and we call upon organized labor all over the country to take heed to these outrages against their God-given rights; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these proceedings have been instituted for the purpose, and with the object, of destroying American organized labor as a means of throwing back the American working men to the days when peonage reigned; when great corporations owned the homes, the wages and the very souls of the American working men, and to those dark days when wage earners earned not dollars but credit slips, when wages meant merely credit at company stores, operated by employers who profited by high wages and extortionate prices for the necessities of life; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call the attention of the American people and the press to the fact that American labor unions have served their country faithfully in war and peace; that they have always upheld and are a part of American institutions; that, despite the fact that we have been well organized, we have never used our strength save to maintain and, if possible, improve the social and economic conditions of our families; and that, in view of the services we have rendered our country, we feel aggrieved and protest against these attempts in the interest of greedy and vindictive monopolies to compel us to stultify ourselves by denying us our inalienable right to refuse to buy, use, handle or work upon materials that are

manufactured under conditions which are intended to destroy and undermine the social and economic status of the American working man, or any attempt by our government to deny us the right to strike for better working conditions for ourselves and our fellow citizens, or any attempt to compel us to continue in the employment of any unworthy or oppressive employer, or to conduct our lawful affairs in a collective sense through our delegated officials; and we declare that such policies must inevitably result in the destruction of the splendid harmony which has recently existed between capital and labor and to create among American wage earners a spirit of suspicion, distrust and unrest, which can only result in weakening our efforts to combat those radical and anarchistic tendencies which have broken out here and there and which would destroy American institutions; and we further

RESOLVE, That the servants of the American people, whether judges or prosecuting attorneys, could better employ their time in compelling those huge and powerful combinations which control the necessities of life to reduce the cost of those necessities through the application and enforcement of the Sherman anti-trust law on behalf of the objects for which it was enacted, to the end that the purchasing power of the American dollar may be increased and the conditions of the American wage earner improved; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the public press, to the President of the United States, and to every trade union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to the end that the Sherman anti-trust law may be amended so as to prevent the further enslavement of the American working man; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge our leaders and members everywhere to make a political issue of these questions, to the end that our wage earners everywhere shall vote on election day only for such candidates favoring an amendment of the anti-trust law in such manner as will permanently abolish the present-day discrimination against the membership of organized labor.

**To Petition Congress for Relief From
the Decision of the Supreme Court
of the United States in the
Stonecutters' Case**

Resolution No. 27 — By Building
Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has handed down a decision in the case of the Journeyman Stonecutters of North America, which has shocked the entire labor movement, and if permitted to go unchallenged practically nullifies the usefulness of international trade unions who are en-

gaged in industry similar to that of the Journeymen Stonecutters of North America; and

WHEREAS, This decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was such a flagrant violation of the rights and liberties of the workers that it was severely criticized in a dissenting opinion handed down by United States Supreme Court Justice Brandeis, and his dissenting opinion was concurred in by United States Supreme Court Justice Holmes; and

WHEREAS, The dissenting opinion of the court as rendered by Justice Brandeis clearly shows the great injury that will result to the trade union movement if permitted to stand, as the result of the Supreme Court's decision would force the members of the Stonecutters and others in similar positions into a condition of involuntary servitude; and

WHEREAS, We, the delegates to the Building Trades Convention, realize that a condition of this kind cannot be tolerated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, most emphatically protest against this unjust and unfair decision; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Department petition the American Federation of Labor to instruct its Legislative Committee to use every means to bring about a solution by Congress to remedy this imposition which has been placed upon our movement by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, as it applies to the Sherman anti-trust law.

Resolution No. 8 is addressed to the New York State Federation of Labor and Resolution No. 27 is addressed to the Building Trades Department. The resolutions are not drafted in such manner as to call for action by the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Both relate to the anti-trust laws, a subject which has been acted upon by the convention in connection with the report of the Executive Council. The committee therefore recommends that further action on the aforesaid resolutions is unnecessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Olander, secretary of the committee, continued the report of the committee at this time, as follows:

National Conference

In addition to its report on the nature of the legislation and other measures required as a remedy for

the evils with which the labor movement is confronted under the so-called anti-trust laws and the growing misuse of the equity power of the courts, the committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to call a national conference of trade union representatives and representatives of such other groups as it deems advisable to meet at the national capital, at such time as the Council may believe most opportune, for the purpose of considering plans to secure the passage of the necessary legislation as outlined by this convention and to make effective the declarations of the American Federation of Labor on these vital questions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

How to Organize Highly Mechanized Industries

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 40, the committee reported as follows:

Following the caption "How to Organize Highly Mechanized Industries," the report of the Executive Council gives earnest attention to the problem of organizing the great numbers of unorganized workers employed under conditions where the various trades and crafts have been so greatly subdivided as to almost obliterate craft lines and to deprive the workers of all opportunity to develop individual craft skill. It is apparent that the various affiliated organizations having jurisdiction must choose between developing a greater degree of co-operation with each other in the various localities as well as in a national sense, or the development of new trade jurisdictions which will result from combining into new organizations the unorganized workers who labor under mass production methods. The committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council on this subject and urges that the proposed study of mass production industries be initiated by the Council as speedily as possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

How to Maintain Members' Interest

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 41, the committee reported as follows:

The committee is in full accord with the section of the Executive Council's report entitled "How to Maintain Members' Interest." The affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies, local unions and other units of our American labor movement should give earnest attention to the problem of awakening the membership to a greater interest in the work of the unions. Lethargy may lead to disaster. Interest to be lasting must be based upon understanding. Inclusion of social activities in trade union affairs is helpful in promoting pleasant and agreeable contact between the members and their families. Insurance benefits and unemployment aids are also useful in arousing interest. The discussion and promotion of definite plans to improve craftsmanship should be given more attention. Through it all, extreme care should be used that the membership is given an understanding of the underlying philosophy and aims of the trade union movement. The committee also recommends that the Executive Council take steps to arrange for an exchange of opinions on this subject between the various units of our labor movement through the medium of official publications and the general labor press.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Company Unions

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 42, the committee reported as follows:

The subject of "Company Unions," as outlined in the report of the Executive Council, requires the earnest attention of all who are interested in avoiding industrial serfdom. The "company union" is a manifest fraud and serves no purpose other than to prevent workers from acting together in their own interests. The "company union" is, as the Council states, "an agency for administering the

affairs of a company," as against the interests of the men employed by the company. The members of a "company union" may be represented only by officers and committees selected from a personnel in the employ of the company. The purpose is to increase the control of the company over the employees and to prevent them from organizing into trade unions through which they may promote their own interests and those of the community. The committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council be approved and that the Council be instructed to make a thorough investigation of the character and activities of the "company unions" for the purpose of exposing to public view the true nature of such company controlled organizations. The committee further recommends that all affiliated national and international unions, local organizations, state federations of labor and city central bodies be urged to co-operate with the Executive Council in carrying out the investigation and giving publicity to the facts ascertained.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor and Banking

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 62, the committee reported as follows:

The warning presented by the Executive Council in its report, under the caption "Labor and Banking," should be heeded by all trade unionists. We emphasize that warning by quoting from the report as follows: "In our judgment the time has come to stop expansion in the field of labor banking until experience with those labor banks already organized shall have been critically studied and evaluated. It is unwise to experiment further until we know exactly which policies are safe and dependable." The committee recommends approval of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Registration of Aliens

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 73, the committee reported as follows:

It is gratifying to note that the Executive Council has been successful in preventing the passage of legislation to require the registration of aliens. The immigration regulations should be strengthened but foreigners once admitted should be accorded the right and privilege of American freedom. The committee recommends that the opposition of the American Federation of Labor to proposed legislation requiring the registration of aliens be reiterated and that the Executive Council continue to oppose the enactment of such legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Porto Rico

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 73, the committee reported as follows:

Following the caption "Porto Rico," the Executive Council reports failure of the bills introduced in Congress providing for the transfer of the official government of Porto Rico from the Bureau of Insular Affairs to a civic department and for an investigation of conditions in Porto Rico. It is a matter of keen regret that these necessary bills failed of enactment. Efforts to secure their passage should be continued. The Council also reports the passage of a law relating to taxation, despite objections made against it by the American Federation of Labor. The committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to aid the people of Porto Rico in accord with the action taken by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor and also recommends approval of that section of the Council's report herein discussed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Conscription

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

In accord with the recommendation of the Executive Council on the subject of "Conscription," the committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor reiterate its opposition to legislation proposing conscription.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Military Training

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 74, the committee reported as follows:

In relation to that part of the Executive Council's report on "Military Training," the committee recommends continued support of proposed legislation to prohibit compulsory military training in any educational institution other than a military or naval school.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Radio

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Radio," the report of the Executive Council presents information on the radio law recently enacted by Congress. The new law, the Council's report states, does not meet the views of the American Federation of Labor expressed in the 1926 convention. The committee recommends continued watchfulness by the Executive Council in the field of radio development and radio legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legal Information Bureau

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 79, the committee reported as follows:

The Legal Information Bureau of the American Federation of Labor is rendering an essential service to the affiliated organizations. The committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report, on page 79, on the Bureau and, further, also recommends that the Council give earnest consideration to the advisability of republishing in bound volume form all the more important court decisions contained in past editions of the Bureau's Bulletins, along with a digest of the decisions of lesser consequence. The committee also recommends that in the future a sufficient number of Bulletins of the Legal Information Bureau be printed to provide for binding at such

periods as in the judgment of the Council may seem proper. It is the opinion of the committee that if the bound volumes herein referred to are made available at a reasonable price the affiliated unions will purchase a sufficient number to at least cover the cost. Valuable as the Bureau is, the committee believes that its usefulness to the labor movement can be still further improved, and therefore recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to use its best judgment in this respect.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Court Decisions

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 79-89, the committee reported as follows:

Under the general caption, "Court Decisions," there is presented, following various subheads in the report of the Executive Council, a digest of some of the most important court decisions of the past year relating to labor. First, the report deals with "Injunctions." The sinister significance of the decision against the Journeymen Stonecutters' Union compels the most thoughtful attention. The fundamental difference between the free man and the slave is that the man who is free has the legal right to withhold his labor and to join with his fellows in applying the principle of mutual aid to improve conditions under which they live and work. The slave is a slave only because he is by law denied such rights.

In the Journeymen Stonecutters' case the Supreme Court holds that under the circumstances presented in that case the law will not permit American workers to agree to withhold themselves from the service of the employer. Thus, the court has denied a very substantial portion of the essential rights the possession of which marks the free man from the serf and slave.

The workers of America must be on the alert to safeguard their freedom. The danger lies in the misuse and abuse of injunctions and so-called anti-trust laws against labor. In another part of the report, which was favorably recommended by the committee, the Executive

Council presented the remedy in the form of recommendation for legislation to properly define and thus limit the equity power of the courts and to amend the anti-trust or anti-combination laws.

Under the general title of "Court Decisions," the report of the Council also contains brief digests of decisions relating to "Picketing," "Boycott," "Strikes," "Interstate Commerce," "Trade Unions," "Wages," "Workmen's Compensation," "Trade Union Agreements" and "Criminal Syndicalism." All delegates should read and study this section of the Executive Council's report with more than usual care. The committee recommends approval of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Personnel Research Federation

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 91, the committee reported as follows:

The committee recommends approval of that part of the Executive Council's report following the caption "Personnel Research Federation," and further that the affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the Personnel Research Federation be continued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Bar Association

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 91, the committee reported as follows:

In that part of its report entitled "American Bar Association," the Executive Council announces the appointment of a committee of three representing the American Federation of Labor to confer with a sub-committee of three from the Committee on Commerce of the American Bar Association, arrangements for the appointments of the two committees having been made between the President of the American Federation of Labor and the President of the American Bar Association. The purpose is to consider certain phases of the law in relation to the labor problem. The members of the committee representing the American Federation of Labor agree with the committee members represent-

ing the American Bar Association that substantial progress has been made within the committee towards a better understanding of the difficulties involved. It is a matter of hopeful significance that all who are engaged in the work have expressed a willingness to devote much time and energy in an effort to arrive at conclusions that may be submitted by the members of the committees to their respective organizations. It is, of course, entirely proper that in addition to conferring with the representatives of labor, the Bar Association will also confer with representatives of employers. The Executive Council recommends that the Federation's committee continue this most important work. The committee recommends that the report of the Council be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Modification of the Volstead Act

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 92, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Modification of the Volstead Act," the Executive Council reports at some length upon its efforts to secure a modification of the law referred to and recommends that the convention emphatically reaffirm its declarations of the past and insist upon Congress amending the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer. The committee recommends that the report of the Council be adopted and in accord with that report the committee herewith presents for reaffirmation an account of the actions taken in relation to the manufacture and sale of wholesome beverages at the conventions of 1919, 1921 and 1923, as follows:

The Atlantic City convention in 1919 expressed in a most emphatic manner its opinion that mild beers of 2.75 alcohol by weight should be exempted from the provisions of the war time prohibition measure.

The Denver convention in 1921 declared in favor of a modification of the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer.

The Portland convention in 1923 directed the Executive Council to use

all reasonable efforts to bring about such modification of the Volstead Act as will have the effect of giving to the people wholesome beverages.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Mexico-American Labor Immigration Conference

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 95-98, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Mexico-American Labor Immigration Conference," the report of the Executive Council presents a copy of the agreement reached between representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor, August 6, 1927, in relation to Mexican immigration and emigration as affecting the two countries. We quote from the memorandum of agreement as follows:

The methods by which the principles of self-restraint and mutual co-operation on the subjects of immigration and emigration between Mexico and the United States can best be effected and by which the moral, physical, political and economic integrity of the peoples of each of these countries may best be advanced are twofold. These methods are political and economic; the former being exercised by the government; the latter through the trade union movements of the respective countries.

In so far as political methods are concerned, the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor agree to recommend to the General Committee of the Mexican Federation of Labor the following program for favorable consideration and action:

1. That the Mexican government be petitioned to adopt a restrictive policy and, if necessary, to enact legislation to that end, excluding all peoples of Oriental birth or extraction.

2. That consideration be given to the exclusion or restriction of other classes of immigrants deemed unsuitable to the moral, physical, political and economic integrity.

3. That the Mexican government be petitioned to consider and to enact a restrictive emigration policy, which, in substance, shall conform to the Immigration Law requirements of the United States.

4. That the Mexican government be petitioned to adopt a method of regulating emigration so as to give full and complete enforcement to the immigration policy herein recommended.

Based upon these considerations the representatives of the American Federation of Labor agree to recommend

to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

Continuance of the policy heretofore assumed toward Mexico, viz., the adherence of the present immigration policy of the United States in so far as non-quota basis is concerned toward Mexico.

NOTE: The representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor report that the Department of Interior of Mexico has already perfected plans to discourage Mexicans from emigrating to the United States and Canada and that it is the purpose of the Mexican Federation of Labor to encourage still further such a policy of restricting Mexican emigration.

In so far as economic methods through the respective trade unions of both countries are concerned, it is agreed by the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor that they will recommend to their General Committee for approval and adoption the following:

1. That every possible effort be made to discourage Mexican workers from coming to the United States and Canada.

2. That wherever and whenever Mexican workers do come to the United States or Canada, they be urged to join the unions of their trades, in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and that failure to do so will subject such workers to discipline by the Mexican Federation of Labor to the possible extent of expulsion from the Mexican trade unions upon their return to Mexico.

Based upon these considerations it is agreed by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor to recommend to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that every facility, opportunity and encouragement be given such Mexican workers as enter the United States and Canada under the foregoing arrangement and understanding, to join and to be admitted to membership in the American trade unions upon an equal footing with all other workers and that like consideration be given such Mexican workers in their right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness and in their effort for economic and social advancement as is accorded to all other members of American trade unions.

It is agreed by the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor to recommend to their respective organizations the establishment of an emigration and immigration bureau, or selection of some one charged with such duties in their respective home offices, to which workers and trade unions of the respective countries may apply for information on all subjects and developments relating to the economic, social and industrial conditions of each country and on all other related subjects to immigration and emigration—each organization to bear the expense of such a bureau or office. It is further agreed that such a bureau or office might well develop into an institution in the respective organizations for the develop-

ment of greater trade knowledge and serve as a useful organizing medium for the workers of both countries.

NOTE: The representatives of the Mexican Federation have advised that the Mexican Federation of Labor is ready and prepared to send representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor to the United States and Canada to impress upon Mexican workers in the United States and Canada the necessity of joining the trade union of their calling in the United States and Canada, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor at the expense of the Mexican Federation of Labor and under the direction of the American Federation of Labor.

We believe the foregoing methods, if and when put into operation, will do much to strengthen the ties of friendship and fraternal trade unionism between the workers of Mexico and the workers of the United States and Canada:

First, by eliminating the elements of exploitation of workers of both countries, thus avoiding consequent friction which so readily serves the purpose of opponents to organize labor in developing ill will and promoting disorder and strife between the peoples of Mexico and of the United States and Canada.

Secondly, by securing the early and full attainment of the lofty purposes and principles agreed to in the conference of 1925.

The committee congratulates the President and the Executive Council and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor in attendance at the conference upon the high order of statesmanship indicated by the agreement reached. That agreement, it will be noted, contemplates that not only shall the existing laws of the United States be properly enforced, but that the Mexican government is to be petitioned by the Mexican Federation of Labor "to consider and to enact a restrictive emigration policy, which, in substance, shall conform to the Immigration Law requirements of the United States." Although the agreement was signed only about two months ago, the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor have reported that the Department of Interior of Mexico has already perfected plans to discourage Mexicans from emigrating to the United States and Canada. It is earnestly hoped that the Mexican government will take immediate steps to put into effect the plans referred to and take such other

action as may be necessary to give full effect to the agreement.

With these observations, the committee recommends adoption of the Executive Council's report on "Mexico-American Labor Immigration Conference."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: Before calling for remarks the Chair desires to have the secretary of the committee read a communication which I received from the Mexican Federation of Labor relating to the action of that body upon this subject matter just reported on by the committee. I have here a translation of this communication. I think it should be submitted to the delegates for their information while this matter is pending; I therefore call upon Secretary Olander to read this communication.

Delegate Olander, secretary of the committee, read the following:

Eighth Convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor, Held in Mexico City, August 20-27, 1927

(Report on emigration and immigration that was unanimously approved by the convention.)

To the Convention:

Two resolutions were submitted for the consideration of this committee in charge of International Affairs by the Federation of Labor Unions of Mexico, Lower California, the first one to restrict the emigration of Mexican workers to the United States of America, and the other, to check the immigration of foreign workers to the Valley of Mexico. Another resolution was received from the delegate of the Federal District Labor Unions, Brother Tranquillino Torres, proposing the restriction of the emigration of Mexicans to our neighboring country in the north, and also the immigration into Mexico of Asiatics, Syrians, Turks, Arabs, etc., and that the President of the Republic be requested to proclaim through a general order that inspectors of the Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor be authorized to help in the solution of the problems of emigration and immigration of the country, and be obliged to examine the passports of the emigrants and immigrants in the proper offices of labor throughout the country.

This committee, after having carefully studied this matter and considering that the three resolutions mentioned are related to each other, dealing with the solution of the same problem, has considered it advisable to

submit for the consideration of this honorable convention the following "Resolves":

"First, That the Eighth Convention of the Mexican Regional Federation of Labor shall address the government in the most convenient manner, requesting the urgent necessity of restricting the emigration of the Mexican workmen to the United States of North America, reducing it to a minimum quota, so as to avoid compulsion by the United States Department of Labor on account of the conditions which prevail in that country regarding the restriction of immigration of the Mexicans.

"Second, That the Eighth Convention of the Mexican Regional Federation of Labor express to the government its wishes that restrictive measures be established against the immigration of Asiatics, Syrians, Libanese, Turks and Arabs, and

"Third, That the Eighth Convention of the Mexican Regional Federation of Labor shall address the President of the Republic requesting of him the proclamation of a general order by which the inspectors of the Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor shall be authorized to intervene in the emigration and immigration of the country, and to require all the emigrants and immigrants to present their passports to be examined by the inspectors of Labor at the frontier."

Mexico, D. F., August 22, 1927.

Delegate Murphy, California State Federation of Labor: I wish to ask a question, Mr. President, inasmuch as, by instructions of the California State Federation of Labor, I have introduced a resolution dealing with the same subject matter, namely, Mexican immigration. The resolve of that resolution calls for action that is different than the recommendation of the committee, so may I ask, before action is taken upon the committee's recommendation, that Resolution No. 46 be reported to this convention by the committee, so that the entire subject matter may be discussed at one time?

Vice President Woll: The committee has Resolution No. 46, introduced by Delegate Murphy, and also Resolution No. 3, introduced by Delegates Fljozdal, Milliman, Stout and Silk, of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. We have another resolution dealing with Canadian immigration, introduced by Delegate John Sullivan, of the New York State Federation of Labor, which will be reported upon immediately after this.

Delegate Murphy: May I again ask if this action would be taken prior to the report of the committee? The reason I am objecting to the action is that if it is taken it is in direct contradiction to the resolve of Resolution No. 46, consequently the convention could hardly reverse itself after having taken a position concerning Mexican immigration.

Vice President Woll: I might say that the committee's action on Resolution No. 46 is to non-concur. I will read the committee's report:

"The committee recommends that Resolution No. 46 be non-concurred in for the reason that, under the authority and instructions of previous conventions the representatives of the American Federation of Labor on August 6, 1927, entered into an agreement in relation to immigration and emigration, the effect of which has not yet become apparent."

President Green: Brother Murphy, the statement just read, by Chairman Woll represents the action that the committee will recommend on this resolution when it is presented to the convention. That gives you the information you desire.

Delegate Murphy: Then I take it, Mr. President, that any who are not in accord with the recommendation of the committee and the approval of the policy of the American Federation of Labor so far pursued concerning Mexican immigration should make their objections known at this time. Isn't that the situation?

President Green: That is right.

Delegate Murphy: Then, may I ask leave to address the convention on the subject matter of Mexican immigration?

President Green: Yes, sir.

DELEGATE MURPHY

Inasmuch as I recognize the difficult task that presents itself to overturn the recommendation of the committee on this subject, I do not propose to take up a great deal of time. However, I want to place before you the attitude that the wage earners of the State of California have toward the subject of immigration from Mexico.

I want it understood at the outset that we believe the position that we take is one entirely consistent with the policy approved by the American Federation of Labor, and which is now the policy of the United States of America, relative to immigration.

It might be well at this point to read the resolve of Resolution No. 46:

"RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in the forty-seventh annual convention, assembled at Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1927, that we most respectfully petition the National Congress to enact such laws and regulations as will place the nationals of the Republic of Mexico under the quota as provided for Europeans entering America."

That is our entire case. We have taken the position that it is necessary to have the people of foreign lands placed on the quota basis, and that only a percentage of them may be admitted to this country during each year. For some reason Mexico has been given better consideration than any of these other countries, and there are only certain qualifications that are placed upon those seeking admission into the United States, with the result that the way has been made easy and these numbers have been augmented by a great many who, because of the close proximity of that country, have been able to come in here surreptitiously.

Now, as to the subject matter of immigration itself, the only possible reason we can have or ever did have for our activity in behalf of the passage of the Restrictive Immigration Act was that we proposed that the so-called American standards of living should be maintained, that they were being impaired, and in many cases broken down entirely, because of the great influx of immigrants who, not used to our customs, to our manner of living, willing to accept very small pay, worked under conditions not acceptable to us, and seriously menaced the standards that were created and maintained by the organized labor movement.

Now, it is not the purpose of the wage earners of the State of California to draw any invidious comparisons between the workers of Mexico and those of any other country. Suffice it to say, then, that surely if the European immigrant constituted a menace to the standards in America, then certain it is that those of Mexico do also—and that, fellow delegates, is putting it very mildly, indeed.

Let me reiterate that surely there is no effort being made to say anything by way of derogation of these people. We sympathize with them, we realize the unfortunate condition that they have been in for a long time. We may have varying opinions as to the reasons for these conditions, but we cannot deny that they do exist.

So that there may be no misunderstanding it may be advisable to read to you the particular problem that is created because of the practically unrestricted influx of the people from Mexico. This is a situation that is created right in the city in which this meeting is now being held:

"The Mexican migration to California has not slowed down. Serious problems have followed in the wake of this practically unrestricted immigration of Mexican peons.

"In Los Angeles, where approximately 5 per cent of the population is Mexican, the Outdoor Relief Division states that 27.44 per cent of its cases are Mexican. The Bureau of Catholic Charities reports that 52½ per cent of its cases are Mexicans who consume at least 50 per cent of the budget. Twenty-five per cent of the budget of the General Hospital is used for Mexicans, who comprise 43 per cent of its cases. The City Maternity Service reports 62½ per cent of its cases Mexican, using 73 per cent of its budget. The Bureau of Municipal Nursing and Division of Child Welfare both state that 40 per cent of their clients are Mexican, and in the Day Home of the Children's Hospital 23 per cent of the children cared for are Mexican, while 12 per cent of the Out Patient Department cases are Mexican," says one report. Similar reports come from Pasadena, Long Beach, San Diego City and County, San Bernardino, Orange, Santa Barbara and Fresno Counties."

So from these reports you can realize what a situation is created because of this practically unrestricted influx. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, there were 67,721 Mexicans legally admitted, to say nothing at all of those who were able to get in because of the proximity of their country to ours.

So if we say that the European immigrant who does not understand the ways and who is not willing to maintain the standards created by the American working men is a menace to our institutions, surely we should be consistent enough to say that even to the Republic of Mexico.

That is the attitude that is taken by the wage earners in the State of California, but what I said at the outset, of course, is that we recognize that this protest comes merely from a State Federation of Labor, and the committee having made a recommendation, solely with the idea in mind apparently of harmonizing with previous action of the convention, and of course taking some pride in that recommendation, there is a strong possibility of the unwillingness of the members of the committee to recede from the attitude they have taken.

But that does not change the logic or the justice of the situation at all. Just as in the eastern states, where the claims for years were that the great menace of the European immigrant must be stopped and finally was curtailed, largely through the activities of this Federation, so it is in the State of California that an identical problem has been created here and has existed here for years, and we, the wage earners of this State, are asking that this Federation will go on record as putting these Mexicans on the quota.

Listening attentively to the report of the committee, wherein the Mexican

working men agree that they would petition their government "in the most convenient way"—whatever that may mean—that they would ask that the government would pass laws that would restrict Mexican emigration to the quota fixed by the United States concerning other immigrants—if that is good policy for Mexico, if Mexico is to be given that consideration, then in all justice and consistency we should advocate that for other nations, because, to repeat, to say the least the immigrants that came and landed on our Atlantic shore were at least the equal of those who are coming in here in such large numbers from the country to the south of us.

Therefore, I am expressing the wish of the organized wage earners of this State when I ask this convention to take such action as will bring about the placing of Mexico on the quota basis in exactly the same manner as the other nations of the earth.

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL (Chairman of the Committee)

The committee, in dealing with this subject, realizes that there is more involved than the mere placing of the quota law upon the Mexican immigrant to the United States, for you cannot deal with the Mexican problem per se without likewise dealing with the Canadian problem. The entire question affects not alone the southwestern United States, but it also affects the northeastern part of the United States as well.

When the present immigration law was enacted there was given consideration to the feasibility, as well as the desirability of placing Mexico under the quota provisions of the existing law, but Congress realized that if it attempted to apply the quota law to the neighboring country on the south it could not very well not apply the quota law to our neighbor on the north. Hence, they were confronted with this most extreme, this most delicate international question involving our two neighboring countries, namely, Mexico and Canada.

Your committee, as well as the Executive Council, does not dissent in the slightest way from the description of the evils depicted to you by the previous speaker. To the contrary, we agree in full as to the evils and future dangers confronting us from the question of the influx of Mexicans into the United States, but the convention a year ago discussed this matter and reached the conclusion of instructing the Executive Council to meet with the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor for the purpose of trying to reach some understanding, some agreement, some policy and practice whereby it might be possible that the quota law would apply to Mexico without legislation on the part of the United States, but by action of the Mexican government itself, thus relieving our

government and our labor movement from becoming involved and entangled in delicate international problems with our labor movement and our government in the north and the labor movement and its government in the south.

Surely, in dealing with that problem this convention does not want to be swayed by sentiment, but by dealing with this problem in the most statesman-like manner possible, keeping the friendship of our wage earners and our citizens on the north of us as well as on the south of us.

What the Executive Council, through its committee, has done and what this committee reports is identical with that which the previous delegate desires to have accomplished, that which those in California and other southwestern states desire, as well as the labor movement in general. It is only a question of the procedure to be followed and whether we should, through efforts of our own first try to solve the problem, or whether we should immediately go to Congress and ask for the legislative remedy proposed by the resolution referred to.

What does the Mexican Federation of Labor do in the agreement reached? It is true that its resolution says that it shall petition its government in the convenient way. If we interpret meanings of terminology used by Mexicans in our own way, we shall not give true expression to that which the Mexicans have in mind, for when they say "convenient" and use that term—and all who are familiar with the Mexican terminology and sentiment, I am sure, will agree with me—they mean in the most expeditious and effective way possible, and not a term of convenience as we would interpret it.

What do they agree to do? They agree to petition their government and to use the power of the labor movement to have the Mexican government restrict emigration of Mexicans into the United States practically to the same quota that now applies to all European countries, and if Mexico succeeds in doing that I am sure we will agree that no more effective results could be had if we adopted the immigration law proposed in the resolution.

It may be said they will not do it. Well, if they fail to do it, gentlemen, then the onus and the responsibility for future legislation to follow will rest with the Mexican labor movement and with the Mexican government, and our friendly relationships, if they are to be severed or questioned, can only then be severed or questioned by reason of the Mexican labor movement and its government having failed to respond to this agreement. Surely when we secured that agreement we must at least accept their word that they

will do all within their power to see it enforced.

That agreement was entered into less than two or three months ago. It was acted upon at the Mexican Federation of Labor convention at the end of August. Hardly a month's time has passed, and if this convention should not approve this agreement and adopt the resolution, we might well stand in the position of not dealing honorably, squarely and fairly with the Mexican labor movement, whereas, on the other hand, if we approve this agreement and give them a sufficiently reasonable length of time in our judgment to have them meet the obligations imposed, if they fail to do so then the American labor movement will stand free to join with all other forces in having the quota law applied to Mexico by American legislation, dealing with the Canadian situation as we deem best, regardless of what our attitude might be toward Mexico.

I am confident that even the California delegation and the trade unionists, when they understand the purport and the obligations involved in this agreement, will realize and will agree that that is the most statesman-like, the most effective, the most tactful manner in which the American Federation of Labor could deal with this problem.

We are in accord 100 per cent with that which is sought to be established in Resolution No. 46. We adopt merely a different method, to have the Mexicans apply the immigration restriction upon themselves, to meet the quota requirements, and if they fail to do so, then we are free from criticism, or without having made an effort of having the Mexicans impose upon themselves that policy which we shall then favor, of having American legislation acted upon to that point.

They have gone further, they have agreed to also urge that Occidentals and Orientals shall not come into Mexico. That has also been a complaint of our fellow trade unionists and citizens of the Pacific Coast.

They have agreed further to help bring the Mexicans, those within the United States, into our trade unions, and not have them used as strike breakers or scabs against our trade union movement. Surely, then, we must have time to work out this agreement, to see if it does not amount to anything, if it is only a convenient method of evading and avoiding a vital issue, and if that should prove to be the result, then we shall be free to take more drastic action without complaint or fault finding on the part of the labor movement on the south of us.

If, on the other hand, this procedure results in the attainment of the conditions we all desire, surely then the best method will have been followed in the labor movements of our respective coun-

tries trying to solve these problems in our own way and through our own councils and in connection with our respective governments.

I should dislike, and I am sure all of you should dislike, directing the officers of the American Federation of Labor at one convention to enter into an agreement, to endeavor to secure certain understandings, and then before the ink is dry, repudiate that which was instructed and directed by the previous convention, and especially when this condition on our part is made conditional upon their observing in full and in every detail the agreements entered into. I am sure that even the California delegation of trade unionists would not want the American Federation of Labor placed in this position.

I sincerely hope this agreement will be approved and that time will be given to work it out, and if not the Council by it is directed to follow other methods such as are indicated in the resolution itself.

DELEGATE SCHARRENBURG (Seamen)

I have listened very attentively to the discussion of the subject, and particularly to the remarks of the previous speaker and his reference to statesmanship. I want to remind you at the very outset that our great Republic has once before attempted to regulate immigration by agreement with another nation.

I refer to the gentlemen's agreement with Japan. All of you know that we had such an agreement, whereby the Japanese government pledged itself to keep its laborers from our shores, and we tried it for fourteen years, and under that agreement they populate our glorious state with more than 100,000 Japanese, and made an Asiatic province out of a beautiful American territory—Hawaii. If the government of Japan was not able to restrict or restrain its people from migrating, I ask you in all sincerity, how can the poor Mexican government, under the present situation and the conditions that are likely to remain for many years, ever restrain their poor peons from wandering across the border, when the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Los Angeles Times, and all the labor baiters of Southern California, are throwing their fish hooks over the border and saying, "Come on in, boys, the water's fine!"

My friends, there isn't any more chance of having this arrangement worked out than there is of my flying off this platform. I have the highest and kindest regard for the Mexican people and their aspirations. I have an admiration for the President of the Mexican Republic and the great trial through which he has been going. Something over a year ago I was a fraternal delegate to the Mexican Federation of Labor that met in Mexico City, and I stood upon that platform in that convention with President Calles sitting back

of me. I told them I spoke for the working people of California, that we didn't like to exclude them by law, but they would have to do something to keep out the hordes of poor peons from our state, but as far as we can gather there is no indication that any of them will remain out.

While this convention was in session in this city there was a meeting of the principal labor baiters of California on the question of instructing our Congressional delegation in Congress how to behave on the proposed quota law for Mexico. There were present there men who had put through our last State legislature an amendment to the women's eight-hour law enabling our women to work more than eight hours in the poultry industry, and there were present many of the notorious characters that have worked overtime to discredit our movement, and they resolved that we must have more Mexicans, and that this cry of keeping them out is simply union labor agitation.

That is the truth. Union labor agitation has preserved the great State of California to the white race. If it had not been for the anti-Oriental agitation by our forefathers in this state it would not be possible today for a white man to earn a living by manual labor on the Pacific slope.

I have visited an American territory two thousand miles from here a number of times, beginning about twenty-five years ago, and I have seen with my own eyes how the white mechanics and the white labor movement and the local labor movement under our banner has faded away and disappeared because of competition of Orientals, competition that no white man has ever been able to survive.

When it comes to Mexican competition, I want to assure you that it is not only menial work. At the beginning the Mexican immigrant and the Oriental immigrant always does the lowest menial work, but, mind you, the sons and daughters of these immigrants are native born American citizens, they are first generation Americans, and they do not perform menial work. Over in the Hawaiian Islands the second generation Oriental is doing all sorts of mechanical work at a rate from three to five dollars per day, while the rate of wages of imported white mechanics that are needed occasionally is from six to ten dollars per day, and that is a statement that is not challenged by anybody.

If you continue to let the Mexicans flow in here, if you are going to experiment for a number of years while they are drifting in here by the hundreds and thousands, then you are going to fill up the great west of our country with Mexicans. If that is what you want to do, all you have to do is to continue dilly-dallying and negotiating as we did with Japan.

The previous speaker, Senator Murphy, has given you a few details

about the conditions that follow the influx of Mexicans. I have numerous other statistics that would make you open your eyes and roll them around. I shall give you just a few. We have in California a state penitentiary known as San Quentin. On a certain day not long ago the population of that penitentiary was 3,358. Of that number 438 were Mexicans. Now, then, it seems from the figures before us that about one-twelfth the population of California are Mexicans, and about one-seventh of the prison population are Mexicans. The data supplied at the same time and on the same date shows that at least 60 per cent of the violations of prison laws and rules in that penitentiary were credited to those few Mexicans that were in there.

Then we think and speak of the Mexican influx and when we quote statistics, as the previous speaker did, we have in mind only those who are legally admitted. Now you must bear in mind that the border line between our country and Mexico is more than 1,800 miles long, and that practically all of it is merely a make-believe border. Unless some one guards it with a shotgun you can walk across there very conveniently, and we believe that between fifty and sixty per cent of the Mexicans in California were illegally admitted, that they just walked across the border, and we know that there is no disposition on the part of our authorities to grab any of them and deport them. The only Mexicans that are ever deported, it would seem, are those who have been convicted of crime and sent to the penitentiary. The others are permitted to remain, although it is a well-known fact that they are here illegally.

Vice-President Woll has spoken about statesmanship. There seems to be a new theory developing here, and that is that when we pass immigration restriction laws we are hurling some insult at the nation or the labor movement of that particular country whose people we are trying to exclude. Let me ask, why didn't our friends in Great Britain make faces at us; why didn't they protest when we passed the quota restriction law? They are still here with us; they don't seem to be insulted about it. Why should the Mexicans be insulted, or why sever diplomatic relations with Mexico when we attempt to protect our own working people? I hope the question will be answered.

I want to return a moment to the fact that we have here a great virgin country, and if we don't remain on guard and get up on the platform here and tell you about it, it is not going to be our country; it is going to be somebody else's country. If we had the density of population in California that you have in the state of New York—and New York isn't the most densely populated state of our country—then

we would have 34,000,000 people in California, and if our great state had the density of population of Italy we would have 54,000,000 people here. We are going to have that some day, and it remains to be seen what kind they are going to be.

Do you want the kind of people that sit in this hall or that you have back in the east or the middle west, or do you want a mongrel population consisting largely of Mexicans and Orientals, with a few white men owning the works. It is up to you, but so far as the labor movement of California is concerned, we are a unit in protesting against any further negotiations that cannot possibly lead us anywhere.

Reference has been made to certain dates and we are told that we must try it out. This great principle of self-restraint was enunciated at Washington, D. C., more than two years ago. It didn't come from California, but it seemed awful good if it worked. We were most skeptical about it because of our experience with Japan, but two years elapsed before the committees were appointed that were to go to work and operate on that principle, and I tell you frankly, my friends, that the thing will not work, and that we are here to proclaim that we have no faith in it.

I am satisfied, just as my friend Senator Murphy is, that the committee's report will go through here because of various reasons stated, but if we are going to come back next year and we are going to continue agitating all over this wide country of ours—we have been compelled to do so, first with the Chinese and then with the Japanese, and if we have to do it with the Mexicans so it must be, but neither the American Federation of Labor nor any other body will prevent the California labor movement from trying to keep this country of ours for our people.

I have just very briefly touched on wages in Hawaii. If it were not so foreign to the subject matter I would like to tell you some more about it.

Just one more word—when we think of a country, when we think of America or California, what is a country, anyhow? Is it the rivers, is it the office buildings, or is it the mines, or what is it? A country, my friends, is the people in it. If you take all the people now in America and transfer them down to the Argentine and put Orientals in here, this would look just the same as China in a few years.

Then again, when we take these people who make up a country, we must draw a line of distinction and demarcation. What kind of people? We have a great Republic across the seas, China, with a population estimated at 435,000,000 filled to the saturation point, and we have our own Republic with room for many, many more millions, and it is for us to determine what sort of people we are going to have in this country. We must have working people here of our own kind and color, because all the lessons of history

have taught us this inexorable fact, that a people or a nation that cannot or will not do its own menial and manual work is doomed, it is gone, my friends, and when the American people have concluded that their sons and daughters cannot or will not do their own menial and manual work, then we are done for.

Just one more thought, and that is in connection with the bearing and raising of children. You know very well that our own Americans have from year to year restricted the size of their families, the very contrary rule of the most undesirable people among us. We have a fair every year at Sacramento. Not long ago we had such a fair and a prize was offered to the families that could produce as Exhibits A, B and C the largest number of children. Who do you suppose won the first prize? The first prize was won by a Mexican. He produced sixteen children. The second prize went to a Portuguese family of fifteen, and the third prize went to another Mexican family of fourteen.

I have told you the story in detail. We must protect ourselves against those who swamp our borders and we must so elevate the conditions of our own manual worker that he will be willing to labor at the most menial task within our gates.

DELEGATE McCLUSKEY

(Arizona State Federation of Labor)

I want to speak for a few minutes as one who has had some slight experience over a period of some twelve years in trying to organize and deal with the Mexican workers. I have written applications for thousands of them to join organizations of the American Federation of Labor. I have sought to collect their dues, to keep them within the American Federation of Labor, and I have learned the futility of endeavoring to keep them organized under an American Federation of Labor plan.

I also want to say to you that I have had some experience as a state official in ascertaining what it was costing the State of Arizona to maintain its prison population, its insane population and its population in its industrial school made up of Mexican people. I want to cite to you that it is an expensive proceeding. It is not alone the regular, legitimate immigration of Mexicans to this country we are concerned with, but it is the illegitimate entry of tens of thousands of Mexicans, brought in by the mines, brought in by the sugar beet industry, brought in by the cotton industry, and brought in by the various other industries.

I have seen the organization of which I am a member almost wrecked by the scabbing of the Mexican workers in the mines, mills and smelters of the State of Arizona, and I find Mexicans now up in Butte, Montana, working in the mines of that far northern state. I find them in Chicago and Pittsburgh and other

eastern cities, and I find that they carry their national characteristics with them, that they insist, if there are any applicants for jobs or anyone wants to employ them, that they advertise for them in the Mexican language, and they refuse to speak our language if it is possible to avoid it.

It is argued that we are unable to get the class and character of labor being performed by the Mexicans done by our people. In Phoenix, Arizona, some sixty days ago the United States Employment Service and the State Employment Service advertised jointly that they wanted a certain number of men to build a road. The agent in the employment office employed and had ready to take the machines to go to the work a number of American citizens. The entire quota was made up of American citizens.

The contractors who had the job to do for the American government appeared on the scene and said that they did not desire white labor or American citizens, but they desired Mexicans. They had a private employment service bring up a quota of Mexicans to take the machines, and a disgraceful battle was staged in our streets by the Americans trying to save their jobs and the Mexicans trying to take them.

I believe that every state on the border will favor applying the quota law for Mexico, and also in applying the quota law they will require the educational test which, in my opinion, is being ignored by our officials on the border. We have had thousands of these Mexicans brought over to our state. In 1920 when the slump came in cotton, thousands of them were brought over under bond and dumped on the streets of our city starving, and if the labor movement had not furnished material for a bread line there would have been an era of crime that would have shocked the conscience of our people.

I believe the proposition submitted by the committee will not fulfill the needs of our time. There is a revolution in Mexico at the present time. The Mexican government and the labor movement have no control of the matter. There are thousands of Mexicans who have fled to our state to escape assassination, and thousands of others will flock over to escape starvation and assassination. We ought to adopt the quota law and apply the same restrictions to Mexican labor as we are applying to European labor. I admit it may confuse the situation as far as Canada is concerned, but we are dealing with a condition and not with a theory.

DELEGATE OLANDER

(Secretary of the Committee)

As a member of the committee I am in full accord with the arguments pointing to the necessity of restricting the flow of Mexican labor into the United States. The agreement contemplates that sort of restriction. The Mexican-American Im-

migration Conference was held under the instructions of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Those instructions were repeated and emphasized in the Detroit convention by the adoption of Resolution No. 7, which I read from page 330 of those proceedings as follows:

"Request for Appointment of American Members of Joint Commission to Consider Problem of Mexican Immigration"

"Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate Don M. Witt, of the California State Federation of Labor.

"WHEREAS, At a special meeting held in Washington, D. C., in August, 1925, by representatives of the American and Mexican Federations of Labor, it was agreed that all phases of the Mexican immigration problem were to be further considered and dealt with by a Joint American-Mexican Commission to be appointed by the American Federation of Labor; and

"WHEREAS, Although a year has passed since the Washington meeting, and although California is confronted by a serious Mexican Immigration problem, the Joint American-Mexican Commission has not been appointed; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, that we hereby direct the President of the American Federation of Labor to at once proceed with the appointment of the American members of said Joint Commission."

Below this appears: "Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution," and on page 331 appears, "The report of the committee was unanimously adopted."

The American Federation of Labor is a responsible organization that acts, or should act, only after due deliberation. The Federation cannot afford to lay itself open to the charge of bad faith by acting contrary to an agreement when it is manifest that insufficient time has elapsed to enable the Mexican Federation of Labor to secure action from the Mexican government.

One important test of any organization is its ability to adhere to an agreement in the face of difficulties. That is the test to which this organization is now being put. I am so sure that the strain is not too severe for the kind of stuff the delegates are made of that I close the argument with the statement I have made.

PRESIDENT GREEN

The Chair desires to make a brief statement in connection with this matter. I fully and thoroughly appreciate the feeling of all delegates in attendance at this convention, and if we were to be governed by feeling alone we

would adopt the resolution offered by Senator Murphy, representing the California State Federation of Labor. We are usually governed by either feeling or judgment, and I fear very much that if we would follow our feeling in this case we would subject ourselves to the charge of bad faith.

The representative of the California State Federation of Labor, the workers of California represented in this convention by Senator Murphy, introduced a resolution at the Detroit convention, just one year ago, and the resolution contained a resolve directing the president of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a commission to deal with the subject of immigration. That resolution was unanimously adopted by the delegates in attendance at the Detroit convention. It is fair to assume that if it was carried unanimously the representatives of the California State Federation of Labor voted for it. That was the sentiment of the workers of California one year ago; at least I presume it was, for we have a right to conclude that the resolution introduced by their chosen representative reflected the sentiment of the workers in that state.

Now we have carried out the instruction of the Detroit convention. We appointed the commission, as directed by the Detroit convention. The commission met with the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor, and they worked out an agreement. That agreement provides that the officers and members of the Mexican Federation of Labor will petition their government to adopt such rules, such regulations and such laws as will result in a restriction of emigration from the Republic of Mexico to the number that would come here if the quota provisions of our immigration laws were applied.

It is the American Federation of Labor that is trying to prevent Mexican immigration. We have taken the initiative; we are trying to do the very things Senator Murphy and Delegate Scharrenberg says ought to be done. We are trying to get results, and if my information is correct, coming as it does from many sources, the Mexican Federation of Labor wields a tremendous influence in the governmental affairs of Mexico. Particularly does it exercise a tremendous influence in this administration.

Some have said that there is an inseparable relationship between the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Calles government; some have said that the Mexican Federation of Labor dictates the policies of the Mexican government. No man can go to Mexico without coming from there with a deep impression that the Mexican Federation of Labor exercises a tremendous influence in the legislative and governmental affairs of Mexico.

It has not been long since the late

President Gompers, my illustrious and distinguished predecessor, and all the delegates in attendance at a convention of the American Federation of Labor visited the capital city of Mexico, participated in the inauguration of the President, and all the delegates who attended that inauguration exercise can well remember how controlling was the influence of the Mexican Federation of Labor. If that is true, then we have challenged the Mexican Federation of Labor upon this immigration policy. We call upon them to make good. We say to them that the emigration of Mexican people to the United States must be so regulated as to meet the public opinion of the people of the United States.

The representatives of the American Federation of Labor were appointed by instructions of the Executive Council to meet with the delegation from Mexico who came here with credentials from the Mexican Federation of Labor, clothed with authority to speak for the workers of that republic. Our delegation will say that, as President of the American Federation of Labor, I instructed them to say to the Mexican delegates that "unless you meet the issues, unless you stop this influx of immigration into the United States, if you do not do this voluntarily, then we serve notice on you that the quota provisions of the immigration law will be applied to Mexico."

And I know our delegates presented that argument in a most convincing way, that they stated the facts and, as a result, they reached an agreement. That agreement is here; it is in the committee's report; it is for you to accept and try out, and if it does not work, then I will say, as President of the American Federation of Labor, if I have authority to speak, that I will go to Congress and I will ask them to amend the immigration law, so that the quota provisions will apply to Mexico and other countries against whom we complain.

You must take into account our difficulties. Please remember that. It seems to have been the settled policy of the United States to restrict immigration from European countries and from the Asiatic races, and the labor movement gave the workers of California a full and complete measure of support in the campaign to exclude the Japanese and Chinese. We helped them, I think, but while it has been a settled policy to apply the quota provisions of the immigration law to European and Oriental countries, it has not been the settled policy of the United States to apply the quota provisions of the immigration law to nations regarded as our neighbors located here on the American continent. If we apply the quota provisions to Mexico we must apply it to all countries in South America. We cannot select one nation on the American continent that

must be subject to the quota provisions of the immigration law and leave all the others outside.

Our Canadian brothers are very sensitive. A few weeks ago the immigration law was ordered applied more rigidly to Canadians coming into Detroit, Buffalo and other sections. What happened? Immediately in Canada indignation meetings were held; some of our trade unionists affiliated with the American Federation of Labor protested such treatment, and my office was flooded with telegrams and letters asking if the American Federation of Labor, which recognized no boundary line between Canada and the United States, was going to favor the restriction of immigration from Canada.

I only refer to this in order that you may know our difficulties. They are very great. And when we embark upon a policy of favoring the application of the quota provisions to our members here on the American continent we must remember that we will be confronted with tremendous difficulties. We are trying to meet the situation, to provide that the Mexicans shall stay home. Instead of being criticized, we ought to be complimented. We are doing the thing that we are told to do.

When did the delegates speak the voice of California workers? A year ago at Detroit or here? They told us to do a certain thing a year ago and we did it. Now they say they are opposed to it. We may be criticized because of some delay. My friends, if I could take Delegate Scharrenberg with me, day in and day out, and follow me in my work day in and day out, he would never raise his voice in criticism of the President of the American Federation of Labor because of failure to work.

I wish it might have been accomplished sooner. Circumstances were such that it could not be. However, we carried out our instructions as expeditiously as possible. We obeyed the mandate of the Detroit convention. The agreement is here and I believe the delegates to this convention will approve it and not subject our great movement to the charge of bad faith.

DELEGATE WALKER

(Illinois State Federation of Labor)

If there is any one thing that our nation as a whole, speaking nationally upon a world affair for the last ten years, has been practically unanimous upon, it is the proposition that when a nation agrees to do a certain thing it ought to be done. If there is any one thing that one nation has been severely criticized for doing during the last ten years, or even prior to that time, than all other things combined, it is the fact that they made an agreement with another nation at one time and then treated it as a scrap of paper.

If we report an agreement that we entered into in good faith, and that from

all the evidence we have the other party to the contract entered into it with us in good faith, and we repudiate that agreement now, what sort of a position would it put the labor movement in? The labor movement of the United States has been the foremost critic, I think, for the last ten years of other nations that repudiated agreements. What sort of a light would it put the labor movement in if we repudiate that agreement now?

However, there is another angle to it that comes closer to home. I would like to ask the delegation here if there is anything you could do to furnish the enemies of the trade union movement in this nation more effective weapons to fight us with in our own country and dealing with our own people? Yes, right here in California where there are so many men unorganized that should be organized, where the State Federation of Labor is making almost superhuman efforts to get them organized and secure agreement between their employers and these organizations, is there anything you could furnish the enemies of our movement they could use more effectively in California and every other state in the Union than the fact that when you made an agreement it wasn't worth the paper it was written on if you felt disposed to violate it?

I don't believe, in the light of the position that has been taken by our labor movement during the thirty years I have been attending its conventions, not in declarations alone but in concrete action, can you tell me of a single instance where an agreement was violated by an organization in our nation that the American Federation of Labor and the international unions composing it did not go on record condemning those who were guilty of it? We have taken the position that when agreements are made that they must be carried out until they have expired. When they have expired we are free to attempt to change them. Outside of doing this thing that is unthinkable, so far as I am concerned, for the very purposes of those who introduced and spoke for this resolution, the report of the committee will be more effective than even the adoption of the resolution.

I hope there will not be any consequential number of delegates who will vote on this question in such a way as to give into the hands of our enemies the most destructive agency they can use against us and put our movement in a position that no decent man can justify or defend.

DELEGATE GOLDEN (United Mine Workers)

I disagree with the speaker that just preceded me that it will be a dishonorable act for the delegates here to vote against the committee's report at the present time. I also disagree with the statement that there is an agreement reached by the American Federation of

Labor. As I understand it, no agreement is binding unless ratified by the delegates, and I have listened with interest to the men of California appealing to this delegation for some assistance in their problem. And that is true of all the border states between here and Mexico.

I come from the State of Pennsylvania, 3,000 miles away, and just as you have a problem in the border states and on the Pacific Coast, we have the Mexican problem back in Pennsylvania. I believe it is time, I believe the day is here that the delegates should view this question with the facts before them and as it affects each and every one of us.

I dare say that the committee in their negotiations with the Mexican labor movement did the best they could. They have said, if I understand the report aright, "that we will not tell you to stay out; you go back to your government and tell us you are going to stay out." What is the difference? They know we don't want them; we have told them so, then why not say it in a manly way and let this organization stand on its feet and meet the situation as we should meet it with the conditions confronting us?

I come from the mining industry. Back in the anthracite field there has, in the past year since the Detroit convention, been thousands of Mexicans that have come over the line and into the anthracite field, with the result that when they got there, if it were not for the tight lines of the United Mine Workers' organization they would be working in the anthracite mines and abrogating agreements signed there by working for lower wages. The organization was strong enough to hold them out. It would be a God-send to the Mexicans themselves to adopt this resolution, because these men were brought in there by the anthracite coal operators and dumped starving on the streets.

In the same state of Pennsylvania there has been a strike of all the miners in the bituminous field, and under the Pittsburgh Coal Company a strike has been in progress for over two years. Sixteen thousand men, if you please, have been out on strike for over two years. What for? All you men know there is only one question involved and that is the wage standard of the mine workers' organization. They are fighting against a reduction of wages, and when an organization is satisfied for six months, or for two years, to remain on strike, no member of any craft can deny that they are benefiting one and all in the labor movement.

But we find in the Pittsburgh district that they have been able to go to Mexico and bring strikebreakers to our field, and for months they have been scabbing in the mines in the Pittsburgh district against the United Mine Workers' organization. I think it would be no insult to the committee if we amend the report to meet present conditions.

I see no similarity between the Mexican laborers and the Canadian laborers. As to our right to regulate those things, why, certainly we have the right to regulate the immigration from any country as we see fit, just as every other country does. Whether it involves Canadians or Mexicans, we have that right.

In the past two or three years Pennsylvania has spent hundreds of millions of dollars on improved roads. For many years there was a minimum rate paid on the roads of Pennsylvania, but in the spending of hundreds of millions of dollars there in the last two or three years on new roads, we find that in every section of the state Mexican laborers are working for a pittance, working below the standards that have been long fought for, and in the sections of the mining communities where for the past four years every man, every woman and every child has gone into a fight on two occasions of six months to maintain the standard of their wages, do you think we can continue to maintain that standard if these people are going to come in there and work in the different crafts and trades for lower wages than those who formerly occupied those positions?

I would like to ask the shop craft organizations where the strikebreakers were secured that broke their strike? The Mexicans were the men who came in and took the places of the shop men in Pennsylvania. Are those not arguments enough for any man to fight this question as it should be and meet it to the best interest of the laboring men, not only of California, but of every state in the Union?

Coming over those vast deserts—I don't know that anyone else would work there—I did not see anybody working on the railroads but Mexican laborers. Of course, if they would pay the laborers of the United States a wage in line with the wages paid other crafts they could get the men of this country to do the work. I notice right here that it is the Mexican that is preventing this American labor movement, if you please, from making the progress that should be made in this city of Los Angeles. You can see that everywhere. They need relief, we need relief, everyone needs relief, and I am sure that when we look the situation straight in the face we will deal with Mexicans just as we have dealt with all others in restricting immigration to the United States.

Secretary of Labor Davis has told me privately, and I heard him openly in a meeting declare that the worst curse of the American labor movement today is the influx of Mexicans into the United States, taking the place of our workers. The man who has had most to do with those things made that statement. He did not touch on that situation when he was on this platform, but that is his sentiment toward Mexicans. And why should

we be dilly-dallying around here and say, in the words of the chairman of the committee, that it would not be statesmanlike to tell the Mexicans to stay out of the country, but let us wait for them to say they will stay out? I say we can do it here, and no agreement should be sanctioned by the delegates sitting here.

I was a delegate a year ago and at previous conventions, but since that time the condition has grown so that we must deal with it. I fear the committee has not taken all the facts into consideration, and for the health of the labor movement, not only in California, but for the health of the Mine Workers' organization, which I know something about in all states, I say to you that the committee's report should be voted down.

TREASURER TOBIN

I want to say first that there isn't one word in that resolution read by Dan Murphy of the State Federation of Labor that I cannot subscribe to. But that isn't the question. The question confronting this convention and the labor movement in general is what is the best policy to pursue in order to get the greatest results?

We not only know the seriousness of this question of Mexican labor in California, but we who travel over this country from one end to the other fully understand the seriousness of the immigration question in every state in our union. President Green has told you that if you are going to insist now upon the application of the quota law by legislation in Congress, that just so sure as you do that the same quota law must and will be applied to Canada. I am not so seriously worried about that. Anyone going down into the mills of New England and seeing the thousands of French Canadians from the Province of Quebec working there, impossible to organize, to the exclusion of the American born boys and girls, would consider the necessity of applying the quota law to Canada.

Your Executive Council is fully aware of the seriousness of this Mexican question. We are much more aware of the importance of the question and the menace to our border states than perhaps you understand. Not only does it lead into Southern California, but those of you who have visited Laredo or El Paso must sometimes have wondered if you were in the United States, if you lived in those places, or whether you were living in Mexico. The question confronting the Council was to carry out your instructions, and that we did as fully as it was humanly possible to do, and we did it on the invitation of the State Federation of California in a resolution presented by a delegate who is a member of the organization I have the honor to represent.

If I thought for one moment that the adoption of this resolution instruct-

ing us to go to Congress would bring about an immediate settlement or a quicker settlement or solution of this problem, I would vote for this resolution now. Fortunately, or unfortunately, we don't get everything through the halls of Congress that we resolve here. If you adopted this resolution you would then instruct your legislative committee representing the Council to go into the Congress and endeavor to have the present quota law amended. It might not bring about the faintest signs of results for two or three or four years, so that you could get no immediate relief. I am sure Paul Scharrenberg knows that. You would get no immediate relief from the procedure you are endeavoring to get this convention to adopt in the form of this resolution.

There is, in my judgment, allowing for all the ifs and ands, greater hope for us to get relief from this insufferable condition by pursuing the policy laid down in the last convention, through negotiations with the Mexican Federation of Labor, that has, as has been stated, a substantial influence with the Mexican government. It is only a few days since the Mexican Federation of Labor adopted a resolution in substance complying with the request of the Executive Council in an endeavor to straighten out this matter.

You that read the papers must have some idea of the conditions obtaining in Mexico at this time. You can fully understand how impossible it is to get that government now acting down there to take up anything but what they are trying to do to maintain their government and establish peace among their people. You also realize that they are on the eve of another election, the election taking place next year, and we know something of the candidates for the office of President in Mexico. We know those of them that are friendly to the aspirations and desires of this Federation.

I want to say to you plainly that I think you from California, in all justice to your claim—and we fully agree with your suffering—will injure your own situation by insisting on the rejection of the report of the committee and the adoption of a substitute in the form of this resolution presented by Delegate Murphy.

Of course it will take time. We cannot get hold of those people by the throats, nor can we go down to our own government and tell them they ought to do those things. We have got to proceed regularly.

You know the fight that has been on in this Federation for years to get our own government to realize the danger of this immigration question. We know the slow progress that can be made in dealing with this Mexican situation from

the standpoint of legislation, because it also involves regulation of Canadian immigration and regulation of immigration from every South American country. It isn't the Mexican question alone.

I know all the weaknesses of the proposition. There is no one more anxious than we are to straighten out this question, and I am satisfied we are pursuing the right course and will get the best results. I trust this convention will adopt the report of the committee.

President Green announced that the hour for adjournment had arrived and asked the wishes of the convention with regard to continuing the discussion.

DELEGATE FURUSETH

Delegate Furuseth asked for two minutes in which to make a statement. The request being granted, he said: More than two years ago the question of restraint was begun in Washington. A whole year passed and nothing was done, no commission was appointed. The California State Federation of Labor came to the conclusion that it was time to do something if we were going to have restraint, and so the California State Federation of Labor instructed its representatives to go to Detroit and remind the Federation that there was going to be restraint and they wanted to know if it was going to be soon.

That was all the proposition of the California State Federation meant at that time. That was all it was intended to mean. Then the California State Federation of Labor met again, and not so very long ago. They did not know anything about the agreement that had been entered into. They knew the commission had been appointed, yes, but what the agreement was they did not know. What you are dealing with here is that you have entered tentatively into an agreement through a commission or a committee. That tentative agreement has been endorsed by your Executive Council, that is to say, by your government, but there is no agreement with Mexico until it is ratified here.

That is one minute. The other minute I want to use in simply saying this: There is no man sitting on this floor, I don't care what the color of his hair may be, who so absolutely believes in supporting the Mexican people as I do; there is no one here that wishes the Mexican people any more good than I do, and I am not very anxious to have the Mexican people come here to be the hewers of wood and the drawers of water and the chattels for everyone else.

A viva voce vote was taken on the motion to adopt the report of the committee. The Chair stated that, in his opinion, the report of the committee had

been adopted. A division was requested. The Secretary and Assistant Secretary counted the votes, and the announcement was made that 135 votes had been cast in favor of the report of the committee and 32 votes opposed to the report of the committee.

President Green: The report of the committee is adopted.

At 5:45 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday, October 12th.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Los Angeles, Cal.
Oct. 12, 1927.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Kasten, Horan, Flaherty (T. F.), Vickers, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Schmal, Shamp, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney (T. J.), Squibb, Askew, Bock (P.), Fljoldal, Strother, Kelly (M. J.), McCoy, Swick, Madsen, Doyle (J. J.), Riley (J. J.), Meehan, Smith (W. R.), Barry, Wilson (J.), Hannah, Burke (T. E.), Van De Water, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Grimshaw, Cashen, Perry, Bolander, Soderburg, Spencer, Atkins, Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Stroud, Studdard, Kosta, Cain, Buckland, Martel, Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, McSpadden, Rice, Contner, Coulter, Dempsey, Brady (P. J.), Conkey, Draper, Huff, Wickert, Francis, Crowell, Bower, Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Dean, Trimmer, Leavitt, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller, Bock (A. J.), Campbell (A. C.), Flynn, Gayhart, Elliott.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice President Woll, chairman of the committee, submitted the following report:

Favoring Legislation to Place Mexico Under Quota Requirements of the Immigration Law

Resolution No. 46 — By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, More than sixty thousand persons, mostly unskilled workers, have entered the United States from the Republic of Mexico during the last fiscal year; and

WHEREAS, Said persons refused to maintain an American standard of wages and living conditions and have in many cases become a burden on the state and our charitable institutions and a menace to the health and general welfare of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in the Forty-seventh Annual Convention, assembled at Los Angeles, Calif., Oct. 3, 1927, that we most respectfully petition the National Congress to enact such laws and regulations as will place the nationals of

the Republic of Mexico under the quota as provided for Europeans entering America.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 46 be non-concurred in for the reason that under the authority and instructions of previous conventions representatives of the American Federation of Labor, on August 6, 1927, entered into an agreement in relation to immigration and emigration, the effect of which has not yet become apparent.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE SCHARRENBERG (Seamen)

In order that there may be no misunderstanding about the attitude of the California labor movement toward Mexican immigration, I desire to say just a word or two. The California labor movement has at no time requested or petitioned for this so-called self-restraint. The principle of self-restraint was initiated in Washington, D. C., by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, sitting in conference with certain authorized representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor. This meeting took place over two years ago.

The convention of the American Federation of Labor following that meeting approved the principle of self-restraint. A year passed and nothing was done about it. Then the California State Federation of Labor, becoming restless and anxious, because our State was rapidly being populated by Mexicans, adopted a resolution requesting the American Federation of Labor convention at Detroit to kindly proceed with this new principle of self-restraint. That was the only reason why our delegate at the Detroit convention presented a resolution. In no sense and by no possible stretch of the imagination are we responsible for that plan. We did not initiate it, we were never for it, we merely wanted to see some progress made in its operation.

I hope and trust that the delegates now thoroughly understand that we can, by no stretch of the imagination, be held responsible for the principle of self-restraint that has now been approved by the American Federation of Labor. We want exclusion by law.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Restriction of Immigration From Latin-American Countries

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates F. H. Fljozdal, E. E. Milliman, A. F. Stout, Frank M. Sillik of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

WHEREAS, The Immigration Act of 1924 places under the non-quota provisions the Republic of Mexico, the Republic of Cuba, the Republic of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone and independent countries of Central or South America; and

WHEREAS, Great hordes of cheap labor enter the United States annually from these countries in an unlawful manner and as a result thereof endanger the economic and social welfare of the citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Commissioner General of Immigration, Harry E. Hull, has recently declared that there are from one to three million aliens illegally residing in the United States at the present time, and that last year there were one hundred and thirteen thousand aliens illegally in this country confined in prisons and other institutions, and that at present approximately one thousand aliens, mostly felons or lunatics, are deported monthly at a cost of seventy-five to one hundred dollars each; and

WHEREAS, A representative of the United States Department of Labor, according to investigations made by Congressman Box, has entered into an agreement with the Chambers of Commerce in California whereby the Department of Labor and the said Chambers of Commerce have reached a so-called "gentleman's agreement" making these illegal entries of Mexicans much easier than legal entry would be, in that these Mexicans are permitted to remain in the country and pay their ten dollars visa and eight dollars head-tax on the installment plan, while the law stipulates that these payments must be made before entry; this so-called "gentleman's agreement" likewise obstructs the proper examination of these Mexicans, with the result that many of them are permitted to enter the country who could not pass the examination because of being mentally defective, or paupers, or vagrants, physically defective, criminally inclined, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The employers and Chambers of Commerce in California insist that the law be disregarded in order that their communities may abound with cheap labor, while the fact in the case is that this has long since ceased to be a local or seasonal problem. Furthermore, other interests encouraged by this violation of the law in California are constantly attempting to bring about still more general violation, Florida during recent years having urged that greater numbers of Cubans and West Indian negroes should be permitted to come to Florida to meet the "seasonal" demands for labor, clothing and manufacturing interests in New York and the East ap-

pearing before the House committee in Washington in force and urging with great vehemence that they should be permitted to import from Europe tailors and clothing workers, other groups representing the building trades' interests insisting that they must have quarry hands, hod carriers, plasterers and builders, the sugar growing and manufacturing interests of Hawaii having delegates and lobbyists in Washington before the committee in Congress insisting that by a special arrangement not less than forty thousand Chinese coolies should be permitted to come to Hawaii bringing their wives, if necessary, to help carry forward the great sugar producing industry; and

WHEREAS, In 1926 an announcement from Washington quoted an official order made by the acting Commissioner General of Immigration which gave laborers crossing the Mexican border as immigrants six months within which to comply with regulations, such as the payments of visa fees and the head-tax, and being examined for admission as immigrants, all of which the law mandatorily requires to be done before the immigrants cross the border; and

WHEREAS, In 1925 the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Robe Carl White, and Commissioner General Hull, charged with the active administration of the immigration laws, testified before the House committee that there were probably 1,250,000 to 1,500,000 aliens in the country who had entered unlawfully; and

WHEREAS, At least from three states, Texas, Arizona and Colorado, come accounts of serious race conflicts between Mexicans and Americans, demonstrating that their presence raises another race problem, while widely gathered reports from the public press, from hospitals and charitable boards, court records, social workers and other reliable sources are overwhelming as evidence of the fact that these great numbers of Mexicans and others who have entered the country unlawfully constitute serious social as well as industrial problems; and

WHEREAS, Labor importers and labor selling agencies and the interests they serve, including utility companies, mining interests and many others, usually assuming to speak in the name of farmers, use the terms "temporary," "periodic" or "seasonal" in connection with their requests, whether they be for negroes from the West Indies or Chinese coolies from across the Pacific, or cheap Mexican labor, while the facts in the case are that these questions are neither local nor temporary, this fact being demonstrated in one instance in the annual report for 1921 by the Commissioner General of Immigration, which on page 7, in speaking of 72,862 Mexican laborers, admitted "under the department's exceptions," says:

"Of this number 21,400 deserted their employment and disappeared *** and *** 15,632 are still in the employment of their original importer"; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees has found after much effort and expense that it is utterly impossible to bring these Mexican laborers within the ranks of organized labor, an experience which has undoubtedly been shared by other trade unions, with the result that these illiterate workers prevent wage increases and constitute a menace both to the American wage structure and the American standards of living; and

WHEREAS, While the American trades union movement is not unfriendly in any sense whatever to the Mexican trades union movement, it feels at the same time that it must take steps to protect the interests of the American workmen and likewise to protect the interests of Mexican immigrants by preventing, if possible, the flood of cheap labor unlawfully entering the country; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the city of Los Angeles, in its 1927 convention, go on record in favor of placing these aforementioned countries under the quota provisions of the immigration act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed and empowered to actively support a legislative measure before Congress to bring about an amendment to the immigration law that will protect the workers of the United States from the present unlawful influx of foreign labor.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 3 be referred to the Executive Council for investigation of the subject matter, with instructions to take such action in relation thereto as not to conflict with previous actions and the general policy of the American Federation of Labor in relation to immigration from Mexico and the Latin-American countries.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Canadian Immigration

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States, through the Immigration Department, is supposed to stop aliens from free entry to this country; and

WHEREAS, There was enacted into law a bill known as the Johnson Immigration Act, which intended to stop free entry to this country through Canada, as well as other ports; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor issued a general order, No. 86, which would stop all commuters from Canada entering the border cities in

free opposition to American workers; and

WHEREAS, Little attention is being paid to the provisions of the law by the immigration officials and thousands of immigrants are entering the United States through Canada every day and returning at night; and

WHEREAS, The living conditions are different from the American standards and recent investigations showed that this element is tearing down the standards of American wages and conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor cause an investigation to be made into the true conditions existing in New York State and to take such action as will force action for the protection of the thousands of men and women that are unemployed and are American citizens, while those commuters enjoy the freedom of free entry.

In relation to the subject matter of Resolution No. 5, it should be understood that the quota restrictions of the immigration laws cannot be lawfully evaded by those to whom the quota provisions should apply simply by entrance to the United States through Canada and we believe that all necessary steps should be taken to prevent violation of law in that respect. The committee, however, does not believe that quota restrictions should be enacted against Canadians, large numbers of whom are members of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and whose standards of living are in harmony with those which prevail in the United States. There should be proper enforcement of the contract labor laws which prohibit the importation of labor under contract or agreement. With this understanding, the committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such other action as may, in the judgment of the Council, seem best calculated to protect the interests of the American workers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE TROTTER (Typographical Union)

I listened yesterday to considerable discussion of the question of immigration as applied to Mexico and repeatedly heard the terms, "Mexican" and "Canadian." I suppose if there were such a thing that I am a Canadian,

However, it might not occur to the majority of the delegates present that you will have considerable difficulty in defining what is a Canadian. When you speak of a Mexican, Mr. President, you know very well what it is that you mean. When you speak of a Canadian there is no such clarity apparent—you don't know what it is that you refer to.

You have got a quota law in operation. It is supposed that it does not apply to Canada or to Mexico. I believe that in effect it applies to Canada and does not apply to Mexico, and that those people who are seeking for an application of the quota law to Canada already have very largely what they are looking for—that is, the application of the quota.

When the Dominion of Canada takes a census of its population you cannot put yourself down as a Canadian. There is no such thing. You may have twenty-five generations preceding you resident in Canada, you may belong to the twenty-fifth generation, but you are not a Canadian, you are either English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, or any other nationality, according to the ancestry that you had.

For purposes of admission to the United States you have an admission of these people from Canada who were born in Canada. That, of course, is a United States proposition, that is, to define, so far as the purposes of your Immigration Act are concerned, as to what is a Canadian—a person born in Canada. Nevertheless, the population in Canada have lived there a considerable time. I myself have lived there for twenty-three years, but I could not enter if I did not have other qualifications. Personally, I am not concerned, I am legally in your country, but if that were not the case I could not enter without being subject to the British quota law.

There is a man working alongside of me in the composing room who originally hailed from New Zealand. He has travelled as a tourist in the United States and would like to become a citizen of the United States, and he would be an honorable and desirable citizen, but he cannot come here because he is a New Zealander and he is subject to the quota of New Zealand.

So that you have all over Canada the application of different quotas to different nationalities, and the only person who can come into this country under the United States immigration law is defined as a person born in Canada and who can produce a birth certificate.

I am aware of the conditions complained of in the resolution under discussion. That resolution comes from New York State, and they are complaining about the population that is coming from Canada and competing with our workers, at a lower standard of wages, than those which prevail in

other sections of the country. I believe it is not unknown that within the confines of the United States there are people in one state working in the same industry who could not be shifted to another state without damage to the industries of that state. The textile industries are very well aware of that. You could not move the people in the south to the north in the same industry without having the same thing take place.

We in Canada are subject to that kind of competition in that particular section of the country, and you can go into the textile mills of New Brunswick and find them complaining about emigration from the Province of Quebec into New Brunswick, just as the New York people are complaining in this resolution.

Yet we cannot remedy that by any kind of legislation, you cannot set up province against province, any more than you can set up state against state.

There is another aspect of this subject that I believe is not well understood by organized labor in this country, and that is that the movement in the Dominion of Canada, so far as labor is concerned, is an integral part of the American Federation of Labor. The Trades and Labor Congress does not allow in its central bodies any representatives from any organizations which are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and when you are legislating against the people across your northern boundary line you are legislating against the people who hold the same international trade union cards in their pockets as you do.

It is argued today in the Dominion of Canada that your international trade union card is of less value than it was prior to the adoption of the quota law. The reason given is that when you take a traveling card you can only deposit it in Canada, you cannot deposit it south of the line. You can take a traveling card any place from the United States and deposit it in Canada, and the people are complaining that there is not a reciprocal movement.

We have in the eastern end of our country a national trade union movement. That movement is ready to seize and does seize upon any such proposition, and today they are telling international trade unionists that their international status is of less use to them and will become increasingly so than it ever was, and they ought to form a national movement on the north side of the line and not be attached to an international union which does not help them in a case of this kind and does not give them the freedom they had hitherto.

It may be that in some parts you don't have the tourists as we used to have them, but, as far as the printers are concerned, the tourist is still in effect, and the delegates from the Typo-

graphical Union to this convention have had concrete evidence since we arrived here that the tourist printer is still in existence.

It may surprise you to know that in a given twenty-one months in our organization, although our membership is in the neighborhood of 75,000, traveling cards were issued to the number of 50,000 in that time. You can see, with a traveling card system and this movement of the membership, just exactly the kind of feeling that is created on the north side of the line by people who wish to take a traveling card and move over to other jurisdictions of their own union and are not able to do so.

I believe that the other question referred to specifically in this resolution is a matter of administration by authorities on each side of the line, or on both sides of the line. You know they have a system down in Australia, they have a literacy test for the admission of immigrants. I don't know how true it is, but the statement is made that if a person is able to read the particular line or sentence that is submitted to him, it is submitted again in another language, and if he continues to read each place that is submitted to him he will finally be confronted with the statement in Chinese or Hebrew, if they don't want him in.

I believe the question of administration will meet the particular purposes of this resolution, rather than new laws, but surely there should be something done to remedy the situation I have described to you.

I have appeared before a couple of commissioners from the United States Department of Labor and Immigration who have investigated this matter in the Dominion of Canada. The reason I appeared before them is that for perhaps some fourteen years I handled the immigration department of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. For two periods of seven months I was sent over to the British Isles to combat the immigration dumping into Canada that was carried on by fifty-six or fifty-seven immigration societies in the British Isles, so I claim something more than mere superficial information on the subject.

I will submit there might be some modification of this law. I am aware that you can't differentiate between the organized and unorganized, you cannot admit the trade union man free of restriction while those outside the movement would be barred; you have to legislate for the citizens as a whole, organized or unorganized.

However, what I believe would meet the case in regard to our international trade union movement and the freer movement of our members north and south of the line would be a stipulation as to the number of years they might be resident in Canada, and I believe if five or ten years were stipulated for

residence in Canada, you would be free of a lot of the evils you complain of, because, after all, if a person is living in Canada five years and maintains himself as a decent citizen, he is not to be put in the same class as the people who come into Canada, simply to enable them to sneak across the line in some way or other and get into the United States and mix up with their own nationality already resident here.

We have had a movement of Italians into Canada since this quota law was adopted and we know the object of it. Seeing that people are able to swim from Catalina Island to the mainland, and across the English Channel from France to England, it isn't a very hard matter for them to swim across the Welland Canal or even across the St. Lawrence River from Canada to the United States.

But I believe something should be done, and the people on the north side of the line in the trade union movement are looking for something to be done toward the modification of the quota law, so that there may be a freer movement on both sides of the line.

DELEGATE DOYLE (Painters)

In defense of the resolution and the committee's report, I am taking the platform. The resolution says New York state. I want to tell the delegates the reason for that language being in the resolution. The resolution was introduced in the New York State Federation of Labor convention, and from that body was referred to this convention, but action has been taken in the state of Michigan as well as in Ohio.

Let me illustrate to you men my experience in dealing with this question for a great many years. Quite recently in the city of Buffalo the building trades, 100 per cent, declared a job unfair to organized labor and resolved to try to force this man to recognize the trade union movement. He is one of the largest non-union contractors we have in that vicinity. The particular job in question was a public school. Upon investigation we found the men employed on that job were men who migrated from Canada in the morning and back at night. They were being used for the purpose of defeating organized labor in that locality.

In the past eight months in the city of Detroit—and I want to differ with the Department of Labor when they say there are some eight or nine thousand crossing the Detroit River—we have investigated that, not once but for weeks at a time, and have found upwards of 20,000 crossing every morning and going back every night, and of the 800 men we have taken into our organization in the city of Detroit in the last seven months, over 90 per cent of these men were illegally entering the United States every day in the week. When I asked some of these men why they did not

become citizens of the United States their answer to me was that "we cannot become citizens of the United States because our quota is overdrawn for the next ten years."

But the Department of Labor, notwithstanding that position, allowed these men to come over and work in the building trades in the city of Detroit at a rate of from 35 to 65 cents an hour less than the union rate of wages in that locality. In my trip into Akron, Ohio, I found a like condition.

The statement made by the previous speaker that international organizations on this side do not recognize clearance cards or transfer cards is not true, that is absolutely false as far as I know in the building trades. We welcome men from all parts of the world and accept their cards in our international organization without qualification of any kind. We are trying to close the door against the Armenian, the Roumanian, the Czechoslovakian, the Austrian, the Italian, and every other nationality from continental Europe that is using Canada as a means of defeating the immigration laws of this country.

Your own Congress in its recent convention dealt with this question along the lines that this resolution is asking from the American Federation of Labor. In reading a Los Angeles paper this morning I note, to my amusement, that some other Congress now in session is dealing with this from your own Dominion.

I want to say to you men, and I defy contradiction from any one, that our great trouble from Niagara Falls, yes, in Los Angeles, is the wide territory that is left open for the undesirable, both as regards Canada and the United States. I say to you delegates, in justice to that resolution, that I know of no more meritorious resolution outside of your Mexican resolution than the one the committee has before it at this time.

We are not opposing Canada, we are trying to help Canada as well as help ourselves, and I sincerely hope that this convention will gather all the data they can and submit it to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, that we may close that gap that now exists.

Delegate Sullivan, New York State Federation of Labor: I have only a few words to say on this particular subject in order to correct a wrong impression that may be gained that the trade unionists of New York are opposed to trade unionists from Canada. That is not so. The people that we complain about are not members of the organized labor movement of the Dominion of Canada. They belong to no organization. We are taking exception to the men that come in by the trainloads in the morning and go back at night, competing with the organized labor movement of the State of New York.

Not alone does it apply to the skilled trades, but it largely applies to the unskilled trades. Very recently I was over in Niagara Falls, and the people on

that side are complaining that they cannot compete with Canadian unorganized labor. They come over every morning and they go back at night, they live in Canada.

As a natural consequence there is an acute situation of unemployment in Niagara Falls, and that is true in the city of Buffalo. That is what the New York State Federation of Labor takes exception to. We are not in any sense of the word opposed to union men from Canada coming in, because if they want work in the United States they have to transfer their cards, and I have never known of any instance where the card has been refused by any trade in the United States.

I am heartily in favor of the report of the committee because I know that the Executive Council will look into the situation and apply the remedy that is necessary. We do not want to go to any extremes whatever. If conditions in the United States were satisfactory, possibly this resolution would not have been introduced, but the unemployment situation all over the State of New York is becoming more and more acute every day.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Just a word of correction. I did not make the statement, Mr. President, that cards from Canada were refused, but rather I believe the delegates will believe with me that the statement I made was that with the lifting of a traveling card in Canada it could not be deposited in the United States, because the person was not allowed to cross the line to deposit it, therefore it could not be refused. The two previous speakers are under a misconception.

Delegate Doyle, Painters: The statement as we interpreted it and as many other delegates are liable to interpret it, was that the trade unions on this side of the border would refuse cards from the Canadian members. We have in the United States many of your citizens who are members of our organization. In fact, we are international, and we don't want that story to go back to Canada that the delegates are opposed to accepting clearance cards from Canadian tradesmen.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Resolution No. 5 was carried.

Negotiations for A. F. of L. Convention Hotel Headquarters Should Stipulate Requirement of Union Hotel and Restaurant Employees

Resolution No. 1—By Delegates Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas

S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott:

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of several conventions of the American Federation of Labor of the unorganized conditions of the catering and beverage employees in the said convention hotel headquarters; and

WHEREAS, This condition has greatly retarded the progress of organization work in our industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby requested and directed when negotiating for convention hotel headquarters for the next and succeeding conventions to enter as a part of their agreement, contract or stipulations, that in addition to said hotel being fair to all other branches of the organized labor movement that the catering and beverage employees in the said hotel be members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

The committee is of the opinion that the Executive Council has in the past endeavored conscientiously to carry out the purpose set forth in Resolution No. 1 and will continue to do so in the future. The committee therefore recommends that the resolution be referred to the Council with instructions to continue its best efforts to secure as convention hotel quarters in the convention city the most satisfactory hotel available from the viewpoint of trade union organization.

Delegate Flores, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved the adoption of the committee's report. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Proposing Labor Commission to Visit Latin-American Countries

Resolution No. 2—By Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico.

WHEREAS, The masses of the workers of Latin-American countries crave freedom, justice and progress and need to gain the understanding and good will of the people of the United States, especially the friendship and co-operation of organized workers of the United States as represented by the American Federation of Labor in satisfying that craving; and

WHEREAS, An organized campaign of bitterest attacks and calumnies of all kinds is being spread by certain capitalists, politicians and communist groups jointly, using the press and the platform throughout these Latin-American countries for the purpose of

slandering the American Federation of Labor, openly accusing it as an agent of the Yankee Imperialists and capitalists, to conquer the Latin-American peoples and to facilitate their exploitation by the Saxon race, etc.; and

WHEREAS, It is true that these peoples of the Western Hemisphere are on the one hand being visited frequently by many concessionaires, profiteers, exploiters and anti-unionists from the United States, and also are visited by demagogues of all classes who are disseminating day by day verbally and in writing, hatred against the trade union movement and the so-called ills of American materialism and American imperialism, while on the other hand are never visited by a labor delegation from the American Federation of Labor to represent labor officially, to carry to the masses of those people the ideals of democracy, justice and good will of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor see to the advisability of appointing a Labor Commission to make a visit to all the capitals and big industrial centers of the Latin-American countries for the purpose and with the mission of good will and for the explanation and dissemination among those people and the masses of Latin-American workers of the message expressing the soul of the organized workers of America, and these institutions of democracy and freedom in which are being founded the Republic of the United States and especially the Labor Movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 2 be referred to the Executive Council for such action as the Council may deem wise and within the means of the Federation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Invasion of Armed Forces of United States in Foreign Countries

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate John Sullivan of the New York State Federation of Labor.

The following set of resolutions was introduced in the recent sixty-fourth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, and that convention decided to transmit same by above delegate, without comment or action, to the American Federation of Labor for such disposition as may be deemed proper.

WHEREAS, The United States government, contrary to repeated declarations for the self-determination of na-

tions and for democracy of the previous administrations under Woodrow Wilson, is actively interfering in the affairs of the South American republics; and

WHEREAS, The United States government has despatched a large fleet of warships and troops to China in order to, together with Great Britain, suppress the aspirations of the Chinese people for their nationalist government; and

WHEREAS, These actions on the part of our government bring us into foreign entanglements, which inevitably will lead to new wars, in which we working people will be called upon to shed our blood, while the profiteers will reap the results; and

WHEREAS, These actions on the part of our government are plainly not in the interests of the common people of the U. S. A., but serve the interests of Wall Street, and bring our country into disrepute as a despotism used in the interests of big capital; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the State Federation of Labor, assembled here today, declare our most determined opposition to this imperialist policy and war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand the withdrawal of the war fleet and marines from China, Nicaragua and other countries occupied by the armed forces of the U. S. A.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be forwarded to the President of the U. S. A., to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and to the press.

Resolution No. 6 is addressed to the New York State Federation of Labor and does not call for action by the American Federation of Labor. The committee, however, feels it necessary to point out the fallacies of the resolution and express some opinions relative to the subject matter with which it deals. It is unfortunate that the manner in which resolutions of this sort are frequently drafted for introduction in state federations of labor and city central bodies inevitably leads to the conclusion that their authors are more concerned in pointing the finger of criticism at the government of the United States than they are in ascertaining the facts regarding the subject they attempt to discuss.

Resolution No. 6, in its preamble, makes the sweeping charge that "The United States government . . . is actively interfering in the affairs of the South American republics." That charge is not founded upon fact. No well informed person who has any regard for

the truth would offer an accusation so broad and general in its terms. In another part of its preamble, the resolution contains the charge that "The United States government has despatched a fleet of warships and troops to China" for the purpose of combining with Great Britain "to suppress the aspirations of the Chinese people for their nationalist government." Representatives of the United States government have specifically denied any combination with other nations for the suppression of Chinese aspirations. It has also been stated, and in some cases with apparent reason, that action on the part of the United States naval vessels was necessary in order to enable Americans to leave disputed territory.

The careless phrasing of the preamble serves to make the resolution as a whole worthless. It is based either upon misinformation or a disregard for the truth and thus it offers nothing that would be helpful in pointing out wrongs or advising a foreign policy upon which our government might properly stand.

Concerning the general subject of relations with South America, the committee is firmly convinced that a proper adherence to the Monroe Doctrine is necessary for the best interests of the people of both Central and South America.

It may be that the Nicaraguan situation in Central America was considered sufficient by the authors of the resolution to base the general charge with reference to the "South American republics." The committee believes it proper to point out that President Green, acting as president of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, has already taken the Nicaraguan situation up with the United States government in an effort to be helpful to the Nicaraguan people. That, however, is a subject which is before another committee, which will doubtless report fully concerning it.

As to China, the Chinese problem in its present aspects is the result of past interferences and interventions on the part of foreign governments in the internal affairs of China. In that respect

our own government has committed errors. A mere withdrawal now would simply result in giving certain other nations involved an opportunity, if they are so inclined, to use so-called American interests in China to further embroil our government. It is a debatable question as to what is the procedure most likely to enable the United States to prevent further error with reference to China. President Green and the Executive Council are, we understand, giving earnest thought and study to that problem.

As to the general subject of foreign relations, we express the hope that the United States will again adopt the policy which in the main it adhered to during the first century of our national life, a policy based upon the proposition that Americans and so-called American interests in foreign countries must abide by and accept the consequences of the laws of such countries, just as foreigners and foreign interests within our borders must abide by and accept the consequences of American law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

"Pequot" Product of Naumkeag Cotton Co., Salem, Mass., Should Receive Patronage of Organized Labor

Resolution No. 20 — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The officers and members of the United Textile Workers of America deeply appreciate the support given them at the 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor in Detroit, Michigan, through its endorsement of the product of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., of Salem, Mass., sold under the trade-mark "Pequot"; and

WHEREAS, These Pequot products are made under fair and humane conditions through agreement with the international officers of the United Textile Workers of America and the management of the Naumkeag Mills; and

WHEREAS, These fair working conditions of our 3,000 members in Salem, Mass., at the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., where Pequot sheetings and pillow cases are made, is seriously threatened by the non-union mills of this branch of the textile industry, with their long hours and low wages and "yellow dog" contracts; and

WHEREAS, The Lockwood Mills of Waterville, Maine (one of the group of

unfair and non-union mills in the cotton sheeting industry), has, within the last few weeks, submitted a working contract to its employees similar to the well-known vicious "yellow dog" contract; and

WHEREAS, The refusal of some loomfixers to sign this contract has brought about a strike in the Lockwood Mills; and

WHEREAS, We believe that one of the best ways to overcome this pernicious system is to purchase union-made Pequot sheets and pillow cases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor re-endorses the action of the Detroit convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give all publicity possible for the promotion and sale of Pequot sheets and pillow cases, in conjunction with the officers of the United Textile Workers of America, for the benefit of the 100 per cent union workers in the Naumkeag Cotton Co. of Salem, Mass.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 20.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Co-operation With the International Golden Rule Committee of the Near East Relief

Resolution No. 26 — By Delegate Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The co-operation of the members of the American Federation of Labor has been recognized as an important factor in the saving and caring for thousands of orphans and other destitute children in the Near East, and is securing a general observance of International Golden Rule Sunday; and

WHEREAS, We see an opportunity to promote the Golden Rule, both in international and world affairs, as well as in social and industrial life, contributing to a better international understanding and world peace; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, October 3rd-12th, 1927, commend to all our members the largest practicable co-operation with the International Golden Rule Committee in bringing to the American people, through our many channels, the ideals of the Golden Rule and its practical application in connection with Golden Rule Sunday to those of our members in behalf of the Golden Rule orphans of the Near East; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue in an ad-

visory capacity the Labor Committee of Near East Relief.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 26 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Declarations in Favor of an American Merchant Marine

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The Senate Committee on Commerce of the Sixty-ninth Congress, in its second session, after careful consideration of our vanishing sea power, reported a bill, S. 5792, together with a report on the same, Report 1696; and

WHEREAS, The report, in substance, sets forth that the vessels built during the war are gradually passing away without being replaced and that if this is permitted to continue we shall shortly arrive at a condition existing prior to the war and leave us without defense for our commerce and seaboard; and

WHEREAS, We are of the opinion that the situation will be worse than anticipated, because at that time we had a fairly well-trained body of officers and seamen, which, through the combination between the Shipping Board and the ship owners, has now practically been driven from the sea without its place being filled with men who in skill can be compared to those driven away, thus undermining the real foundation of all sea power; and

WHEREAS, This has been done and is continuing through discrimination against white foreigners, even though they be citizens or have legally declared their intention to become such citizens, in favor of natives, regardless of their fitness, unless such natives shall protest against conditions maintained on the vessels, such as undermanning, violation of the principles of the eight-hour day and obedience to safety laws generally and the laws providing for skill specially, in which cases the native is promptly discarded in favor of Chinese, Filipinos and casual laborers from the gutters, thus driving the American from the sea; and

WHEREAS, It is our opinion that vessels are the smallest part of sea power and can be built quickly, as has been proven, while an efficient personnel is of slow growth and very difficult to replace when destroyed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That unless there is to be a real change in the policy carried on by the Shipping Board, so that real seamen shall be again attracted to the sea; so that American youths may be induced to come and the ripe man induced to remain, we can see no good reason for expending the people's

money in building vessels that cannot be successfully operated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That, though we are opposed to government ownership and operation of merchant vessels, we should be willing to waive our objection if we can be satisfied that we are to see the laws provided for increased safety and improved efficiency obeyed by the Shipping Board and the ship owners alike, that skill and experience in officers and men are to be so developed that we can compete with all other nations in operation of vessels; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will do our best to sustain Congress in any effort to build up a real merchant marine and a real sea power for our country, whenever such effort shall be seriously made, whether such merchant marine is to consist wholly of vessels owned and operated by private capital or is to consist in part of vessels owned and operated by the government and in part of vessels owned and operated by private owners.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 28.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Denouncing Pacifist Doctrines as Imperiling Peace and the Perpetuation of American Principles

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate John H. Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The right of national defense is, in essence, the same as the right to strike for the maintenance of decent living standards; and the unholy alliance of international bankers as intent upon the creation of vast international industrial cartels employing cheap labor, with the self-claimed idealists, who, under various disguises, propose the submergence of America into an international capitalistic combine;

WHEREAS, The so-called peace movements are inimical to the welfare of the American wage earners and lead to the destruction of nationality and leveling of the living standards of the American people to the plane of international coolieism and peasantry;

WHEREAS, The doctrines of these peace movements would make it possible for the vital interests of American wage earners and their social and cultural status and their standards of living to be subjected to the judgment of other people. Great endowment funds, left by notorious oppressors and exploiters of American labor, are devoted to the propagation of doctrines, which undermine the national integrity of Americans and threaten the prospects and hopes of our people for

our own government has committed errors. A mere withdrawal now would simply result in giving certain other nations involved an opportunity, if they are so inclined, to use so-called American interests in China to further embroil our government. It is a debatable question as to what is the procedure most likely to enable the United States to prevent further error with reference to China. President Green and the Executive Council are, we understand, giving earnest thought and study to that problem.

As to the general subject of foreign relations, we express the hope that the United States will again adopt the policy which in the main it adhered to during the first century of our national life, a policy based upon the proposition that Americans and so-called American interests in foreign countries must abide by and accept the consequences of the laws of such countries, just as foreigners and foreign interests within our borders must abide by and accept the consequences of American law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

"Pequot" Product of Naumkeag Cotton Co., Salem, Mass., Should Receive Patronage of Organized Labor

Resolution No. 20 — By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon and Sara A. Conboy of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The officers and members of the United Textile Workers of America deeply appreciate the support given them at the 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor in Detroit, Michigan, through its endorsement of the product of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., of Salem, Mass., sold under the trade-mark "Pequot"; and

WHEREAS, These Pequot products are made under fair and humane conditions through agreement with the international officers of the United Textile Workers of America and the management of the Naumkeag Mills; and

WHEREAS, These fair working conditions of our 3,000 members in Salem, Mass., at the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co., where Pequot sheetings and pillow cases are made, is seriously threatened by the non-union mills of this branch of the textile industry, with their long hours and low wages and "yellow dog" contracts; and

WHEREAS, The Lockwood Mills of Waterville, Maine (one of the group of

unfair and non-union mills in the cotton sheeting industry), has, within the last few weeks, submitted a working contract to its employees similar to the well-known vicious "yellow dog" contract; and

WHEREAS, The refusal of some loomfixers to sign this contract has brought about a strike in the Lockwood Mills; and

WHEREAS, We believe that one of the best ways to overcome this pernicious system is to purchase union-made Pequot sheets and pillow cases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor re-endorses the action of the Detroit convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give all publicity possible for the promotion and sale of Pequot sheets and pillow cases, in conjunction with the officers of the United Textile Workers of America, for the benefit of the 100 per cent union workers in the Naumkeag Cotton Co. of Salem, Mass.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 20.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Co-operation With the International Golden Rule Committee of the Near East Relief

Resolution No. 26 — By Delegate Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers of America.

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WHEREAS, We see an opportunity to promote the Golden Rule, both in international and world affairs, as well as in social and industrial life, contributing to a better international understanding and world peace; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, October 3rd-12th, 1927, commend to all our members the largest practicable co-operation with the International Golden Rule Committee in bringing to the American people, through our many channels, the ideals of the Golden Rule and its practical application in connection with Golden Rule Sunday to those of our members in behalf of the Golden Rule orphans of the Near East; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue in an ad-

visory capacity the Labor Committee of Near East Relief.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 26 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Declarations in Favor of an American Merchant Marine

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The Senate Committee on Commerce of the Sixty-ninth Congress, in its second session, after careful consideration of our vanishing sea power, reported a bill, S. 5792, together with a report on the same, Report 1696; and

WHEREAS, The report, in substance, sets forth that the vessels built during the war are gradually passing away without being replaced and that if this is permitted to continue we shall shortly arrive at a condition existing prior to the war and leave us without defense for our commerce and sea-board; and

WHEREAS, We are of the opinion that the situation will be worse than anticipated, because at that time we had a fairly well-trained body of officers and seamen, which, through the combination between the Shipping Board and the ship owners, has now practically been driven from the sea without its place being filled with men who in skill can be compared to those driven away, thus undermining the real foundation of all sea power; and

WHEREAS, This has been done and is continuing through discrimination against white foreigners, even though they be citizens or have legally declared their intention to become such citizens, in favor of natives, regardless of their fitness, unless such natives shall protest against conditions maintained on the vessels, such as undermanning, violation of the principles of the eight-hour day and obedience to safety laws generally and the laws providing for skill specially, in which cases the native is promptly discarded in favor of Chinese, Filipinos and casual laborers from the gutters, thus driving the American from the sea; and

WHEREAS, It is our opinion that vessels are the smallest part of sea power and can be built quickly, as has been proven, while an efficient personnel is of slow growth and very difficult to replace when destroyed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That unless there is to be a real change in the policy carried on by the Shipping Board, so that real seamen shall be again attracted to the sea; so that American youths may be induced to come and the ripe man induced to remain, we can see no good reason for expending the people's

money in building vessels that cannot be successfully operated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That, though we are opposed to government ownership and operation of merchant vessels, we should be willing to waive our objection if we can be satisfied that we are to see the laws provided for increased safety and improved efficiency obeyed by the Shipping Board and the ship owners alike, that skill and experience in officers and men are to be so developed that we can compete with all other nations in operation of vessels; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will do our best to sustain Congress in any effort to build up a real merchant marine and a real sea power for our country, whenever such effort shall be seriously made, whether such merchant marine is to consist wholly of vessels owned and operated by private capital or is to consist in part of vessels owned and operated by the government and in part of vessels owned and operated by private owners.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 28.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Denouncing Pacifist Doctrines as Imperiling Peace and the Perpetuation of American Principles

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate John H. Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The right of national defense is, in essence, the same as the right to strike for the maintenance of decent living standards; and the unholy alliance of international bankers as intent upon the creation of vast international industrial cartels employing cheap labor, with the self-claimed idealists, who, under various disguises, propose the submergence of America into an international capitalistic combine;

WHEREAS, The so-called peace movements are inimical to the welfare of the American wage earners and lead to the destruction of nationality and leveling of the living standards of the American people to the plane of international coolieism and peasantry;

WHEREAS, The doctrines of these peace movements would make it possible for the vital interests of American wage earners and their social and cultural status and their standards of living to be subjected to the judgment of other people. Great endowment funds, left by notorious oppressors and exploiters of American labor, are devoted to the propagation of doctrines, which undermine the national integrity of Americans and threaten the prospects and hopes of our people for

continuous betterment of their economic, educational and other opportunities enjoyed by the wage earners of the nation:

WHEREAS, It is plain that international money changers, dealers in government bonds, importers, shipping companies and other capitalistic concerns interested primarily in international trade have been aiding and abetting by money and counsel many of the attacks upon those American institutions and laws which stand in the way of a general reduction of American living standards;

WHEREAS, International assemblies of financiers and so-called statesmen controlled by them, meeting in Europe for the purpose of breaking down the advantages enjoyed by the American economic system in order that the loot of international loan sharks have the applause and acclaim of many individuals and organizations which hypocritically pretend to be interested in labor and the uplift of humanity;

WHEREAS, Periodicals, which are habitually pacifist and which continually harass the organizations of American working men, because they refuse to become tools in anti-national enterprises, are subsidized from funds of Wall Street manipulators. The cause of real peace and international good will is imperiled by these pretenders, even as the interests of the wage earners have been damaged by their treacherous and subversive tactics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor register a protest against these enemies of the organized wage earners of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention go on record to request this year's convention of the American Federation of Labor at Los Angeles, Calif., to take similar action.

Resolution No. 29 is addressed to the Illinois State Federation of Labor and is not in the form necessary to call for action by this convention. In addition the resolution is so drafted that it is extremely difficult to determine its true intent. The committee nevertheless recommends that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as the Council, after due investigation and deliberation, may deem to be in the best interests of the American labor movement and the people of the nation as a whole.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hayes, Typographical Union: I have discussed this question infor-

mally with some of the delegates and wondered what is intended by it, and what its real meaning is. I don't want to discuss it at the moment, because I am rather in the dark as to what it means. It has really nothing specific in it, it is insinuation and innuendo, and I would like to hear Brother Walker or Brother Olander, who are officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, explain who are these financiers and so-called statesmen who are behind the peace movements and who are financing them to the extent that it is claimed, to the injury of the people of this country.

Vice President Woll, chairman of the committee: All I can say is that the committee itself indicates in the report that we do not understand the true intent of the resolution, and hence we recommend that it be referred to the Executive Council. If they can find out what the real intent is, well and good—then they may take action.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: I want to say for the benefit of Delegate Hayes that I am in full accord with the committee's report, with especial emphasis on that expression, "doubt as to the meaning of the resolution." In the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor it was assumed to refer solely to the question of national defense and was so discussed. It seems to be evident it goes beyond that. How far and for what purpose it is doubtful.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reports jointly on Resolutions Nos. 30 and 60.

Invitation to A. F. of L. to Meet in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931

Resolution No. 30 — By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly of the Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officially dates its inception from November 15, 1881; and

WHEREAS, The meeting at which the present name and type of organization were chosen was held in Columbus, Ohio (Druids' Hall, 180-182 South Fourth street); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Ohio State Federation of Labor extend an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to celebrate its semi-centennial anniversary and hold its annual con-

vention in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Ohio State Federation of Labor be instructed to bring this invitation to the attention of the delegates of the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and inform them of the hearty welcome that awaits the convention of the American Federation of Labor in the state and city of its birth.

Invitation to A. F. of L. to Meet in Columbus, Ohio, in 1931

Resolution No. 60—Delegate M. B. Cain of the Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor officially dates its inception from Nov. 15, 1881; and

WHEREAS, The meeting at which the present name and type of organization were chosen was held in Columbus, Ohio (Druids' Hall, 180-182 South Fourth Street); and

WHEREAS, The year 1931 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Organized Labor of the city of Columbus and the State of Ohio have taken cognizance of the fact that 1931 will be the golden jubilee of the American Federation of Labor and has extended an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its jubilee convention in the city of Columbus, Ohio; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give favorable expression to the idea of holding the Fifty-first Annual Convention in the city of Columbus, Ohio; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to bring to the attention of the delegates to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1930, the invitation of Organized Labor of the city of Columbus, in the State of Ohio, to this body to hold its Jubilee Convention in the city of Columbus, Ohio.

Resolutions Nos. 30 and 60 relate to the selection of a convention city for 1931. That is a matter which, under our present rules, will be decided by the 1930 convention. The committee therefore recommends that we take note of the kindly invitations they contain and express appreciation for same.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Commending Services of A. F. of L. Representatives Assisting

Fur Workers

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Philip Silberstein and Pietro Lucchi of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, Early in 1926, the International Fur Workers' Union and several of its largest subsidiary local unions in New York and elsewhere were seriously menaced by the insidious inroads of a slick foe in the guise of the Workers' (Communist) Party, concentrating upon the needle trades organizations as part of a general and avowed design to destroy the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, A group of the said party's agents, by virulent and slanderous personal attacks and underhand methods directed against the ablest leaders and officials, poisoned the minds of a numerous membership and finally succeeded to the most influential local offices; and

WHEREAS, This group soon thereafter deliberately eliminated active and experienced members from all directive voice and control of affairs for the sole reason that such members were not in sympathy with communist methods of dictatorship and violence, and might question and prevent unconstitutional and un-American acts injurious to the organization and its membership; and

WHEREAS, The said group called a general strike in the industry of New York—a strike which unquestionably could have been avoided on the terms of settlement accepted by the group after seventeen weeks of intense suffering and anguish endured by eight thousand to nine thousand workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, upon request of the international and local officers, instituted a painstaking investigation and thorough sifting of the facts of the strike by a special committee, consisting of Vice-President Matthew Woll, Organizers Hugh Frayne and Edward F. McGrady, President John Sullivan of New York State Federation of Labor, and President Joseph Ryan of the New York City Central Labor Union, that investigation disclosing a most unusual and alarming state of affairs prevailing throughout the strike and continued long after the settlement; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the unfortunate condition dark despair gripped the hearts of the majority of the rank and file and even the most active spirits in the union lost hope of recovering from the dictatorial rule of the Communist group holding the largest section of the International Fur Workers' Union in the iron grip of duress; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, true to its historic mission, unhesitatingly came to the rescue of the fur workers; guided and advised the international of-

ficers in their efforts to shake off the obnoxious communist rule, and lent the services of such devoted and energetic brothers as Vice-President Matthew Woll and General Organizers Hugh Frayne and Edward F. McGrady to the International Fur Workers' Union for the purpose of undertaking a general work of reorganization; and

WHEREAS, This work of reorganization has been carried on in the teeth of an organized resistance, aided and abetted by the shadiest elements recruited from the darkest byways of New York City, and has been brought to near completion in spite of terrorism and cruel violence directed against workers who registered their loyalty to the International Union and the American Federation of Labor; therefore, at the urgent request of the delegates to this Convention from the International Fur Workers' Union, who are voicing the sentiments of the great mass of the fur workers, be it

RESOLVED, By this Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., that President William Green, Vice-President Matthew Woll, General Organizers Hugh Frayne and Edward F. McGrady and the entire Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor deserve the congratulations of this convention upon their success in breaking the power of the Moscow agents in the Fur Workers' Union and bringing the reorganized locals, Numbers 101, 105, 110 and 115 of the International Fur Workers' Union to the stage of electing their officers and Joint Council which combines these locals. It is the sense of this convention that by their incessant personal attention and devoted services these brothers have accomplished a great work in seven months and earned the gratitude of the American Federation of Labor in general and of the International Fur Workers' Union in particular.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 34 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Legislation to Secure Wage Standards for Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers, New York City

Resolution No. 37—By Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17958, New York City.

WHEREAS, The labor law clause for all city contract work of the city of New York specifically states that the wages to be paid for the legal day's work to all classes of such laborers, workmen or mechanics upon public work shall not be less than the prevailing rate for a day's work in the same trade or occupation in the locality where such public work is being performed, and that each such laborer,

workman or mechanic shall receive the prevailing rate of wages and shall not be permitted to work any more than eight hours in any one calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency, caused by fire, flood or danger to life or property; and

WHEREAS, The members of the State Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17958 of the American Federation of Labor are being forced to work over the eight hours, and in some instances as much as ten and twelve hours per day, and are not receiving the prevailing rate of wages established for this class of work, which is the minimum of 75c per hour, and double time for all overtime, when such overtime work is necessary according to the clause of the labor law; and

WHEREAS, A representative committee of organized labor, accompanied by President Paul Vaccarella of the Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17958, of the American Federation of Labor, called at the office of the Hon. Alfred A. Taylor, commissioner of the department of street cleaning of the City of New York, under whose jurisdiction the contractors are now performing said work on land fills in Manhattan and the Bronx, namely, Walter Price, Vice-President of the B. M. & P. I. U.; John Gill, chairman of the executive committee of the B. M. & P. I. U. in New York City; George Meany, secretary of the New York Building Trades Council, and several other representatives of organized labor, who had several conferences with Commissioner Alfred A. Taylor, and at one of these conferences the commissioner had Assistant Corporation Counsel Pascall give an interpretation of the said labor law herein mentioned, that said labor clause does not apply to men who joined with the contractors in a co-partnership agreement. We requested that said Assistant Corporation Counsel Pascall give us his interpretation in writing, but he refused; and

WHEREAS, Not alone that this class of work which is being performed by means of a contract awarded by the City of New York, but other contracts, which are being awarded by the City of New York to numerous contractors, can, under the interpretation of Assistant Corporation Counsel Pascall, do the very same thing with their employees by terming them as co-partners and avoid payment of the prevailing rate of wages and violate the eight-hour law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor will take immediate steps, through the proper channels, to have said law amended, if interpretation of Assistant Corporation Counsel Pascall is correct, and no workman, laborer or mechanic will be subjected

to the vicious padrone system; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor communicate with the commissioner of street cleaning of New York City, Hon. Alfred A. Taylor, so that members of this local may get some relief from employers on said land fills of Manhattan and the Bronx.

The committee agrees with the principle stated in Resolution No. 37 and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for such action as may, in the judgment of the Council, seem best calculated to assist the New York State Federation of Labor and the organizations named in the resolution to secure the desired results.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Declaring for Employment of Seamen Through the United States Shipping Commissioner's Office

Resolution No. 38—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, There can be no safety at sea without skilled officers and seamen; and

WHEREAS, The needed skill is only developed when those who are to see the work done are selecting those who are to do it; and

WHEREAS, The Sea Service Bureau and the shipowners' employment offices are working directly against any and all efficiency and safety; and

WHEREAS, These employment offices are gathering places for casual laborers and men seeking shelter from too close a scrutiny by the police and to get away when the scrutiny becomes too pressing; and

WHEREAS, These conditions work a hardship upon all real seamen and a most serious hindrance to the development of a merchant marine and a sufficient sea power for the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sea Service Bureau and shipowners' association shipping offices are a positive evil and ought to be abolished, and that employment of seamen ought to be through the United States Shipping Commissioner's office, being selected by the vessels' officers either at the commissioner's office or before coming there to be signed.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 38 be adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

**DELEGATE FURUSETH
(Seamen)**

I come here on the platform in support of the resolution. Some of you might think, inasmuch as the committee concurred in the resolution, that ought to be sufficient and that your time ought not be taken up any further on the subject. I will have to disagree with some who may think that way on the subject.

There are many things I would like to speak about, but it would take a long time, a very long time to tell you about them. I shall call attention to some few things, and when that is done I hope you will pass the resolution and the report of the committee, and then when you go home you will say to your Congressmen and Senators something I am about to say to you now.

The American Federation of Labor has stood behind the Seamen in the struggle for human freedom for twenty-one years before the Seamen's Act was passed, making the soil of the United States holy ground by abolishing all involuntary servitude within the confines of its jurisdiction. You see in the newspapers a general statement that the Seamen's Act is all right—"but"—it would be all right "if," and so on.

Now I want to call your definite and distinct attention to the fact that since 1921 there has been a definite and clear purpose of repealing everything that was passed for safety at sea, your safety and ours, and for the protection of the seamen. I may say to you now something that I never said before, that back of the struggle of the seamen was a consciousness that the seamen's status would be used against the working people of this country, and that the more important thing to the labor movement, perhaps, than anything else at that time was to wipe away that precedent.

You have had the Kansas law, you have had propositions in Michigan and in other places to abolish the right of men to quit work individually or collectively for any reason or for no reason. You have had that out in the legislative bodies and you have had it exercised by the judiciary, whether they had it under one pretense or another.

I didn't say to you definitely in former conventions that the Ship Owners of America and the International Shipping Federation, Ltd., has control of the Shipping Board in such a way as to make it obey its will. I didn't say these words, I didn't make that charge, because there was no absolute, positive, written truth. I could have furnished some proof, but it might have been questioned. We seamen are watching the situation because we know what the shackles mean. You

don't know except as your imagination tells you.

Early in this convention I caused to be distributed a pamphlet called "The Seamen's View—Proposed Codification of the Navigation Laws and Suggested Amendments Thereto." We did not have enough of them to go to every delegate, because these things are costly and we are poor, but we managed to have enough to give to each State Federation and to each city central body and to one delegate of each national and international union.

By looking over that pamphlet, which I hope you haven't thrown away, you will find the absolute, indisputable and positive proof of what I am telling you. The Shipping Board in the past asked throughout the country for suggestions about how a merchant marine might be adopted. How many suggestions they received I know not, but they put it into a document to which there were three or four hundred propositions to amend. When that thing came to me I spent about a month of careful study of it, and with others of our legislative committee selected about fifty that deal purely with safety at sea, that deal purely with the amending and the repeal of the legislation which has been passed for the protection of seamen and the protection of human liberty.

You will find in the pamphlet in question a summary at the beginning, and then you will find each particular, definite suggestion laid down and an answer to that. There is going to be a struggle in this coming Congress, because they are now out utterly and absolutely in the open, they mean to wipe away everything of this law that now exists, except where they can use the government and the government's laws in their criminal aspect to compel the seamen to obey their will, whether in a safe harbor or elsewhere. They mean to rid themselves of all supervision, of all limitation of their power to execute their own will.

They mean to use the seamen again as precedent for all the rest of you, and don't be dreaming about it, men and women—I am telling you nothing but the bare, unvarnished truth. They are not going to be satisfied to do these things for the seamen, they are not going to be satisfied with establishing involuntary servitude for the seamen unless they mean to do it with you one way or another. The danger is here and the danger is terrible—not that they can do anything with the United States Senate as it is now composed—they will not be able to pass these things, but they will bring it about in an indirect manner if they can.

This resolution recites certain specific things. They have employment offices in which they advertise wholesale for people to come and go to sea. Who comes? Well, I am sorry to say a very large

number of other working men, organized at that in the different unions, being out of work, come to these offices for the purpose of going to sea, disregarding all laws of safety, etc. The unions are not responsible for them. The other members of the unions are honest about their obligations and are not responsible.

Then there are the other ones who come to these offices, the Sea Service Bureau and the Ship Owners' Association, the shipping offices. They come because they want to go from one place to another, they come because they want to get away from a particular place, they come because the police are getting close to them, and when the police get too close they must get away somewhere. Then they ship and we get them aboard the vessels. They are unclean physically and mentally—so much so that in many instances if they had come aboard a ship a few years ago the rest of us would have taken them and used the deck broom to scrub their bodies, even if it took part of their hide off, and throw all their clothes overboard and give them some new ones so they wouldn't louse up the rest.

These are conditions that we have to face today. I want to tell you this in addition about skill. If I had a wife that I wanted to get rid of—I haven't one that I want to keep or get rid of—I would be willing to send her to sea in the hope that it would cost her less to let her drown at sea than to take the case to Nevada. If I had children, or was acquainted with any children that I wanted to see live, I would rather send them on the railway than on board a ship.

The best men on the trans-Atlantic American ships, the ones we are the most proud of, are on the Leviathan. I made a trip in her from New York to Europe a year ago, and I will stake my judgment as a seaman upon the statement that they could not have launched the boats if there had been any sea, to save their rotten lives nor the lives of others of this country. I came back in a sister ship, an English vessel. The difference between the crews of the two vessels was like that between chalk and cheese, and I don't blame the American Bar Association when they selected some other ship than an American ship when they went to Europe.

These are not pleasant things to tell you, but they are true. I have said them in Washington, I have said them to committees, and I will say them again.

We are asking for endorsement of two bills here, we are asking you to fight these things that are contained in the pamphlet I hold in my hand; we are asking you to do that for our sake—yes, certainly, but for your sake, too, just as much as for ours, because I will have passed away, and a great many of us will have passed away, by the time the policy quietly adopted by somebody has reached the point where it is actually going to be accomplished.

There are two or three other resolutions upon which I shall not take your

time. I beg of you to take a real interest in these things, because just as they tried to make the seamen sober by law by taking away their grog on board their ship, which was done about the time I began to go to sea, just as they made a precedent for all kinds of interference with your freedom in sumptuary legislation, so they will use the seamen in every other direction they can, and they will say, "Well, that is done to the seamen, why not to the rest?"

I want you to think of these things, I hope you will discuss them seriously, and I hope you will let your Congressmen and Senators know your opinion in such emphatic language that it cannot be misunderstood.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

S. 1057 Bill for Supervision of Employment of Seamen to Insure Safety at Sea

Resolution No. 39—Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, Merchant vessels under our flag are being operated in such condition that they are a menace not only to the lives which they carry, but also to the lives of persons—passengers and crews on other vessels; and

WHEREAS, The cause is largely to be found in disobedience to such safety laws as we have and the employment of men who are in no sense seamen but just casual laborers, who in some devious way have obtained able seamen's and boatmen's certificates; and

WHEREAS, This dangerous condition is gradually becoming worse because of the present law, which gives the master the right to sign on his crew without any supervision by the shipping commissioners; and

WHEREAS, The masters are compelled to violate the safety laws in order to keep their jobs; and

WHEREAS, We now have no way of even getting reports upon who was on board a lost vessel because there is no place where the names of the crew are kept unless they be shipped before the Shipping Commissioners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That such condition ought to be stopped as quickly as possible, and we most seriously petition Congress to enact into law the Bill—S. 1057—which was introduced in the last Congress by Senator La Follette of Wisconsin and which was reported to the Senate without an amendment, which amendment must not, however, be any part of the Bill, because it would re-establish involuntary servitude on vessels of the United States and of all other vessels coming within the jurisdiction of the United States.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 39 be adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

**DELEGATE OLANDER
(Seamen)**

I ask the indulgence of the convention, as a delegate from the International Seamen's Union, to emphasize some of the warnings voiced by Delegate Furuseth in discussing another resolution, and to emphasize the warnings he and other members of our delegation have from time to time voiced in conventions of the American Federation of Labor against the danger of the evil of slavery again reaching the American worker.

In their report dealing with the subject of injunctions the committee called attention to the fact that the essential difference between the free man and the slave would be found in the right to quit work. A slave is a slave because he cannot remove himself from the control of his master, yet I know there are some who, in fancied security, say to themselves with perhaps something of a sneer, "Aren't the days of slavery gone beyond recall, are they not now mere memories of forgotten yesterdays that can never again return into our civilization?"

To make use of a well known phrase, I think that at this moment we might well stop, look and listen. It is only a little more than sixty years ago that chattel slavery was prohibited in our own free America. Sixty years, I can almost hear the younger members of the convention say, is a long, long time. Sixty years, says the man whose hair is turning white, is not so very long, and yet it is really out of the present generation.

Well, it was not until 1911 or 1912 that the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision that gave full vitality to the Thirteenth Amendment, prohibiting involuntary servitude and slavery, in the case of Bailey versus Alabama. Why is there so little attention paid to that decision in our labor movement? How is it that so few of our lawyers, in pleading our cases, fail to quote the leading case in America on the subject of the right to quit work?

That decision was rendered twelve years ago. It was not until 1915 that the Seamen's Act was passed, giving to American seamen the world over on American ships and to the seamen of all the world, when in American ports, the right to remove themselves from the service of the employer without hindrance of law. That was only twelve years ago, and the resolution now before you calls attention to an amendment that has been attached to the bill referred to in the resolution, the effect of which is to propose a return to the conditions of servitude which existed prior to the passage of the Seamen's Act.

About two years ago there appeared in the public press a report of a conference held at Montevideo, a conference on Christian work, so-called, at which the announcement was made of an investiga-

tion into the conditions prevailing among the agricultural workers in Central and South America, and the statement was made that free labor as we know free labor in the United States, is not to be found among the agricultural workers of Central and South America, all the way down to Cape Horn. That is a report given to the world less than two years ago.

In Italy Fascism has challenged the exercise of this right to quit work. Their challenge is for the alleged interests of the State. In Communist Russia that same right is challenged in the alleged interests of the worker himself. Tweedle-dee is the language in one country and tweedle-dum the language in the other.

Within the past month there has come to the office of the International Seamen's Union a document that must have reached many other trade union offices in the United States, consisting of a manifesto or appeal from the representatives of the railroad workers on the continent of Europe, pointing out that only in a few instances have they a right, under the laws of their respective countries, to quit work in combination, and they, too, are pleading today for the privilege of exercising that essential liberty without which a man cannot claim ownership over himself.

Great Britain, a leader of world democracy, where trade unions have made greater progress perhaps than in any other country as affecting the shore workers, though in this respect never touching the seamen, has now adopted legislation denying the exercise, to a very large extent, of the liberty of which I am speaking. That is not sixty years ago, that is not fifteen or twelve or two years ago. It is the condition that the representatives of the British Trades Union Congress in this convention tell us of as existing today.

Within the past year or so the League of Nations, through its Assembly, after an investigation which was carried on for some time, has adopted an anti-slavery convention in the form of a treaty, which is being submitted to various nations, and the League found it unwise in its judgment, when discussing the question of what its members considered actual slavery, to undertake to act upon the question of forced labor, though it could not escape recognition of the fact that forced labor is simply one kind of slavery. While investigating these questions, representatives of the League found it necessary to make inquiries concerning conditions that existed even under the jurisdiction of the United States.

The subject of forced labor was turned over for investigation to the International Labor Office, the Labor Division of the League of Nations, and an inquiry is soon to be started—a matter of rather startling significance that just as it is called upon to begin that work, or at the time it is called upon to begin that work, the Labor Office has taken a stand

that seems to be in opposition to the abolition of forced labor among seamen.

In the 1927 report of the Director of that office, which came to my hands within the last day, there appears the announcement in the form of an expression of opinion from him that conditions now are such that the question of freedom as affecting seamen, while under investigation, is not likely to be even discussed in conferences of the Labor Office for some years to come.

Now that is the situation that you have today. Slavery is not a thing of bygone days, it is a harsh reality of the present, and it behooves us to be on guard. I am not taking the floor in an effort to frighten you, because I haven't any fear of the situation. I speak only to arouse those among you who have been living in a sort of dreamy security to the fact that there is danger confronting you.

I speak as one having a clear concept of the great contributions made to human freedom by our own country. Nothing finer was ever made part of a political philosophy in the world's history than the assertion of human equality which is written into the American Declaration of Independence.

There is a great thing about that Declaration which perhaps many of us are not fully conscious of. It is not subject to amendment except in the way in which it was enacted, in the strife and the agony and the blood of revolution. It is ours legally until it is taken from us by force.

I know of no greater decision in the interests of the working people of this or any other land than the opinion rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case to which I referred recently, that of *Bailey vs. Alabama*, when the court in plain, clear and unmistakable language upheld the right of the humble negro laborer in the South to ownership over his own body. There is no more straightforward prohibition of involuntary servitude and slavery than that which is contained in the Thirteenth Amendment.

These things are ours, these things make our land the leader of all the nations in the world on this subject of freedom, and that places upon your shoulders and my shoulders as sovereign citizens of a nation of that sort a great responsibility to see that we lead the line forward and keep out of the by-ways that lead to destruction.

So when the Seamen take up the time to tell you of the dangers of their own case, when they speak of the menace that exists to others, it is not merely to make you give a little more attention to Seamen, it is that we, being closer to the menace than you are, can perhaps see it more clearly than you do, and recognize your responsibility as free men. We stand, as Furuseth has stood time and time again before this convention and other groups of American citizens, and

point to the danger that is menacing all of us.

Personally, I think the danger is not so great, because I think the danger comes not so much from an intentional and deliberate purpose on the part of large groups within the United States to again restore conditions that mean slavery for some of us, and that lead to slavery for all of us. I think the greatest danger of all is ignorance, a failure to understand, an unwillingness to inquire into the events of the past in order that we may understand the tendencies of the present.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Enactment of S. 3574 to Prevent Smuggling of Immigrants Disguised as Seamen

Resolution No. 40.—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, Immigration of aliens into the United States, in violation of the law, is proceeding in increasing numbers, notwithstanding the general law, which permits only a specific number from each foreign nation outside of American continent; and

WHEREAS, Such immigration is effected through the shipping, which is so regulated that it constitutes an open side-door into the country and is an invitation to smuggling of so-called seamen into our ports; and

WHEREAS, It is notorious that vessels are bringing into our ports more so-called seamen, who are, in fact, nothing but immigrants in disguise, and that they are bringing many more than they are faking away, thus leaving behind them any number, from up to sixty or more men, who promptly vanish in the population; and

WHEREAS, This immigration at present is mostly from the Mediterranean countries and from China, and is sure to be extended so as to come from other ports and be made up of other races partly or wholly excluded; and

WHEREAS, The port of Hamburg has been doing already such thriving business in this smuggling and has caused the arrest and imprisonment of a large number of conspirators; and

WHEREAS, The premium for landing Chinese has reached a figure of some eleven hundred dollars per person, and the premium from Italy, Greece, Southern France, Belgium and Germany ranges from two hundred to four hundred dollars; and

WHEREAS, The bill, S. 3574, introduced by Senator King of Utah, passed by the Senate and then held up in the committee on immigration and naturalization of the House will effectively

close this open side-door and compel some real respect for our immigration laws by those that control and operate shipping, foreign and domestic; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we earnestly request Congress to pass the bill in the early part of the coming Congress, to the end that the side-door may be closed and our immigration laws respected.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 40.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INJUNCTION ISSUED AGAINST UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, PITTSBURGH DISTRICT

President Green: The Chair desires to interrupt the report of the committee just at this point for the purpose of recognizing Delegate Hall of the United Mine Workers of America, to make a statement to the convention regarding a sweeping injunction just issued by the United States Court at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, restraining the United Mine Workers from doing many, many things. I think it will be appropriate and proper for Delegate Hall, representing the miners, to make a statement now.

DELEGATE HALL

(United Mine Workers of America)

As the chairman has stated, I desire to make a brief statement to you this morning relative to the action taken by one of the judges in Western Pennsylvania in issuing a sweeping injunction yesterday, prohibiting the membership of the United Mine Workers of America, who are on strike in the Western Pennsylvania district since April 1 of this year—about 16,000 members of whom celebrated the second anniversary of their strike two months ago.

This morning we are in session here on the anniversary of the discovery of this country by Columbus. Yesterday we entered our protest, through the adoption of several resolutions, against the powers taken upon themselves by the courts of this country in depriving us of our rights as American citizens, and while we were taking that action this judge, according to press reports

this morning, Judge Schoonmaker, issued an injunction in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The statement in the press is as follows:

One of the most sweeping federal court injunctions in the history of labor disputes was in effect here tonight against the United Mine Workers of America, its officials and its members. Practically every activity of the union, directed against the non-union Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation, was restrained by the preliminary order handed down by Judge F. P. Schoonmaker.

To give you a brief statement of the attitude of this Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company, let me say that up until March 31 of this year this company was under contract with the United Mine Workers of America, operating its mines as union mines. They participated in the joint conference that was held in Miami, Florida, in February of this year, which resulted in failure to negotiate a new wage scale.

Since the strike became effective, April 1, or shortly thereafter, the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company served eviction notices on their employees who are members of our organization living in the houses owned by this company. The United Mine Workers of America, through the officers of its organization, defended these men against being evicted from their homes by the coal company.

We were successful to some degree in the courts of the justices of the peace, and in some cases they decided against us, but in order to give to our membership the protection we felt they were entitled to, all cases that were lost in the lower courts were appealed to the higher courts. Bond was furnished by the organization that it would bear the expense of appealing these cases and the payment of rent for these houses should the cases be decided against us by the higher courts.

The coal company, being opposed to this procedure and having lost, then resorted to what some in the labor movement call at times direct action. After the court had decided that these men and their families could remain in their houses and carry the cases to the higher courts, then the coal company resorted to the practice of

prohibiting the trespass on their properties of anyone except the representatives of the company and those they had imported to work as non-union men in the mines, prohibiting the milk drivers from delivering milk to the striking miners in their homes, prohibiting the delivery of foodstuffs, prohibiting the doctors from coming on the premises unless they were given a permit by the coal company or their representatives to do so, prohibiting members and friends of the families who were in these properties from visiting one another, resorting to almost everything that they possibly could to defeat the aims of the mine workers in their struggle for wages.

In some instances they tore the doors off the houses and took the windows out, in order to force the men to leave. Last, but not least, they employed men to take the roofs off the houses that the mine workers were living in and had placed bonds to pay the rent for these houses in case the higher court decided against us.

Every possible scheme to defeat our organization was put into effect by this coal company, but, being unsuccessful in their efforts in removing the doors and the roofs from the houses, denying the delivery of foodstuffs and milk to the striking miners, they then took the next step, against which we protested yesterday — the injunction method.

This injunction issued yesterday prohibits the United Mine Workers of America from assisting its members in opposing eviction from their homes by the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company, and, while we took action yesterday and went on record in opposition to the issuing of injunctions in labor disputes, we may do the same thing a hundred times and never accomplish anything.

I say to you I am of the opinion that the time has come for the working men and women of America to do something other than adopt resolutions. When we return to our homes from this convention we must go out and put into effect, one hundred per cent in activity and action, what we did yesterday by resolution.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: I rise to make a motion.

President Green: What is the nature of the motion?

Delegate Clarke: There are a number of delegates to this convention who find it necessary to make arrangements to return to their homes to take care of the business confronting their various organizations, and I believe we should assist them in doing that.

I therefore move that the election of officers and the selection of the next convention city be taken up as a special order of business at 2:30 o'clock Thursday afternoon, October 13.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, chairman of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Endorsing Bill H.R. 1383 to Transfer to Department of Labor Enforcement of Navigation Laws

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, There is a continuous decrease in the number of men certified by the local inspectors as a sufficient deck crew for our merchant vessels, the vessels being so undermanned in numbers as well as in skill as to make safe navigation impossible and the maintaining of the vessels in anything like a seaworthy manner; and

WHEREAS, This seems to arise from the fact that the same persons, who inspect the vessels, who provide what the crew shall be, what safety rules shall be adopted, are the same persons who try the officers after investigating the cause of any disaster and who naturally will find the fault to be with the personnel since otherwise it would have to be found in the vessel itself, which would mean that the inspectors have failed in their duty; and

WHEREAS, While the vessels, the material and the personnel are under the same departmental jurisdiction there is sure to be a continuous degeneration of the personnel, which must end in disaster to our merchant marine and our seapower; and

WHEREAS, H. R. 1383, a bill to transfer from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Labor the duty and power to enforce so much of

the navigation laws and laws governing the steamboat inspection service as relate to persons employed in seafaring occupations, and for other purposes, was introduced in the last Congress but failed to pass; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we earnestly petition Congress to give careful consideration to said bill and to pass it with such amendments as may be considered wise and needed.

The committee recommends that the legislation proposed in Resolution No. 41 be approved in principle and that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such steps as may be best calculated to secure the enactment of legislation in conformity with that principle.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Eight-Hour Day for Sailors Employed on United States Merchant Vessels

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander and Paul Scharrenberg of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, The United States has adopted as a policy that those who labor for the national government shall do so on the eight-hour day, forty-eight hours per week; and

WHEREAS, The American people, through national and state laws, have found it so successful that President Harding felt it to be his duty to intervene and induce the steel trust to abolish the twelve-hour day, Sunday and Monday alike, or eighty-four hours per week; and

WHEREAS, The World War, with its special need for labor, did not depart from this principle, but, in fact, made it more mandatory, because it was found to be a blessing not only to man, but also to industry; and

WHEREAS, A large part of our merchant marine has gone on three watches—the eight-hour day; and

WHEREAS, The Shipping Board, when it is compelled by the Supreme Court of the United States to comply with the safety law that provides an equal number of men on deck during night and day, does so by giving orders for a twelve-hour day, Sunday and Monday alike, thus re-establishing the eighty-four hour week; and

WHEREAS, We can only understand this to indicate a determination to go back to the twelve-hour day generally on shore as well as on the sea; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, hereby

appeals to President Coolidge to issue an executive order providing that the sailors working for the United States on merchant vessels and on transports shall, under normal conditions, be placed in three equal watches—the eight-hour day—to the end that sailors so far as possible may be treated as well as others who work for the United States, and that the fear of the return of the twelve-hour day on land may be relieved; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent as soon as may be to the President of the United States.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 43 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reports on Resolutions Nos. 44, 66 and 67, jointly:

Boulder Canyon Dam

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, assembled in its forty-seventh annual convention at Los Angeles, California, reaffirms its previous stand in favor of the control and development of the Colorado River by the Government in the manner recommended by the engineers of the Reclamation Bureau of the Department of the Interior, for the following reasons:

1. The federal government is the only agency which can adequately deal with the interstate and international questions involved.

2. It is a recognized duty of the federal government to provide protection from floods. The proposed works outlined by the government engineers will turn this great annual menace into a great national asset.

3. The erection of a 550-foot dam at or near Boulder Canyon, as recommended by the Reclamation Bureau, will conserve all the flood waters, which are now wasted into the Gulf of California, and give an equated flow to the lands in Arizona and California now under cultivation and make possible the reclamation of thousands of additional acres of desert lands in those states.

4. The hydro-electric energy which can be generated at the dam, in accordance with the plan suggested by the Secretary of the Interior, and a small charge for the storage of water for irrigation and domestic use, will in less than a generation return to the United States Treasury all the moneys advanced by the Government, together with interest thereon.

5. The building of the Boulder Canyon Dam will remove the annual flood menace from the Imperial Valley and the building of an All-American Canal, which is an essential part of the great project, will relieve the ranchers of Imperial Valley of the present precarious method of bringing all their water through the Re-

public of Mexico, and also will relieve them from the necessity of turning over one-half of the water in their canal to Mexican landowners.

6. On account of the many questions involved (not only interstate and international, but on account of the conflicting interests of flood control, irrigation and power development), the federal government is the only neutral agency which can supervise the works.

7. The development of this project will not only return to the United States Treasury in a few years the money advanced but will create many millions of new wealth, which will assist in the payment of taxes, local, state and national, and assure the establishment of hundreds of new industries, thus creating employment for thousands of men and women.

8. The climatic conditions in the valleys to be benefited by this project permit the successful cultivation of winter vegetables and other crops which do not enter into competition with farmers in the United States.

9. The present unregulated flow of the Colorado River and the necessity of bringing the water for the Imperial Valley through Mexico is permitting the reclamation of many thousands of acres of new land in Mexico each year with cheap Asiatic labor. The principal crop of these Mexican lands is cotton, which directly competes with the cotton crop of our Southern States. The Boulder Canyon Dam and the All-American Canal will permit the control of the flow of water in the river so as to curb this growing competition.

10. The unprecedented growth of the cities and towns of Southern California will be forced to cease in a few years if they remain dependent upon their present water supply. The creation of the large storage contemplated in this project will permit these cities and towns to secure, at their own expense, an adequate supply of water for their future growth.

11. The government, in partial recognition of its debt to those who responded to its call in the hour of need, reserves for entry by ex-service men all Government land brought under cultivation by this project.

The Swing-Johnson Bill, which has been pending before Congress for many years, and has for its sole purpose the enactment into law of the recommendations made by various government officials, should receive favorable consideration at the next session of Congress, to the end that this great work shall be pushed to early completion and the many benefits which will flow therefrom may be realized.

In conclusion, we extend our congratulations and good will to all those officials, National, state and local, who have gone on record as favoring the early completion of this great undertaking, which, in addition to giving immediate relief from a threatened calamity, will establish the principle that the great natural resources of our country shall be retained by all the people for the benefit of all

the people instead of being given to predatory corporations for the benefit of a few stockholders.

Petitioning the President and Secretary of State to Negotiate a Treaty Between the United States and Mexico in Regard to the Allocation of the Waters of the Colorado River

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate C. T. Francis of the Phoenix, Arizona, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The prosperity and growth of the Colorado River states, namely, Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming, are dependent upon present and increasing use of the waters of the Colorado River for domestic, agricultural, industrial and other beneficial purposes, and the need of many regions of these states for additional water from that source, already is extremely acute and will become increasingly so; and

WHEREAS, Said river is an international stream between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico with all of the water supplying the same coming from the United States of America, and the United States of Mexico is rapidly extending the irrigated area supplied from said river within her own boundaries, and great storage projects within the United States of America are in existence and in contemplation; and

WHEREAS, Said United States of Mexico, although having no strictly legal right to a continuance of the river flow for beneficial purposes, nevertheless, may hereafter make some claim thereto; and

WHEREAS, Under acts of Congress of May 13, 1924, and March 3, 1927, a commission of three has been appointed by the President to co-operate with representatives of the United States of Mexico in a study regarding the equitable use of the waters of the Colorado River and other international waters for the purpose of securing information on which to base a treaty relative to international uses;

NOW THEREFORE, And to the end that no unfortunate misunderstanding may arise between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico, and that no false encouragement may be given to present or future developments along the Colorado River in the United States of Mexico, we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the City of Los Angeles on this 3rd day of October, do hereby in great earnestness and concern make common petition that a note be dispatched to the government of the United States of Mexico calling attention

of that government to the fact that neither it nor its citizens or alien investors have any legal right as against the United States of America or its citizens to a continuance of the flow of the Colorado River for beneficial purposes and that the United States of Mexico can expect no such continuance except to the extent that as a matter of comity the two governments may declare hereafter by treaty and that especially under no circumstances can the United States of Mexico hope to use water made available through storage works constructed or to be constructed within the United States of America, or hope to found any right upon any use thereof. We believe, too, so great are the water necessities of our states, that any adjustment made with the United States of Mexico concerning the Colorado River should be based upon that river alone. We further earnestly suggest that a special commission be created by act of congress for the Colorado River alone, a majority of the commission to be appointed from citizens of the Colorado River states, or that by act of congress the present commission already referred to be enlarged to contain two additional members to come from the Colorado River states.

It is only by such precautionary measures, promptly taken, that our seven states with their millions of people can be given a basis of economic certainty, adequate protection, and a feeling of security pending the negotiation of an early treaty between the two governments.

And your memorialists will forever pray.

States Rights in Colorado River

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate C. T. Francis of the Phoenix, Arizona, Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, It is the settled law of this country that the ownership of and dominion and sovereignty over lands covered by navigable waters within the limits of the several states of the Union belong to the respective states within which they are found, with the consequent right to use or dispose of any portion thereof, when that can be done without substantial impairment of the interests of the public in the waters, and subject always to the paramount right of Congress to control their navigation so far as may be necessary for the regulation of commerce with foreign nations and among the states; and

WHEREAS, It is the settled law of this country that, subject only to the settlement of controversies between them by interstate compact, or decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, the exclusive sovereignty over all of the waters within the limits of the several states belongs to the respective states within which they are

found, and that sovereignty over waters constituting the boundary between two states is equal in each of such respective states; and

WHEREAS, It is the sense of the American Federation of Labor that the exercise by the United States Government of the delegated constitutional authority to control navigation for the regulation of interstate and foreign commerce does not confer upon such government the use of waters for any other purpose and does not divest the states of their sovereignty over such waters for any other purpose that will not interfere with navigation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this conference of the American Federation of Labor and the duly authorized and appointed delegates of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Los Angeles, California, in convention, this 3rd day of October; that

The rights of the states under such settled law shall be maintained.

The states have a legal right to demand and receive compensation for the use of their lands and waters.

The state or states upon whose land a dam is built by the United States Government, or whose waters are used in connection with a dam built by the United States Government to generate hydro-electric energy, are entitled to the prior right to acquire the hydro-electric energy so generated or to acquire the use of such dam for the generation of hydro-electric energy, upon undertaking to pay to the United States Government the charges that may be made for such hydro-electric energy or for the use of such dam, to amortize the government investment, together with interest thereon, or to agree upon any other method for the use of their waters.

The Senators and Representatives in Congress from, and the state officials of, the Colorado River Basin States, should support all legislation that tends to enforce or make effective such rights and oppose all attempts through legislative, judicial or administrative action to nullify, alter or depreciate such rights.

The committee has given careful attention to Resolutions Nos. 44, 66 and 67, dealing with the Boulder Canyon dam project and the waters of the Colorado River. The language of each of the resolutions is such that their adoption by the American Federation of Labor would not be in the interest of a proper water supply for the people of the states affected. Resolution No. 44 is predicated largely upon the proposition that the diversion of the Colorado River waters before they enter Mexico will lessen competition from

Mexico against certain American interests. We feel that the American Federation of Labor believes the problem should be considered from the viewpoint of the water and power needs of the states in the Colorado River system rather than from the viewpoint of Mexican competition with American industries. Resolution No. 66, the adoption of which was urged upon the committee by the representatives of both the Arizona and California proposals, states that the Colorado River "is an international stream between the United States of America and the United States of Mexico." The committee does not consider this to be a correct description of the Colorado River. Resolution No. 67 presents a highly technical question of law as affecting the ownership of power resources.

The committee recommends that the declaration of previous conventions relative to the Colorado River system be reaffirmed and that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such action in relation thereto as may, in the judgment of the Council, seem best calculated to aid the people of the states affected in speedily and effectively solving the problem of storage and distribution of adequate water supplies for each of the states and to promote the general development of the water and power resources of the Colorado River system under conditions that will promote and safeguard fully the interests of the people.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McCluskey, Arizona State Federation of Labor: The time of adjournment is near at hand, and it does not leave much time for discussion of this question. May it go over until the morning session?

President Green: The Chair is impressed with the statement of Delegate McCluskey, and it is my judgment that discussion of the matter should be postponed until the opening of tomorrow morning's session. If there are no objections to that course it will be followed and we will take up another matter just now that we can dispose

of in the next few minutes. Hearing no objection, discussion of these resolutions and the committee's report will take place promptly at 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

MEMORIAL TO DECEASED MEMBERS

President Green: It has been customary for the delegates attending the conventions of the American Federation of Labor to pay a silent tribute to the outstanding members of our organization who have passed away during the year. There are a number who represented different organizations in official capacities, and we shall have their names read. If there are any who are not included in the list it may be added to by the representatives of the organizations with which they are identified. After the names have been read, then the Chair will call upon the delegates to rise and stand in silence for a moment as a tribute to the names and memory of our departed brothers.

Secretary Morrison then read the following list, which was completed by the naming of deceased members by delegates from the floor:

Chas. J. Phillips, Vice President, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, etc.; died at Dunkirk, N. Y., Dec. 5, 1926.

Chas. J. Lammert, Secretary, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, etc.; died at Lafayette, Indiana, Dec. 14, 1926.

William F. Quesse, President, Building Service Employees' International Union; died Feb. 16, 1927.

Henry Skeffington, formerly Secretary of Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union, and at the time of his death was connected with the Conciliation Bureau of the Department of Labor; died June, 1927.

Charles R. Atherton, Secretary-Treasurer, Metal Polishers' International Union; died June 24, 1927.

W. H. Thompson, Editor and Manager of the "Switchmen's Journal"; died July, 1927.

Carl Bergstrom, President, Paving Cutters' Union of the United States and Canada; died July 2, 1927.

William J. Tracy, Secretary of the Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, died July 9, 1927.

Peter Cook, Vice President, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada; died August 3, 1927.

David A. Carey, Musicians, twice Fraternal Delegate from Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to A. F. of L. con-

ventions, twenty-two years a Delegate to the A. F. of L.

Walter Nesbit, Jr., United Mine Workers.

George W. Briggs, International Auditor of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs for twenty-two years; died August, 1927.

Arthur Muhleman, member of the Executive Board, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association; died January, 1927.

P. J. Carlson, Executive Board Member, Illinois State Council of Carpenters; died June, 1927.

Hedwig Hochbaum Hume, one of the founders of the American Federation of Teachers; died February, 1927.

Mrs. Will R. Boyer, wife of Will R. Boyer, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union; died August 21, 1927.

William T. Probert, Chairman of the Executive Board, Molders' International Union; died February 28, 1927.

Enoch Howell, International Organizer, United Mine Workers of America; died July, 1927.

Charles B. Smith, Building Trades Council, Cleveland, Ohio; died October 4, 1927.

David Daniels, one of the founders of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen and former Grand Secretary-Treasurer; died December, 1926.

Angus W. Kerr, General Counsel, District 12, United Mine Workers of America; died June, 1927.

J. E. Giles, President of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, of Washington, D. C., and Assistant to Secretary Morrison at the headquarters and conventions of the American Federation of Labor; died October 7, 1927.

At the conclusion of the reading of the list the delegates arose and stood silently with bowed heads for one minute.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor, announced that a Labor Institute would be arranged for at Laramie, Wyoming, if any of the international officers and delegates could arrange to stop there en route to their homes.

Chairman Garman, of the Local Entertainment Committee, made an announcement with regard to the visit to the motion picture studios and stated that this event would conclude the official program of entertainment. On behalf of the committee he expressed their pleasure in being able to entertain the delegates and visitors.

At 12:45 p. m. the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 13th.

Ninth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Los Angeles, Cal.,
October 13, 1927.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Cranna, Haggerty (J. B.), Belair, Kasten, Nelson, Ornburn, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Shamp, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney (T. J.), Squibb, Tighe, Brock, Askew, Bock (P.), Bjorklund, Fljozdal, Hogan, Strother, Gorman (P. E.), Lane (D.), Kelly (M. J.), McCoy, Hedrick, Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Wilson (J.), Hannah, Donlin, Blehl, Burke (T. E.), Van De Water, Burke, La Belle, Grimshaw, Cashen, Perry (J. M.), Spencer, Harris, Atkins, Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Campbell (J. C.), Roberts, Stroud, Studdard, Kelly (S. G.), Kosta, Malley, Cain, Buckland, Martel, Barry (E. D.), Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, McSpadden, Rice, Contner, Coulter, Brady (P. J.), Holcraft, Conkey, Draper, Wickert, Crowell, Edwards (E. W.), Bower, Toshi, Reagan, Ohlsen, Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Dean, Trimmer, Covert, Leavitt, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller (J. B.), Goldberg (I.), Campbell (A. C.), Flynn, Gayhart, Campbell (E.), Elliott.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Minneapolis, Minn.,
Oct. 13, 1927.

American Federation of Labor
Convention,
Los Angeles, Calif.

The Minneapolis Central Labor Union requests your convention to urge international representatives who are attending convention upon their return home to visit Minneapolis and St. Paul, with the hope of strengthening the trade union movement and making a survey of the industrial situation in the twin cities. There is a real sentiment for organization here and support is needed.

DORA KNUZINS,
Recording Secretary,

Minneapolis Central Labor Union.

Telegrams seeking the 1928 convention for the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, were received from M. B. Glamann, Recording Secretary of Carpenters' Union No. 1846, and from Robert Soule, Secretary of the New Orleans Building Trades Council.

Delegate Hayes, Typographical Union, obtained unanimous consent of the convention to introduce the following resolution:

DEATH OF CHARLES SMITH

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates Max S. Hayes, International Typographical Union; Thomas S. Farrell, H. & R. E. I. A. & B. I. L. of A.; John O'Brien, Iron Workers; Charles J. Case, Lathers; Wm. J. McSorley, Lathers; Joe Gaviak, Roofers; John H. Bell, Lathers; Thos. J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Delegates of this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor have learned with deep regret of the sudden demise of Brother Charles Smith, for many years Secretary of the Cleveland Building Trades Council, while in attendance as a visitor at the Convention of the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Throughout his life Brother Charles Smith was a loyal, staunch and energetic trade unionist, one whose services were invaluable in the effort to improve the conditions of the workers, and which services will be an inspiration to others to emulate to further our cause as a humanitarian movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, delegates to this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., convey our heartfelt sympathy to the family and friends of our late Brother Charles Smith in this dark hour of their bereavement, and we herewith instruct the Secretary of this Convention, that this Resolution be spread upon the minutes of this session, and copies be forwarded to the family of the deceased, the Cleveland Federation of Labor, and the Cleveland Building Trades Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Boulder Dam Resolutions

President Green: When the convention adjourned last evening there was before it the report of the Committee on Resolutions on the Boulder dam question, Resolutions Nos. 44, 66 and 67. That report is now before the convention and the Chair recognizes Chairman Woll.

Vice-President Woll, chairman of the committee: Since the report of the committee has been submitted to the convention some question has been raised as to the meaning of the report with reference to reaffirmation of previous convention declarations.

Resolution No. 44, in its preamble, states:

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, assembled in its forty-seventh annual convention at Los An-

geles, California, reaffirms its previous stand in favor of the control and development of the Colorado river by the government in the manner recommended by the engineers of the Reclamation Bureau of the Department of the Interior, for the following reasons."

The committee, in its report, states:

"The committee recommends that the declaration of previous conventions relative to the Colorado river system be reaffirmed and that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Council."

The question asked was: Did the committee's report imply reaffirmation of the declaration contained in Resolution No. 44? The Committee on Resolutions has made a search of the convention proceedings and has not been able to find any such declaration or decision as is contained in the preamble of Resolution No. 44. Therefore, the committee's report does not mean and is not intended to imply that we reaffirm such a statement as is contained in that preamble. To the contrary, we refer to the general declaration made by previous conventions in the matter of "development and extension of the reclamation of arid, swamp and overflow lands, development of such part of the undeveloped water power in this country as would find an immediate market. This development to include the powers at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee and others in the Appalachians, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Coast Ranges."

As we understand it, with that interpretation all parties concerned are agreeable to have the subject matter referred to the Executive Council for study and action.

I might state that in the hearings there was submitted to the committee what is purported to be a part of the American Federation of Labor report of 1922, which is said to have been as follows:

"We have carefully analyzed the need and opportunity for real, necessary constructive works, and have considered what we think are of the most importance, in housing, reclamation and water transportation and power construction.

"We have generalized this entire matter under three captions, namely: Reclamation of the desert contiguous to the great Colorado river system and including other worthy reclamation projects in other parts of the country; development of the plan to connect the

Great Lakes with the St. Lawrence for deep-water shipping; and the fullest development of the Mississippi system in its entirety.

"In the general reclamation of the Colorado and other similar, though smaller, projects, we have in mind the inclusion of reclamation plans in general.

"The possibilities of the Colorado system challenge adequate description. Immense tracts of land, the richest in the world, can, throughout this valley and the desert, be brought under a high state of cultivation, which will necessitate towns and cities, manufacturing, and railroads, as the development continues.

"The reclamation of desert and swamp, the building of good roads and canals and adequate housing plans might well absorb our attention and energies in these crucial times. That nation that can build, while other nations decay, is the nation that will endure."

So far we have been unable to find that excerpt in the convention proceedings, and, if it is, it would be but in further confirmation of these declarations already made. So that the committee's report, when it speaks of reaffirmation of previous decisions, is to be intended to apply to those I have referred to, and not to the preamble in Resolution No. 44.

Delegate Murphy, California State Federation of Labor: The only thing we desire to make plain is that we, of course, do not expect the convention to reaffirm anything that it has not taken action upon. To be challenged to produce a record five minutes before the meeting this morning is a very difficult thing. However, I have since been informed that the convention of 1920 endorsed a report, as has been read by the chairman of the committee, so that if it is understood that all that is asked is that we reaffirm whatever is in previous records, still we do not want any reaffirmation of something that never occurred, but to reaffirm the previous actions of the convention on the subject matter.

Chairman Woll: If the declaration just read is contained in the 1920 proceedings, the committee is perfectly agreeable that the declaration shall be included.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution

No. 45 as follows: In the first and second "Whereas" and in the "Resolve" strike out the words "Filipino laborers" and insert, in lieu thereof, the words "Asiatic laborers from the Philippine Islands," and in the third "Whereas" strike out the words "California and other Pacific Coast states" and insert, in lieu thereof, the words "the Pacific Coast states and other states." Further, in the last "Whereas" strike out the word "Filipinos" and insert, in lieu thereof, the words "all Asiatics."

The resolution, as amended, reads:

Urging Legislation Excluding Filipino Laborers

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Through the instrumentality of the sugar planters of Hawaii many thousands of Asiatic laborers from the Philippine Islands have been brought to the Hawaiian Islands and have subsequently, of their own volition migrated to Pacific Coast States; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that an ever-increasing number of Filipino laborers are also migrating directly from the Philippines to the principal Pacific Coast ports; and

WHEREAS, This free and unrestricted influx of another group of Asiatics is adding to and complicating the racial and economic problems of the Pacific Coast states and other states; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has held the Filipinos to be ineligible to citizenship of the United States; and

WHEREAS, All the objections that have been raised against the immigration of Chinese and Japanese apply with equal force to all Asiatics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in forty-seventh annual convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., Oct. 3, 1927, that we strongly urge Congress to enact legislation prohibiting Asiatic laborers from the Philippine Islands from migrating to the United States, either by direct route or via the Territory of Hawaii.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

**DELEGATE SCHARRENBERG
(Seamen)**

The question of Asiatic immigration has been confronting the people of California since the fifties. First we had the Chinese influx and the people of our state for more than thirty years

were compelled to carry on propaganda before the people of the United States generally realized that it was necessary to have Chinese exclusion by law.

At the very time when Commodore Perry knocked at the gates of Japan the California legislature was passing laws endeavoring to restrict the influx of Chinese. After we had the Chinese excluded the Japanese problem was with us. Most of you here are familiar with the fact that it took two decades at least before we had that question settled. We tried to exclude the Japanese by a so-called gentlemen's agreement under which the government of Japan promised, in a series of diplomatic notes, to keep out their laborers, but this arrangement was never effective, and after a trial of fourteen years it was abolished by the Immigration Law of 1924, wherein all Asiatics are excluded by the very simple provision that no one shall be admitted to the United States as an immigrant who is ineligible to the citizenship of our country.

When Congress passed that immigration law we did not abrogate the Chinese Exclusion Act and did not abrogate the Barred Zone Exclusion Act, but we added that little phrase to existing exclusion legislation, so at the present time we exclude all Asiatic laborers from our shores except the Filipinos.

About two thousand miles from our shores there is an American territory generally referred to as the Hawaiian Islands. The Hawaiian Islands were annexed to our country in 1898, and there has been a remarkable history in those islands since 1898. The principal industry of the territory of Hawaii is sugar planting and cane growing. In the old kingdom of Hawaii there existed a so-called compulsory labor contract. Under that contract the sugar planters sought and imported laborers from the four corners of the earth. Those laborers were required to work out a contract for five years. They could not escape that contract under any condition. If they refused to work they were put in jail and kept there until they were ready to proceed to work, and the time they were locked up in jail didn't apply to their labor contract.

Of course, with annexation in 1898 the compulsory labor contract came to an end. Unfortunately, the sugar planters of the island, who were highly organized, continued to import Japanese and practically filled those islands with natives of Japan. Later on the Japanese government, of its own volition, included the territory of Hawaii in the gentlemen's agreement. By that time, however, Hawaii had become, to all intents and purposes, a province of the Orient.

Today, out of a population of approximately 300,000, there are only 30,000 white men and they are not all Americans. That includes the foreign population, such as Russians, Span-

iards, Germans, etc. Only one out of ten in this American territory is a white man. More than one-half of all the children attending the public schools in the territory of Hawaii are Japanese. Let me repeat—more than one-half of the children in an American territory attending the public schools are Japanese.

Of all the laborers that were imported to the Hawaiian Islands, few remained. Practically all those who were imported from Portugal and Porto Rico, or a very substantial percentage of them, moved over to the Pacific Coast. The sugar planters were compelled to seek their laborers elsewhere. They could no longer obtain them in Europe because the European immigrants were unwilling to go to these islands, they could no longer bring them in from China or Japan, and there was no place left on earth except our Philippine Islands.

During the last twenty years the sugar planters of Hawaii have imported to those islands in round numbers approximately 75,000 laborers to work on the plantations. Only about 15,000 have returned to their native land, leaving a net importation of 60,000. It is estimated that about 30,000 have already found their way to California and adjacent states. Perhaps you have seen them on the Pullman cars taking the places of the colored men who are now organizing. If you take a trip to the Hawaiian Islands on any of our passenger boats, you will find the Filipinos in the crew, having taken the places of the non-union white men who revolted against the working conditions imposed upon them.

So we have with us now the Filipino labor problem, and this resolution was introduced to ask the American Federation of Labor to again come to the rescue of the Coast states, as has been done so effectively and efficiently in the case of other Asiatics.

You see under our system of government it is necessary to educate all the people of America about the immigration problem of the Pacific Coast states before remedial legislation may be expected. We would be entirely helpless and impotent were it not for the fact that the American Federation of Labor has always been willing and ready to go to the front and stand behind the demand for effective Asiatic exclusion, as voiced by the Coast states.

I am glad to know that the committee has reported favorably on this resolution, and I trust we will have a Filipino exclusion law before any considerable number arrive on our shores.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

DEATH OF CHARLES SMITH

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates Max S. Hayes, International Typographical Union; Thomas S. Farrell, H. & R. E. I. A. & B. I. L. of A.; John O'Brien, Iron Workers; Charles J. Case, Lathers; Wm.

J. McSorley, Lathers; Joe Gavlak, Roofers; John H. Bell, Lathers; Thos. J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Delegates of this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor have learned with deep regret of the sudden demise of Brother Charles Smith, for many years Secretary of the Cleveland Building Trades Council, while in attendance as a visitor at the Convention of the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Throughout his life Brother Charles Smith was a loyal, staunch and energetic trade unionist, one whose services were invaluable in the effort to improve the conditions of the workers, and which services will be an inspiration to others to emulate to further our cause as a humanitarian movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, delegates to this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., convey our heartfelt sympathy to the family and friends of our late Brother Charles Smith in this dark hour of their bereavement, and we herewith instruct the Secretary of this Convention, that this Resolution be spread upon the minutes of this session, and copies be forwarded to the family of the deceased, the Cleveland Federation of Labor, and the Cleveland Building Trades Council.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Case, Lathers: Might I have the privilege of saying just a word in behalf of Brother Smith? I want to extend my appreciation to the convention for the privilege of having this resolution presented. In the taking away of Brother Smith from Cleveland a master mind in the building trades movement has vanished. I don't know of any city in the United States—and I have traveled all over this country—where they have a condition from all angles that makes it necessary to protect the labor movement as they have in Cleveland, and most everything that has been accomplished has been done through the master mind of Brother Smith. They control more work in the city hall, in the court house, in the digging of sewers, and in many other places that would take too much time to tell you about this morning.

I want to thank you again for the privilege of presenting this resolution.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Favoring Legislation Requiring Competent Instructors for Trade Schools

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Graduates of trade schools, industrial and vocational schools enter industry without full knowledge of the laws regulating conditions of labor, and the wage agreements relative to trade unions in their respective industries; and

WHEREAS, Without this knowledge the conditions gained through these laws and the efforts of the trade union movements to improve the standard of living of the workers will be endangered; and

WHEREAS, Such organizations as the Industrial Association, Open Shop, and American Plan organizations quite often influence these students against the maintenance of these conditions and the benefits of the organized labor movements; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in Forty-seventh Annual Convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, use its influence to pass a law at the next Congress which will provide instructions and competent instructors who will meet the above situation.

The introducer of Resolution No. 47 requests leave to withdraw the resolution. The committee recommends that the request be granted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Independence of the Philippines

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States in the preamble to the Jones Law contains a solemn declaration of the purpose of the people of the United States to recognize the independence of the Philippines as soon as a stable government could be established therein; and

WHEREAS, The requirements regarding a stable government in the Philippines have been fulfilled for a number of years and the Filipinos have at various times, by virtually unanimous voice, expressed their earnest desire for national independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Forty-seventh Annual Convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, that we heartily favor the immediate grant of independence to the Filipino people.

Without undertaking to express any opinion with reference to the preamble

of Resolution No. 48, the committee recommends adoption of the resolve of that resolution, favoring the immediate grant of independence to the Filipino people.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pardons for Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Mooney case has been before the convention of the American Federation of Labor for many years; and

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, although innocent, are still in prison; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly demanded that justice be done in this case; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as urging His Excellency, C. C. Young, the Governor of California, to grant immediate unconditional pardons to Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

In relation to Resolution No. 49, urging the pardon of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, the committee is of the opinion that the general purpose of the resolution can best be accomplished by instructing the President and the Executive Council to use their judgment as to the procedure best calculated to bring about the release of Mooney and Billings and recommends that the President and Council be so instructed. The committee also recommends that all affiliated organizations, including central bodies and state federations of labor, be guided solely by the declarations of the American Federation of Labor and the advice given from time to time by the President and the Executive Council whenever called upon to take action regarding the case to which the resolution refers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Uniform Badge for Labor Day

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has long existed a need for a uniform insignia for use on Labor Day by organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The request that such insignia be adopted by all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco for use on Labor Day was presented to the Central bodies in San Francisco, and by them favorably received and adopted; and

WHEREAS, The matter was enthusiastically received and successfully inaugurated in San Francisco in the short period between its inception and Labor Day, its success being evidenced by the fact that more than 30,000 uniform buttons were worn by organized labor in that one city upon September 5, 1927; and

WHEREAS, Believing that the efficacy of the parade on Labor Day is each year lessened by many factors brought into existence by the continued progress of the worker, and believing that the display of a uniform insignia upon Labor Day will forcibly demonstrate the solidarity of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1927, heartily approves the idea of a uniform badge for Labor Day and urges all affiliated unions to support the movement to adopt a uniform badge for use by all organized workers on Labor Day.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 50 be adopted and that the Executive Council be authorized to prepare and adopt a suitable design for the proposed Labor Day badge and to make such arrangement for the distribution and use of the badge as in the judgment of the Council may seem wise and proper.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Ely Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities

Resolution No. 51—By Florence C. Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always stood for democracy in education and vigorously opposed the carrying on, in our public schools, of propaganda to advance the special interests of a few; and

WHEREAS, There has been established in Northwestern University in Chicago, under the direction of Prof. Richard T. Ely, an "Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities"—which Institute, though financed by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, railroads, public utilities and other private corporations, declares itself to be impartial and disinterested in its activities; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers, after a full and careful in-

vestigation, finds that this Institute is hostile to the best interests, not merely of the wage-worker but of the farmer—that it is carrying on in our educational institutions, under the cloak of disinterested research, propaganda against the further taxation of land values and other natural resources speculatively held—measures which the A. F. of L. has long favored—and propaganda in favor of the further taxation of sales of goods and articles for consumption — measures which the A. F. of L. has long opposed; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers has further found that this Institute, having started out with fixed and preconceived conclusions detrimental to the working classes and advantageous to the corporations supporting it, is misusing the conception of research and masquerading under false colors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Annual Convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., October 3 to 15, 1927, join with the American Federation of Teachers in condemning the Ely Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities as unworthy of the confidence and trust of the American people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all local and affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor put forth every effort to have all text and reference books prepared by the Ely Institute barred from the tax-supported schools, colleges and universities of the United States.

Resolution No. 51 proposes that the American Federation of Labor put forth every effort to have certain text and reference books "barred from the tax-supported schools, colleges and universities of the United States." The resolution charges that the Ely Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities, under whose auspices the text and reference books referred to are published, is engaged in propaganda intended to promote views not in accord with those held by the American Federation of Labor on the subject of taxation. Baldly stated, the proposal is that the American Federation of Labor set itself up as a judge to determine not only what text books shall be permitted in the public schools and the state colleges and state universities, but also to even limit the use of books for reference purposes in such institutions in cases where such books are regarded as antagonistic to views held by the American Federation of Labor. This we believe would not only be a dangerous denial of free speech and free press but would also be a very

serious violation of the principle of academic freedom.

It is often extremely difficult to ascertain what is truth in a given case and the opportunity must always be left free for the statement of conflicting views and for the clash of opposing opinions. This is as essential in schools, colleges and universities for teachers and for pupils as it is in the every day affairs of political and industrial life.

The committee lacks sufficient information upon which to base any definite criticism of the Ely Institute but even if the information at hand were sufficient to justify final conclusions against the institute, the committee believes that the policy of the American Federation of Labor in favor of free speech, free press and academic freedom should not be set aside. The committee therefore recommends that Resolution No. 51 be non-concurred in for the reasons stated in this report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE HANSON (Federation of Teachers)

I defer to the judgment of the committee in this matter of policy, but I wish to state the position of the American Federation of Teachers, who presented Resolution No. 51 through me. For every statement in this resolution I have presented absolute and adequate proof. The American Federation of Teachers has no sympathy with any school whose head teaches that tenancy is a necessity of the agricultural industry and that high wage is a cause of low productivity. But while we are as vitally concerned as you are in these two matters, as teachers our concern is in the question of academic freedom and the use of the schools for propaganda.

The American Federation of Teachers has always vigorously defended academic freedom, and it believes that a peculiarly dangerous attack on academic freedom is involved in the present conduct, control and financing of this institute. The American Federation of Teachers believes that unbiased research and the scientific method honestly used offers the best hope for sound solutions of our social, economic and political problems, and that anything which must discredit the agency of scientific research in the public mind is blocking progress at its source.

We find that the Institute for Research in Land Economics is so misusing the conception of research and the offense is the more serious and far-reaching because it inescapably in-

volves a great privately endowed university. There is not sufficient compensation for those concerned in the intellectual integrity of higher education, in the fact that the institute had previously left a great publicly supported institution, the University of Wisconsin.

This serious charge is based on the violation of a cardinal principle of scientific research, open-mindedness, the avoidance of preconceived, fixed ideas. The scientist may set up a hypothesis, but when it becomes an obsession he ceases to be a scientist. The following is an example of this advance determination of what the "research" is guaranteed to show. In 1922, early in the history of the institute, Professor Ely published the "Outlines of Land Economics," three base books, as the groundwork for the future research which would result in an announced 50 volumes. On page 117 of Volume 3 is found, "If regulation of size of land holdings is needed, this should be brought about by other methods than by taxation." In Ely's pamphlet, "Taxation of Land," published the same year, on page 47, we find, "If regulation of the size of land holdings is needed, this should be brought about by other methods than by taxation. Let us get the facts first and then undertake the proper regulation, but not by taxation."

He may be right. We are not here concerned in any theory of taxation—but closing the door in advance to any solution may seem to the director of the institute and his trustees and backers, vitiates any claim to disinterestedness, and degrades research to the level of special pleading.

In view of this spirit it is not surprising to find the president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, Robert Jamison, Jr., saying under the caption "Research" in his annual report to his organization for 1926:

"The Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities, of which Dr. Richard T. Ely is the head and which is now affiliated with Northwestern University, has undertaken to make an extensive study of the taxation of urban land values. This is one of the great problems with which we are vitally concerned. An impartial scientific survey of the facts in this connection will, we believe, help us to convince the nation, in a manner which our own statements cannot do, that real estate is bearing more than its just proportion of the tax burden. Moreover, such a report will emphasize the social and economic results of our present tax policies in a manner which will lift the discussion of the question far above any mere consideration of dollars and cents."

Mr. Jamison's frankness did not go so far as to add that a still greater advantage in the affiliation of the institute with a great university lay in the opportunity to influence the

minds of thousands of students who would carry the predetermined results of supposed research, stamped genuine by a great university, into the schools and communities of every section of the nation.

Nor is it surprising to find that while the institute receives from Northwestern University the use of valuable facilities, it is also largely financed by private foundations and organizations, among them the National Association of Real Estate Boards; nor that last June the National Association of Real Estate Boards doubled its dues for the avowed purpose, among others, of aiding research and education.

The American Federation of Teachers desires to avoid any misunderstanding. It is not questioning the sincerity of Professor Ely's convictions, nor the right of the organized real estate interests to finance research. The growing control of research by private endowment creates a complex social problem, which, happily, we are not called on to solve, but we gladly grant that scholars of high integrity may and do legitimately serve private foundations.

But the issue here is one of a masquerade under false colors. We have an institute affiliated with Northwestern University and vouched for by Northwestern as a genuine institute of research. This institute is largely supported by private groups, and it is obvious that much of that support would cease the moment the announced results of the research ran counter to the economical interests of those groups. The law of self-preservation may be presumed to operate in the case of institutions and even institutes. Certainly with the handicap of so equivocal a position, research cannot gain and maintain the confidence and respect of the public. And this unnatural union of university and research in the interests of supporting groups must react disastrously on the university. It seems to us an acute and insidious form of disguised control of higher education.

I object to the report of the committee because of its statement that this resolution violates the principle of academic freedom. The purpose of the American Federation of Teachers in introducing this resolution was because we believe the conduct, control and financing of the Ely Institute involves a particularly dangerous attack on academic freedom.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers: I move that this entire question be referred to the Executive Council for further investigation.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE OLANDER
(Secretary of the Committee)

I rise in defense of the report of the committee and to support the attitude of the American Federation of

Labor on the subject to which it refers. It should seem unnecessary to make any extended argument in defense of the committee's report to any one who has read the resolve of the resolution, which proposes that certain books be barred from all public schools, public colleges, and public universities.

The resolution calls for us to take action similar to that which was taken in the Tennessee legislature, to use the force of law to determine what shall be read in our public schools. You will note that not only does the resolution propose to bar text-books, but also to bar the use of these books as reference books.

It seems to me that nothing further need be said. To say that a matter of that kind should be submitted to the Executive Council for investigation is to repudiate our stand in favor of free speech and free press, and certainly very emphatically casts a doubt upon our attitude for academic freedom.

When the supporter of the resolution appeared before the committee she stated very earnestly and frankly that free speech was only for the purpose of disseminating truth, and indicated that the function of judging the truth lay entirely with us, and that the discussion of other things in our schools might very well be prohibited.

Is it necessary to analyze that sort of a position to the delegates of a convention of the American Federation of Labor? I think not. The committee does not undertake to express an opinion as to the Ely Institute. There are some who feel that the reflections cast upon the Northwestern University by those who are promoting the fight against the Ely Institute are unfortunate, to say the least. The university is a great institution, that has done and is doing a great deal of good, and though there are at least some in it who are opposed to the position taken by organized labor, yet the representatives of organized labor are not barred from its gates, but are frequently called upon to talk before classes in that institution.

On a number of occasions I have been requested by members of the faculty to appear before the various classes, and in no instance has any limit been placed upon what I was to say. There may have been those present, and sometimes were, who did not agree with me, and the result was a discussion. I think that was a very proper result.

It seems to me that the convention of the American Federation of Labor must be as liberal in its views on the subject of free speech, free publication and academic freedom as is the university against which the reflections are cast in the discussion of this resolution. I hope the motion to refer will be voted down and that the committee's report will be adopted.

President Green: The report of the committee is to non-concur in the resolution and, of course, the report of the committee is before the convention. The motion offered by Delegate Manion is to refer the report of the committee to the Executive Council. If that motion was submitted to the delegates it would be to refer to the Executive Council a report of a committee that non-concurred in a resolution. That seems to me to be contradictory and unparliamentary, and, while no point of order has been raised, the Chair will assume to exercise his prerogative by declaring the motion to refer out of order.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers: I beg to correct you and say that I moved that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for investigation.

President Green: The subject matter before the convention is the report of the committee, which is to non-concur, Brother Manion.

Delegate Galnor, Letter Carriers: Do you rule that a motion to recommit is not in order?

President Green: No, not a motion to recommit. A motion to refer to the Executive Council the report of a committee that non-concurs in a resolution—how would you get anywhere with that? Of course I understand what Delegate Manion means is to refer the resolution and the subject matter dealt with in the resolution to the Executive Council for investigation. Is that it?

Delegate Manion: Yes, sir.

President Green: If the report of the committee was disposed of, then your motion would be in order, Brother Manion. I fear that, under the circumstances, the motion would not be in order. The question is upon the report of the committee.

A viva voce vote was taken, and the motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

President Green: Delegate Manion, if you desire to offer your motion now the Chair will entertain it.

Delegate Russell, Commercial Telegraphers: I will make that motion—that the subject matter dealing with the Ely Institute be referred to the

Executive Council for further investigation.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: If the motion before the convention to refer to the Executive Council the subject matter with which this resolution deals is adopted, I hope the Executive Council will take into consideration the action of this convention in adopting the report of the committee, which non-concurs in the purpose of that resolution. When the resolution was considered by the committee it was realized that the matter could be disposed of by reference to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

As a member of the committee I proposed that action. I believe the time has arrived when the convention of the American Federation of Labor should not evade its responsibility by referring matters to the Executive Council which are not in harmony with previous declarations of the American Federation of Labor.

It appeared to me, as a member of the committee, that this resolution had for its purpose a restriction upon the use of text and reference books in educational institutions. We can all agree, I believe, as a fundamental proposition, that we favor free speech, free press and free schools for ourselves. I am one of those who are willing to extend the same rights to others, even though we don't agree with the purpose or with the declaration.

It seems to me that it would be inconsistent for this convention to adopt a restrictive resolution after it has declared for freedom upon these subjects. Your committee has studied the purpose of this resolution, has reported unfavorably, and this convention has adopted that report. Now it seems to me that if a further investigation is to be made of this subject by referring the matter back to the Executive Council, it is entirely proper that the Council should take into consideration the action of this convention in non-concurring in the sentiments expressed in this resolution.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers: My thought in the matter was that

this resolution came from the Federation of Teachers, an organization that in my opinion is fully competent, and if such an organization, whose studies embrace all phases of educational work, are convinced in their minds that there is something behind this Ely Institute that requires investigation by the labor movement of this country, this convention ought to give consideration to that recommendation. I confess that I do not understand all that is behind it, nor do I think the Committee on Resolutions understands it, but I do say that it is a subject matter worthy of study by us all, and particularly investigation by the Executive Council. And it is due to my respect for the intelligence and integrity of the Federation of Teachers that I rise here and ask that this matter be further investigated by the Executive Council.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor: I believed in the convention last year, when a resolution was introduced by Delegate Derrickson, of Chicago, as I believe this year when the same resolution is brought in by the American Federation of Teachers, that there are matters lying behind the resolution on which we are probably not informed, and which require at our hands that careful investigation that should always precede definite and final action by a convention of an American Federation of Labor.

In correspondence with Delegate Derrickson I am free to confess that I am not entirely clear as to the truthfulness or the basis of the charges made. As a member of an organization affiliated with this great body, I believe that all questions affecting the educational institutions of our country and the text books used therein are matters that should receive our most careful consideration. For that reason I support the motion to have the entire subject matter referred to the Executive Council of this Federation for more careful investigation and report.

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: The committee of course acted on the resolution and on the resolve and the instructions contained in that resolution and not upon any other phase of the question involved. The

resolution upon which the committee reported was:

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, October 3 to 15, 1927, join with the American Federation of Teachers in condemning the Ely Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities as unworthy of the confidence and trust of the American people."

That is one instruction we were asked to declare for. The second resolve is:

"RESOLVED, That all local and affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor put forth every effort to have all text and reference books prepared by the Ely Institute barred from the tax-supported schools, colleges and universities of the United States."

That is the second instruction. Mind you, that all statements made on the motion now before the convention clearly support the recommendation made by the committee and acted upon by this convention, first, in not condemning an institution before investigation or merely accepting an investigation by the American Federation of Teachers as being conclusive and not worthy of further investigation by ourselves.

Secondly, it calls for the barring of these text and reference books from any tax-supported schools. I think that everyone will agree that that would be a most dangerous procedure, because if we took that position other groups would be just as well justified in saying that the representatives of the labor movement ought not address any tax-supported schools, because there are many who believe that the American Federation of Labor is doing some propaganda work, and we are laying down a principle which is likely to endanger ourselves.

Your committee is not averse to the motion made to investigate the Ely Institute and to have the Executive Council do whatever it deems best in its judgment in bringing to the attention of the workers and the citizens at large that it is a propaganda institute, if it is found to be such, and not a research institute as it claims to be.

However, in justice and in fairness I think the motion must be so interpreted, that these instructions cannot be revised, but the motion would be to investigate the Ely Institute to see whether it is a propaganda or a research institute and then take such action as may be deemed

wise and in keeping with the previous policy declared for in the convention on this resolution.

The motion made by Delegate Johnson, to refer the subject matter dealing with the Ely Institute to the Executive Council for further investigation, was lost. It was so declared by the Chair on a viva voce vote being taken, and on a division being called for the vote resulted as follows: 56 in favor of the motion, 138 opposed.

President Green: The motion to refer is lost.

International Ladies Garment Workers' Union Extends Thanks for Assistance Received in Struggle With Communists

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Isidor Nagler of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, As a result of a number of specific conditions and causes, including conditions of industry and employment, it has been the misfortune of the workers in the women's garment industry, organized under the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, to have become the special target of a sinister attack by the Communist element in this country, strongly financed and directed by the Communist Internationale of Moscow; and WHEREAS, This onslaught upon the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union by the Communist union-wrecking element of several big divisions of said organization of which they gained control for a time, resulted in the virtual destruction of these unions during the reign of this Communistic regime, and in destitute conditions for forty thousand cloakmakers in New York City when they had plunged into a futile and losing strike for over twenty weeks; and

WHEREAS, In the counter-offensive undertaken by the loyal forces of this International, which resulted in the eliminating of this treacherous and disloyal element from office and influence, it has received the undivided, whole-hearted and generous support from President William Green and Matthew Woll, who acted as the representative of President Green, and from the whole Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., act favorably upon the request of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union to convey officially, on the floor of the convention by means of this resolution, the undying gratitude of the tens of thousands of its members, loyal

trade unionists and adherents of the principles and traditions for which the American Labor movement as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor stands, for the unselfish, sincere and highly effective assistance and co-operation given them by President Green and the entire Executive Council in the fight to save their Union from the attack of the union-disruptive Moscow agents; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That now, since the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, after cleaning its house from the Communist pestilence, has undertaken a great drive to repair the damage done by the Communist pilferers, to re-establish union control in the trades under its jurisdiction, and to do other equally constructive trade union work, that it is the sense of this convention that the Executive Council continue to give the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union the same measure of invaluable aid and co-operation which it has given it in the past and which has been so greatly instrumental in checking the spread of Communist disruptive propaganda throughout the American Labor movement.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 65 be adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

**DELEGATE NAGLER
(Ladies Garment Workers)**

As the introducer of this resolution I believe this is an appropriate time to give some information to the delegates here assembled of what our International Ladies Garment Workers' Union had to contend with in its fight against the Communist elements which have tried to capture our organization.

I note in the report of the Committee on Resolutions, on that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "No Communist Control," that the committee calls the attention of the delegates at this convention to the fact that they may profit by the experience that some of our organizations, including the International Ladies Garment Workers, have had with the Communist pest who has tried to penetrate the American labor movement.

I note that the Resolutions Committee warns the delegates and explains the philosophy of the Communists the world over. I say to you it is not only a question of explaining to the delegates in this convention the philosophy of the Communist movement. The Communists of this country and the world over do not dare to come as white men with their philosophy to the labor movement of this country, for they know if they do it will never be accepted by the American labor movement.

The Communists come, in their attempt to gain control of various organizations, in the most cowardly, the most hypocritical way. No white man would dare to do it. The Communists do not stop at anything as long as it suits their purpose. The Communists come under a disguised form in their attempt to penetrate the labor movement. They prey upon the feelings of the workers any time when there is a great deal of unemployment. They come under various disguised forms in the political movement.

They may come and say, "We want a united front." When they say that, be sure, delegates, that they do not want to divide your front, and when the Communists come under a disguised form and claim they want democracy in our organization, be sure, delegates, that they are not the individuals that practiced dictatorship somewhere across the seas and attempt to bring it here as such.

When I say that Communism is ready to resort to any trickery, to adopt any ways and means in order that they may be successful in penetrating our labor movement, I say it with authority of their own leader, Lenin, because in one of his pamphlets he says—I quote the words just as they are written here: "And even if necessary, practice trickery and employ cunning and resort to illegal methods, and sometimes even overlook or conceal the truth, all for the sake of penetrating into the trade union movement, to stay there, and by any and all means carry on the work of communism."

This is clear, as it comes from their own mouths, and while I agree with the committee in bringing to you what the Communist philosophy may be, I want to warn you delegates representing every state in the Union and all organizations to watch out for these people—not those who bring the philosophy directly, but those people who are ready to resort to any trickery, to those people who may be ready at any moment to mislead the workers, just as it suits their purpose, in order to capture the organization. And if they do not succeed in capturing the organization they are ready to smash it, as they have tried to do with our union.

I have with me a letter from the President of our union which he asked me to read to this convention. It is as follows:

President Green, Members of the Executive Council, and Delegates,
47th Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor,
Alexandria Hotel,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Greetings:

It is with considerable regret that pressure of affairs in connection with the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union prevents me from attending the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and from personally greeting the friends of our

great organization who are gathered there today.

This convention is a particularly appropriate occasion for our International Union to express its gratitude and appreciation for the prompt and generous support of President Green, the Executive Council and other officials given our International Union in an hour when it was beset by an insidious and poisonous enemy hiding itself under the mask of idealism and humanity.

Thanks in a large measure to the effective aid of the leaders and officers of the American Federation of Labor, some of whom were on the ground until the last vestige of destruction was eliminated, the International Union has been able to rid itself of its Communist plague and is rapidly emerging into the dawn of a constructive American trade union life and activity.

Several years ago, the Red Trade Union International, operating from Moscow in consonance with its program of capturing existing trade union organizations the world over, settled upon the needle trades of the United States as fertile soil for their so-called "revolutionary program." Their slogans, as are well known to you, were to make the existing trade unions plant tools of the Communist Party in this country, or to destroy them entirely if they could not be captured. In line with this program, it was part of the Communist Party propaganda campaign to malign trade union leadership and the principles and policies of the trade union movement and to thwart all attempts to improve the economic and spiritual conditions of the workers as "corrupt petty bourgeois and imperialistic prejudices."

An industry such as ours, beset by the curse of seasonal employment, alternating with periods of "slack," offered them an opportunity to stir up discontent and turmoil over existing trade union leadership and practices among those workers who could not see that the evils were inherent in the nature of the industry. No doubt, there is such a thing as healthy discontent in a trades union organization, a discontent which seeks constantly to improve the standards under which unionists must labor. The Communists, naturally, were not interested in advancing the trade union cause or the needs of the workers, but to seize control of our unions for their political purposes.

By creating false issues of "democracy," "proportional representation," "amalgamation," etc., in which they did not believe, and by making wild and most extravagant promises for the improvement of the conditions for the workers, they succeeded in misleading a sufficient number of our members in the New York unions and so obtained a strong foothold in the Joint Board and some of the local unions affiliated with it, later swaying the majority of the delegates to the New York Joint Board. For a short while they continued in power in the New York Joint Board on the strength of the impossible and ex-

aggerated issues which they created, but it required the test of a strike to show them up in their complete dishonesty of purpose and woeful inability for any constructive trade union work, and of any sincere purpose in protecting the elementary interests of the workers.

Your delegates are well acquainted with the Communists' adventure, culminating with the disastrous loss of the cloakmakers' general strike of 1926, a strike which was called contrary to the advice of the General Executive Board of the International. The cloak industry was only restored to a peace basis after the Communists were eliminated for plunging 35,000 cloakmakers into a chaotic, mismanaged strike of twenty-six weeks with political rather than economic purposes in view, which finally outraged the rank and file of our unions and they turned the Communists out of power completely.

At this time, we are glad to apprise the delegates at this convention with the fact that the Communist Party controlled officials are completely outside our union. They are discredited and have no following. All trade agreements are between the manufacturers' associations and the International and its Joint Board. All union buildings, save one, are under our control.

They, of course, left us a heritage of ruin, which we are rapidly repairing. They left us a host of non-union shops that suddenly began to flourish in a practically 100 per cent union industry. They left us debased standards in many union shops. They destroyed our unemployment insurance fund and sabotaged our Prosanis Label. But through an intensive organization campaign, we have uprooted most of the scab shops, re-established our right and ability to defend labor standards and to proceed with the work of reconstruction.

How completely helpless the Communists have been rendered is seen from recent events. Though ordered by the recent convention of the Workers' (Communist) Party to renew their offensive against the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the American Federation of Labor, they are able to muster only a few thousand recruits to a meeting ostensibly of cloakmakers, but actually gathered from various trades from New Jersey, Connecticut, etc., and from camp followers of the Communist Party. The Communist latest offensive, as announced in their own press, has degenerated into a dollar-raising scheme, which actually has for its purpose to keep these discredited and ousted leaders in funds and to pay for the hire of guerillas and thugs to harrass a few of our loyal members on the way to and from work. But even this panhandling is meeting with no response and is doomed to total failure.

The complete collapse of the Communist adventure can get no greater confirmation than from their own leaders. In a report to the Communist Party convention, Jay Lovestone, head of the

party, speaks of the costly mistakes made by the Communists which resulted in their downfall.

We want to take this occasion to assure the assembled delegates that the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has succeeded in restoring its locals, in New York and every other market, which were affected by the Communist disease, to sound American trade union principles and practices and it has every confidence of resuming its former position of power and prestige. In this successful struggle against that pernicious force, which sought to subordinate the interests of thousands of workers and their families to an outside political clique taking dictation from Moscow, the American Federation of Labor has played a great role which will never be forgotten by the appreciative rank and file and officials of our International. We trust that the American Federation of Labor will continue its aid as in the past.

With fraternal greetings and with every wish for success in your deliberations,
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION.

M. SIGMAN, President.

Those delegates who come from New York are aware of what the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has done in the city of New York in order to clean up and eliminate the Communist pest from labor organizations. Brother Ryan, who represents the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York; Brother Woll, who has been the representative of President Green in New York, and other delegates from the city of New York know and understand the amount of work that was necessary and the energy that was put forth in order to clean those organizations like the Furriers' International Union.

You are very well aware that the Communists had ruined Passaic, New Jersey, until the United Textile Workers took the organization over.

The Executive Council ought to be complimented in its work in support of these international unions, and may I take the opportunity at this present moment of extending our gratitude and our sincere appreciation, on behalf of the thousands of workers whom I have the honor to represent, for the unselfish support they have given us in our time of need.

I hope that at the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor we will bring you a healthy organization, cleared of the domination of any communism, and that our international union will flourish again as it has in the past under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Engelhardt, Post Office Clerks: I would like to endorse Brother Nagler's statement in regard to communist activities. I come from the scene of some of the greatest labor

struggles in the United States. I have seen what Communists can do there. I have seen them get control of the silk workers' organization by refusing to compromise and keeping the workers out on strike for many months.

I wish to impress this fact upon the delegates, that eternal vigilance is the price of Federation liberty. You can't watch those fellows too closely. I saw what happened down in Passaic, where the same condition prevailed, with a Communistic leader in control, who did not believe that half a loaf was sometimes better than a full loaf. The result was that, after eight months of suffering, the American Federation of Labor had to come on the scene and settle the strike. That is only five miles from Paterson, and I want to tell you they have not yet recovered from the strike.

PRESIDENT GREEN

I merely want to make this statement, that it is really heartening and gratifying to know that the representative of a large international union comes to this convention and officially and personally expresses the appreciation of the members of that organization for services which the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor rendered it. That is especially true when we hear the representative of the International Ladies Garment Workers express such appreciation.

This organization was the subject of specific attack by the Communist organization. As you well know, the needle trades in New York are made up very largely of foreign-speaking people. A very large percentage of them are Jewish, and the Communists thought that, because of their emotional and temperamental nature, it was a fertile field in which to work, so they conducted their well-known Moscow dictatorship tactics, and they sought to rule or ruin that great organization. They introduced misery, suffering, violence and murder among those people.

But I am happy to report that there were many Jewish workers in New York, hundreds and thousands of loyal trade unionists, and it is a great compliment to these Jewish workers that when they were the subject of attack they stood like a stone wall in defense of the trade unionism represented by the American Federation of Labor.

This was especially true in the Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the International Fur Workers' Union. It cost these Jewish workers something to be staunch trade unionists. They were put to the test, they were tried in the fiery furnace. Many of them were brutally beaten because they were loyal to us. When men's lives and peace and tranquillity are at stake it costs something to rise up and stand up under such stress, loyal and true to the American Federation of Labor.

But the Executive Council decided that the Communists should not rule, they should not capture these unions, they should not dominate from Moscow, and we responded to the appeals of the International Fur Workers and the Ladies Garment Workers and, as a result, we have reorganized these local unions; we have driven the Communists out; we have rooted them out root and branch from control of these international unions. They are on the outside, and the trade unionists, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, are in control.

Now I want to say, in behalf of the Executive Council, that these organizations can count upon our continued support. We shall be helpful in every way possible; we shall support them in their fight for trade unionism and organized labor, and we want to serve notice on the Communists, those who are directing them, those who are their generals, that their hypocritical and insidious tactics will not succeed, and we say now, as did the general in charge of the troops at Verdun, that they shall not pass, they shall not control these organizations.

And so all through the coming year, regardless of how the fight may shape itself in these foreign-speaking unions, where they seek to control at any cost, we are going to be on the firing line, we will be ever watchful and the full resources of our movement will be brought to bear to save these international unions from the attacks of Communism.

The report of the committee was adopted.

International Ladies Garment Workers' Union Extends Thanks to Affiliated Organizations

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Isidore Nagler of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union has encountered during the past year a tremendously difficult financial situation owing to the fact that its sources of revenue had been for a time destroyed by the Communist disruptive element which made this Union the principal object for its attack in this country; and

WHEREAS, During the critical period in the life of this International Union, several of the large organizations in the American Federation of Labor, notably the United Mine Workers of America, the International Association of Machinists, the Federation of Hosiery Workers, and many others, have come to its assistance through generous loans, and have thus made possible for this International Union to weather the treacherous storm and to embark later on a reconstruction

campaign to rebuild and revitalize the forces of the ladies garment workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., act favorably upon the request of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union to convey officially, on the floor of this convention by means of this resolution, the heartfelt thanks of its membership to the above-mentioned international unions for their timely, effective and generous assistance to the ladies garment workers in the hour of their most critical struggle to save their union, their only bulwark of defense against sweat shop conditions of misery and exploitation, from complete destruction by Communist political adventurers.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 64 be adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Reaffirming Opposition to Fascist Principles of Government

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates Gust. Soderberg and C. N. Bolander of the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

WHEREAS, The Italian government, through its semi-official Fascist League of North America, is attempting to establish its autocratic philosophy among Italian-born citizens and Italian aliens who reside in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Fascist philosophy has no place in the American theory of government. It is the kingly theory under another name. The Fascist government has destroyed Italian trade unions, has suppressed free speech, press and assembly, outlawed strikes and endorsed compulsory arbitration. It has made the Italian parliament impotent, and Mussolini boasts his hatred of representative government; and

WHEREAS, The Italian government, through Mussolini, is calling upon Italians in the United States to renounce democratic ideals and pledge allegiance to the autocratic ideal. To assist this propaganda, the Fascists have organized the Fascist League of North America and the Fascist Militia, an armed body. Both the league and the militia have repeatedly avowed their allegiance to Mussolini and his principles; and

WHEREAS, The Fascist League of North America is led by one Count Ignazio Thaon di Revel, who has publicly proclaimed that he will never become a citizen of the United States, although he has lived here five years, and who for that period has carried out the Mussolini policy in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Count Revel is now in Rome to receive instructions as to the

best methods to extend the vicious Fascist propaganda in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its opposition to Fascism and call the attention of the proper government officials to the work and purposes of the Fascist League of North America.

The committee lacks sufficient information to assume responsibility for various statements in the whereas paragraphs of Resolution No. 78 and, therefore, without either approving or disapproving those statements, the committee recommends that the resolve paragraph of the resolution be amended, by inserting the words "In America" after the word "Fascism," and adopted as amended to read as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor re-affirm its opposition to Fascism in America and call the attention of the proper government officials to the work and purposes of the Fascist League of North America."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: The Chair feels like saying just a word on this so that the world may know the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward Fascism. The American Federation of Labor is just as much opposed to Fascism and all it represents as it is to Communism. Each represents a dictatorship that is reprehensible of our conception of liberty and freedom and democracy. Both are autocratic in all their influences and control. I, of course, feel like you that Mussolini, the dictator in Italy, is the concrete expression of Fascism; he represents that great movement that is now in control of the government of Italy. Even he was not always a Fascist; he was at one time a Socialist, and I think a Communist. Men of that sort always swing from one extreme to the other. In order that you may know the views of Mussolini some years ago, may I quote from an article he wrote in a Socialist paper. I will impose upon your patience for but a moment.

As evidence of how Mussolini felt about "direct action" seventeen years ago, when he was a leader of the Italian Socialists, some German Communist papers have reprinted an article attributed to

him and published in the *Lotta di Classe*, an Italian Socialist paper, in the issue of July 9, 1910:

"What I have written to Comrade Voltre and in the paper about the attentat in Buenos Aires (this refers to the bomb outrage in the Colon Theater on Nov. 14, 1909, when Colonel Falcon, the Chief of Police, and several innocent spectators were killed) has made a certain impression upon some comrades and has made the very delicate chords of their refined feelings vibrate. It really would not be worth the trouble to take up this matter again if one could not use it as the basis for some observations of a general character.

"I admit without contradiction that in normal times bombs cannot be tools of Socialist action. But when a republican or monarchist State represses the Socialists—places them outside the limits of human existence and banishes them—then one must not curse the violence that answers violence, even if it demands some innocent victims.

"I find that many Social Democrats often get excited over the misfortune of the bourgeoisie, but remain quite undisturbed over those of the proletariat.

"This is so true that we have already become accustomed to the killing off of proletarians. Formerly we protested. Today we hardly do so any longer.

"It is regarded as quite natural that the proletariat should serve as a sieve for the officers who order the mob to be fired on. But when it is a matter of the tender skin of the aristocracy, then the tear ducts of many Social Democrats open. They have pity for the tragedy of the bourgeoisie, while the bourgeoisie never had, or has, pity in the face of the proletarian tragedy.

"There's had no pity for the Communards of Paris in 1871. Bava Becaris cleared the streets of Milan with machine guns. Alfonso of Spain felt no human sympathy for Ferrer.

"On the other hand, some Social Democrats have their sensibilities wounded by the sacrifice in the Colon Theater in Buenos Aires. Ah! Don't be afraid! The working people of the Argentinian pampas certainly were not present at that gala performance.

"Death is not a proletarian!

"This one-sided sentimentality of many Social Democrats is due to the remnants of clerical catechists' teachings still living in their souls. Clericalism gave us this sickly sympathy of hysterical women with the rulers.

"Socialism, on the other hand, is a rough, raw thing, consisting of antitheses and acts of violence. Socialism is war. And woe unto those who have pity in war! For they will be defeated."

That might be the speech of a red Communist today, but it is reported to be an article written by Mussolini in 1910. The American Federation of Labor understands fully what this movement means, that it means a de-

struction of freedom and liberty and democracy, that it represents just the same kind of an autocracy as that represented by Communism, and has set its face steadfastly against Fascism and will not accept the philosophy of its chief exponent, a man who could write such a letter as that in 1910 and who today has taken from the masses of Italy every vestige of liberty they ever possessed. We are inclined to place Lenine and Mussolini, so far as their teachings are concerned, in the same class, and we are against them.

DELEGATE CAPPELINI (United Mine Workers)

Delegate Cappellini, United Mine Workers, in discussing the subject, said, in part: I have listened to the President explain the position of Mussolini, the Fascist leader of Italy. I have worked in the mines for years and am today honored as the representative of 110,000 mine workers in the anthracite fields, and in my opinion the Fascist movement, as far as the working people are concerned, is more harmful in a sense than the non-union operators in the anthracite coal fields.

I am an Italian by birth, and I am in a position to know about this great man in Italy. I have in my office at home some 250 letters, from fathers, and mothers and from sisters and brothers of men who are employed in and around the mines. I will not take time to tell you all about those letters, but will speak of one or two instances. A man came to my office about seven months ago and told me that certain Fascist in our community told him if he did not once and for all cease his activities against the Fascist movement his two daughters and his one son would suffer the penalty. The man took it as a joke, but three months later he received a letter from one of his daughters pleading with him to cease his activities in the particular vicinity he was in, because they were the sufferers on account of his activities.

When you speak of the Fascist movement you are speaking of a great problem, and a problem we must guard ourselves from. We must do our utmost to see if men with the ideas and in favor of the Fascist movement can either be convinced or other methods used. They say, "We do not believe in the American principle of government." We should say to them in return, "If you don't believe in the form of government which we are living under, it is your duty to assist in bettering our government if our government needs betterment; and if that does not meet with your approval you ought to pack up your little valise

and go back to your dear old Mussolini."

We, in our counties, have adopted the philosophies of the American Federation of Labor. We have what we call the Non-Partisan League, and I take great pride in making this statement to the convention of what happened in our county. The Non-Partisan League endorsed the candidates for sheriff, district attorney, three judges, two county commissioners, the recorder of deeds and registrar of wills. Two of the three judges, the sheriff and district attorney received both nominations. The labor movement of our county believes in supporting our friends and defeating our enemies, and we have done that very successfully.

We in the anthracite fields take pride in saying to you that a Communist may come in and make one speech or two speeches, but that is the end, he makes no more. We meet the Communists with the same tactics they use, we use the same methods they do. We go into their meetings and demand from them an explanation of their philosophy. When that is done—for they are cowards at heart, they are no good—they take a back seat. I have been to several conventions of the American Federation of Labor, but not as a delegate, my district sent me, but I am here today as a delegate, and I deem it a great honor to be able to deliver to my people the wonderful things that you do in protecting the working men and women of this country.

DELEGATE DONNELLY

(Ohio State Federation of Labor)

Delegate Donnelly, in discussing the subject, said in part: This convention, since we commenced to transact business, has been engaged in considering the report of the Executive Council and the various resolutions which have been submitted for the consideration of the convention. The report of the Executive Council and the reports of the various committees upon the resolutions, I think, have demonstrated clearly that the American movement of labor is endeavoring to achieve the desires of the working people of this country along constitutional and American line of action. There can be no compromise with wrong.

These movements that come to America with paid emissaries, from Russia, from Italy, who organize their nationals in this country in opposition to the principles of this government, must be scotched, and scotched at once. We must have it clearly understood by the American people, we must have it constantly placed before the membership of organized labor in America that there can be no compromise with any system of government, with any propaganda that may be instituted in America which has for its purpose the taking away from us of our American institutions and

our purposes of government as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

The motion to adopt the report of committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Chairman Woll: With the consent of the convention, I shall only read the resolves of the resolutions where the committee concurs, and where we offer amendments I shall read the entire resolutions.

Invitation to A. F. of L. to Meet in Boston, Mass., in 1930

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate E. A. Johnson of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, August 1 to 5, 1927, voted to invite the American Federation of Labor to hold the Fiftieth Annual Convention in Boston, Mass., in the year 1930; and

WHEREAS, The year 1930 will witness the observance of the three-hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and will be the occasion of historical and patriotic celebrations in connection thereto; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be informed of the desire of the State Federation of Massachusetts to have the A. F. of L. convention in Boston in the year 1930, and that action be taken by the convention that will allow the trades unionists of Massachusetts and Boston to make preparations that will redound to the credit and success of the labor movement in its 1930 convention.

Resolution No. 53 deals with a matter which, under the present laws of the American Federation of Labor, will be decided by the 1929 convention, and the committee therefore recommends that this convention take note of and express its appreciation for the cordial invitation extended to the Federation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Navy Department Adopting Central Drafting Office Method for Plans for Ships and Urging Stipulation in All Contracts That Only American Citizens Shall Be Employed Upon Public Works

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The managements of the

privately owned ship yards have instituted a central drafting office to prepare the plans for the cruisers authorized by the Sixty-ninth Congress; and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department has become a party to this arrangement to the extent of agreeing to purchase plans therefrom, instead of preparing them at the government yards; and

WHEREAS, The centralizing of drafting work presumes that the final word in the art of shipbuilding has been spoken and that the industry can be organized on a production basis, and tends to discourage originality and professional rivalry in design; and

WHEREAS, Such procedure will further deplete the ranks of the men engaged in the technical branch of shipbuilding, which have for some time been recognized as too thin; in 1921 the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation imported 150 marine draftsmen from Europe; moreover, the spokesmen of the ship yards use the scarcity as an excuse for centralization, increasing the evil they profess to be endeavoring to cure; layoffs having already occurred in both private and government drafting rooms; and

WHEREAS, This country, with its extended coast line and island possessions, with its wealth at home and heavy investments abroad, must at all times be ready to defend itself against foreign aggressions; and

WHEREAS, An adequate navy and merchant marine are means to afford this protection; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the pooling of marine drafting work constitutes an unpatriotic monopoly distinctly to the disadvantage and a menace to the safety of the nation; and be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposed to the central drafting room idea and instruct its president to again take this matter up with the Secretary of the Navy and vigorously prosecute it to a definite conclusion; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all contracts calling for the expenditure of public funds shall contain a clause stipulating that only American citizens shall be employed.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 71 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Contracts of Federal, State and City Governments Should Stipulate Employment of American Citizens

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The shipbuilding indus-

try is slowly being set aside and the building of ships is coming to be a lost art to the American trade unionist; and

WHEREAS, The government has set aside moneys to be used for building up a merchant marine and ships of the navy; and

WHEREAS, After careful investigation, we find that in all of the foremost shipbuilding yards American mechanics and trades unionists are being discriminated against in the interest of low-priced and foreign labor; and

WHEREAS, The outlook for the future of the American shipbuilding industry is surely lost unless immediate action to prevent it is taken; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a campaign be started at once with the purpose in view of preventing the further expenditures of public moneys in industrial establishments that are known to discriminate against the American trades unionists and other citizens; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declare its purpose to have all contracts calling for the expenditure of public money, be it city, county, state or the federal government, contain a clause stipulating the employment of American citizens to prevent the unjust exploitation and competition of low-priced foreign labor.

The committee recommends that the second resolve in Resolution No. 72 be referred to the Executive Council for investigation as to its constitutionality and the advisability of the action it proposes, and further recommends that the balance of the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Disapproving Contract System of Employment of Municipal Governments Which Fails to Pay a Living Wage to Employees

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates John F. McNamara, C. L. Shamp and Jos. W. Morton.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its Thirty-fifth Annual Convention, held in the city of San Francisco in November, 1915, approved the resolution introduced by the delegates from the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, which had for its purpose the abolition of the contract system at that time in force by the board of education in the city of Chicago, Ill.; the aforesaid system deprived the firemen, the janitors and janitresses employed under the contract system of receiving the prevailing rate of wages at that time in

force in the various branches of the municipality of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, After a persistent fight, covering a period of fifteen years, the above-named organizations have succeeded in the complete abolition of the contract system, which was known as the "Square Foot Contract System," which had for its purpose a low wage; and

WHEREAS, Over four thousand employees of the board of education who are now members of respective unions are now employed directly by the aforesaid board of education and receive the prevailing rate of wages, the same as all other branches of the municipality; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, Calif., October 4, reaffirm its former declaration of the 1915 convention, namely, that we disapprove any municipality, county or state adopting any contract system of employment which fails to observe a fair and living wage for its employees.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 79 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Woll: The committee wishes to make a correction in the report on Resolution 72. The typist wrote "first resolve." It should be "second resolve." I say this so that those who are making records can make the correction.

Favoring National and International Unions Establishing Funds for the Support of a Chain of Broadcasting Radio Stations Operated by Organized Labor

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates George L. Berry and Clayton A. Pense of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union.

WHEREAS, WCFL, the "Voice of Labor," owned, controlled and operated by organized labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, on a wave length of 483.6 meters, or 620 kilocycles, by authority of the Federal Radio Commission, and located on the municipal pier at Chicago, one mile out in Lake Michigan, where the deep waterway to the Gulf begins, has demonstrated by two years' experience that radio transmission is one of the most potential and scientific, useful, helpful inventions ever discovered, is controlled and being fast monopolized by capital and vested interests, in addition and supplementary through the control of industrial product and distribution by mass production and mass distribution;

WHEREAS, By censorship, as permitted by law and so construed by the Federal Radio Commission, big interests are

able to control free air and use it for their own interests to the exclusion of the rights and interests of organized labor and others, and by this action will prevent organized labor from transmitting over the air its rights, interest and action during a crisis, real or created, by this wonderful means of transmission, such as radio telephoning, radio telegraphing, transmission of power, education, moving pictures, entertainments, political action, economics, trade union matters, or other events and things that make for a richer and a better life for labor, or any information affecting labor, its program and its activity, and for carrying to the public its side in any great controversy or question that may arise in any emergency;

WHEREAS, It is essential that the labor movement of our country should in the interests of self-protection guard the rights of the union by the use of free air, uncensored and at all times. Moreover, it is necessary that the labor movement should, and it must, protect the rights to the use of free air as zealously as we have the rights of free speech and a free press;

WHEREAS, The establishment of radio broadcasting stations throughout the country to be owned, controlled and operated by organized labor is necessary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, October 3, 1927, recommend to all national and international unions that in their forthcoming conventions, or in such other way as its laws and customs will permit, the establishment of a radio fund maintained by 25 cents per member per quarter for this purpose, and that said fund remain the property of the national and international unions creating it, and to be by them expended in maintaining a chain of broadcasting radio stations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby authorized to make or cause to be made, and in its own way and time, an investigation of the subject matter of this preamble and resolution, and submit its findings and report to the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 80 be amended by striking out the first resolve and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

**DELEGATE PENSE
(Printing Pressmen)**

Delegate Pense, in discussing the subject, said in part: As you all know, one of the fundamental principles of organized labor is that of education. We have spent a great many years endeavoring to organize the labor press of this coun-

try. The radio is an instrumentality of communication which far surpasses that of any other means of communication known to the civilized world.

About two years ago the Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor proposed to purchase a radio broadcasting station in that city. At that time there was some doubt in the minds of the delegates who represent the various organizations affiliated with that body as to whether or not the project could be successfully carried on because of the enormous expense of building the station. Let it be said to the credit of the secretary of that organization that he was persistent in his efforts, and finally the Chicago Federation of Labor endorsed the proposition and instructed its Executive Board to build such a station.

Today we have the only broadcasting station in the United States, or as far as I know in the world, that is owned and controlled by organized labor. We have at the disposal of organized labor a means of broadcasting any of its propaganda or statements, so that the public may listen in and get our message. Station WCFL was the first broadcasting station that turned over to the state institutions and the municipal institutions the right to broadcast laws and familiarize the people with their workings.

The Industrial Commission of the State of Illinois, of which I am a member, has used Station WCFL to broadcast to the citizens of Chicago and the State the rights of the working men that were given to them under the Compensation Law, and I know that a great many of them, listening in at their homes, have learned their rights under this law in a way they would never have done if they had to consult the statute books of the State. Very few working men pay much attention to the laws placed upon our statute books, but when they can sit in their homes and listen to the message sent out over the radio they become familiar with those laws.

The purpose of this resolution is to urge upon the American Federation of Labor, through the Executive Council, the international unions through their executive boards and conventions, the various central bodies and by other means, co-operation to make this station more effective by having stations linked throughout the North American continent which are owned and controlled by labor. When we wish a message broadcast we will not be confined to a few thousand miles, but we may connect up and present the message throughout the entire country.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

WCFL Radio Magazine

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Anton Johannsen of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has caused to be published the WCFL Radio Magazine, issued quarterly,

beginning with October, 1927, containing the official list of radio broadcast stations, the co-operative farmer-labor radio activities, and published for radio information exclusively in the interest and of the Co-operative Farmer-Labor Listeners' Association; single copies, 35 cents; yearly subscriptions, \$1.25, including Annual Membership Card in the Listeners Association; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in Forty-seventh Annual Convention assembled, commend this publication, the only one of its kind, for subscription to all those interested in radio.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 81 be referred to the Executive Council for consideration in connection with the subject matter of Resolution No. 80, relating to radio broadcasting stations.

Delegate Johannsen: The Radio Magazine is being published by the Chicago Federation of Labor, and so far as we know it is in no sense in competition with any other magazine in our country. It will be devoted exclusively to information on radio and radio broadcasting. When the delegates return to their homes they will undoubtedly receive a communication from the Chicago Federation, and we are hopeful that a copy of the magazine may find its way into the office of every labor body in the city and state.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Flint Glass Workers vs. Machinists

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates William P. Clarke and Gus Weltz of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, the long-standing controversy over the making of all molds to be used for molding glasswares still exists, due to the International Association of Machinists failing to observe the numerous decisions of the American Federation of Labor on this dispute; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to review the record as published in the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor from 1912 to 1921 and that they endeavor to prevail upon the officers and members of the International Association of Machinists to conform thereto.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 83 be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and such action as in the judgment of the Council may seem wise and proper.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Executive Council to Consider Rehabilitation Plans for Mississippi Flood Sufferers for Labor's Support

Resolution No. 90—By Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The worst flood disaster within human experience has brought loss and suffering to thousands in the Mississippi Valley, and this disaster causes deep concern to labor and to all interested in human and national welfare; and

WHEREAS, This concern can express itself most constructively in measures for rehabilitation of homes, financial assistance to those who suffered losses and in effective measures to prevent similar disasters; and

WHEREAS, The determination of plans and policies to accomplish these ends must wait upon the reports of experts and surveys; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to consider this problem, reports and proposed plan, and to determine upon a course that will give labor's support to proposals that will most effectively furnish control over flood waters and constructive help to the Mississippi flood sufferers.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 90.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Co-operation With Farmers

Resolution No. 91—By Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The far-reaching economic changes that have reconstructed industrial and economic life are reflected in agricultural methods and organization; and

WHEREAS, Farmers as individuals have not been generally able to make the necessary plans and adjustments that would enable them to fit into present-day developments and enterprises with the best profit to themselves and to society; and

WHEREAS, Methods and channels must be developed to put farmers in control of the means to enable them to keep pace with the progress of modern civilization and to share in its improvements and benefits; and

WHEREAS, General progress is retarded when any one group is in financial and economic straits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to consider the farmers' problems and to take such counsel as may be necessary in order to co-operate with farmers' organiza-

tions in finding constructive plans and policies and in putting these into effect.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 91 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization Should Obtain Information From the President of the American Federation of Labor Before Responding to Requests for Contributions From Other Than Affiliated Organizations

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal of the Photo-Engravers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The number of requests for financial aid made to union organizations increases in proportion as the labor movement grows in importance and substantial service; and

WHEREAS, It is difficult for individual organizations to keep informed upon all the agencies that make requests; and

WHEREAS, Union funds should be contributed only to organizations and causes that are worthy and make proper accounting of funds; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That before moneys are appropriated to other than union organizations listed in the official directory of the A. F. of L., that information with regard to the organization making the request and the purpose for which the money is to be used be sought and obtained from the President of the A. F. of L.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 92 be adopted and that the President be instructed to send copies thereof to all affiliated national and international unions, state branches, city central bodies, federal labor unions and to the labor press.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning Secession Movement Among Iron Workers On the Pacific Coast

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, John O'Brien and George McTague, of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, During the past two years there has been a secessionist outlaw movement among the Iron Workers, especially on the Pacific Coast, where dual outlaw groups of iron workers have been formed for the sole purpose of destroying the

bona fide local unions of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, which movement is being fostered and promoted by the enemies of our organization, and against all building trades craftsmen and organized labor in general; and

WHEREAS, Strenuous efforts are being made to further this dual outlaw movement and to extend its activities to other building trades organizations by the leaders of this dual outlaw movement, which are aided by the arch-enemies of organized labor and the advocates of the open shop; and

WHEREAS, Many members of our organization are being misled into this dual secessionist movement by the false propaganda and promises of these union destroyers, representing to them that they will be later recognized by the other building trades organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn this outlaw secessionist movement and call upon all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions and Building Trades Councils, especially on the Pacific Coast, and also upon all international Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to do everything within their power and to render all possible assistance to the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers and all other building trades affected by this secessionist movement.

Secession from the ranks of organized labor, whether by individuals or groups, can have no other effect than to make the problems with which organized labor is confronted more difficult of solution. In principle, the withdrawal of a local union from the national or international organization having jurisdiction over the trade in which its members are engaged, because of some fancied or even real grievance against the parent body, is much like the surrender of membership by an individual worker who becomes dissatisfied with some act of the local union. The first inevitable effect in every instance is to weaken the position of the workers concerned and to strengthen the position of the employers against them. Every informed trade unionist must agree that the proper procedure is to continue the regular union affiliation, whether it be on the part of an individual or a local union, while seeking to adjust their difficulties under the laws of the or-

ganization in which they hold membership. The democratic nature of the trade union movement is such that ample opportunity is given for an interchange of opinions practically all subjects and under such conditions there can be no reasonable excuse for secession. The support of secessionist or dual organizations by any of the affiliated unions is indefensible. The committee therefore recommends that Resolution No. 93 be adopted.

President Green: The Chair just wants to make this one observation in connection with the matter, and that is to say to these secessionists mentioned in this resolution that if they entertain a lingering hope that they will receive a charter from the American Federation of Labor while they are living in a state of rebellion, that hope must be dispelled. It is not the policy of the American Federation of Labor to charter secessionists, and the only way they can come back into the American Federation of Labor is through an agreement and understanding with their international unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protest Against Seattle Labor Temple Association Housing Dual Group of Iron Workers

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, John O'Brien and George McTague of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, The Seattle Labor Temple Association is at present, and has been for over the past two years, renting offices and a meeting hall to a dual outlaw group of Iron Workers, to the detriment of the bona fide local Union No. 86 of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, and to all organized labor in general; and

WHEREAS, All efforts on the part of our organization to have this outlaw group of secessionists expelled from the Labor Temple have been ignored, as well as similar requests from the officials of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department have not been complied with; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor severely condemns this attitude and policy of the Seattle Labor Temple Association, and that they instruct them to at once cease housing

and harboring this dual outlaw secessionist group of Iron Workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure on the part of the Seattle Labor Temple Association to immediately comply with these instructions to have this outlaw group of Iron Workers removed from the Labor Temple at once, that all International Unions be requested to instruct their local unions in Seattle to immediately remove their offices and meetings from the Seattle Labor Temple until these instructions are complied with and the outlaw Iron Workers removed from holding meetings or occupying office space in the Seattle Labor Temple, and that the Building Trades Council and Central Labor Union of that city be requested by this Convention to take similar action.

In relation to Resolution No. 94, the committee has been informed that the officers of the American Federation of Labor have endeavored to secure an adjustment of the matter therein referred to without avail and the committee therefore recommends that the resolution be adopted. It is further recommended, based on the understanding that the ownership of the Seattle Labor Temple is under control of affiliated local unions, we call upon the national and international unions to urge their respective locals to take steps to relieve the present embarrassing situation by requiring the secessionists to vacate.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Abuse of Artists' Clause of the Immigration Act

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Jos. N. Weber, Chauncey A. Weaver, Edward Canavan, John W. Parks, Charles L. Bagley, William J. Kerngood, of the American Federation of Musicians.

WHEREAS, Under the present definition of the artist clause of the immigration act, many emigrants are now admitted without being subjected to the quota; and

WHEREAS, The government issued permits to such emigrants, permitting them to remain in the United States for a period of six months; and

WHEREAS, These permits are gener-

ally renewed, enabling the holders thereof to remain in the United States indefinitely; and

WHEREAS, This policy has led and now leads to the loss of employment opportunities of American workers, as was and is the case with musicians in Chicago, New York, Washington and other cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby requested to call a conference of national and international organizations interested, for the purpose of bringing to the attention of Congress the abuse in the defining of the artists' clause of the Immigration act and in having Congress amend the said clause so as to make its future application and interpretation more just to American workers.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 95.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE ON CAPTAIN WILLIAM SHIRLEY'S ADDRESS

In relation to the address of Captain William Shirley, Commander, Quentin Roosevelt Chapter No. 5, Disabled American Veterans of the World War, fifth day, afternoon session, page 236, which was referred to the Committee on Resolutions, the committee declares its opposition to discrimination by the United States Government against any class of officers or others who have rendered military, naval or marine service to the nation in time of war.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Woll: That completes the Report of the Committee on Resolutions on all matters submitted to it by the convention. The committee, however, reserves one resolution it seeks to present to the convention, coming from the committee itself.

At 12:40 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock of the same day.

Ninth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Cranna, Haggerty (J. B.), Kasten, Nelson (A. F.), Ryan (D. J.), Ornburn, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Shamp, Morton, Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Mahoney (T. J.), Squibb, Tighe, Bell, McSorley, Case, Moore (G.), Brock, Finnan, Duffy (C. D.), Mugavin, Swartz, Askew, Bock (P.), Ryan (J. P.), Bjorklund, Fljozdal, Hogan, McCrane, Strother, Gorman, Lane (D.), Kelly (M. J.), McCoy, Hedrick, Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Hannah, Burke (T. E.), Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Grimshaw, Cashen, Perry (J. M.), Russell, Kohn, Spencer, Gross, Atkins, Johnson (E. A.), Roberts, Stroud, Studdard, Kelly (S. G.), Kosta, Cain, Buckland, Martel, Barry (E. D.), Starkweather, DeVore, Sands, O'Dell, McSpadden, Rice, Contner, Dempsey, Smith (E. F.), Brady (P. J.), Conkey, Draper, Wickert, Williams, Crowell, Edwards (E. W.), Young (W. H.), Bower, Tosh, Ohlsen, Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Dean, Trimmer, Leavitt, Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Norrington, Ostran, Miller, Bock (A. J.), Goldberg, Caston, Flynn (M.), Gayhart.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Delegate Doyle, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows: Your Committee on Laws recommend an amendment to Article V, Section 1, by adding the following words: "unless otherwise determined by the convention," after the words "on the last day of the session," making the section read as follows:

"The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council."

The amendment offered by the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Doyle: This completes the report, which is signed:

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman;
FRANK DOYLE, Secretary;
DENNIS LANE,
L. D. BLAND,
A. J. KUGLER,
THOMAS McMAHON,
CHARLES ANDERSON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
GEORGE JONES,
WILLIAM TRACY,
CHARLES W. FRY,
PAUL SCHARRENBERG,

CLAYTON A. PENSE,
J. REX ANDERSON,
LEON WORTHALL,
Committee on Laws.

Secretary Doyle: I move the adoption of the constitution as amended.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: And the committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

We have reached the time for the special order of business. I ask that President Hutcheson of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners preside.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Chairman Hutcheson: The hour having arrived to elect officers of the American Federation of Labor, nominations are now in order for President.

Delegate (Lee) Hall, United Mine Workers: I rise at this time to place in nomination for the office of President of the American Federation of Labor a man who is known to all of you, a man who has had the privilege of attending many of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and is well known to many of the rank and file of the membership of this great American institution.

I need not speak to you of his qualifications or of his efforts in support of those who toil for a livelihood, but I want to speak personally as I have known him for many years. We were boys together in school, and we were together when we went into the industry we have the honor to represent. Both of us started in the mining industry at a tender age, in the same county and state. I knew him as he became active in the labor movement, being advanced in the movement as he advanced in years. He has been honored by the organization we both have the honor to represent in this convention, having held many important positions in our movement, as well as being honored by his constituents in his locality, having been elected and served two terms in the Senate in the State of Ohio. He was

advanced to a high position in our International Union, and was then chosen by this body to succeed the late Samuel Gompers. I therefore feel it a great honor, as well as a pleasure, to nominate for President of the American Federation of Labor, our distinguished President, William Green. (At this point all the delegation arose and applauded.)

Delegate Ferguson, San Francisco Labor Council: I cannot at this time resist the impulse to speak a few words on this important nomination. Never in all my life have I witnessed a presiding officer use such judgment in handling the gavel as President Green. He is fair, and he has consideration of the rights and privileges of the members. He is the Napoleon of the Labor movement. He has the courage and fearlessness to lead us on to victory. I therefore take pleasure in seconding the nomination.

Chairman Hutcheson: All in favor of President Green being elected for the ensuing term, please arise. (The entire delegation arose.) Brother Green, permit me to inform you that by unanimous action of this convention you have been elected as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term. Permit me to express the hope that the American Labor movement may continue for many years to enjoy your services as a leader of the movement.

President Green: Fellow delegates—I merely want to express to you in words of intense sincerity my very deep appreciation of this unanimous election as President of the American Federation of Labor. I am deeply touched by this expression of confidence, good will and support.

As the days go by and the months roll around I become increasingly impressed with the great honor that you confer upon me as your president and the tremendous responsibilities assumed. I appreciate this responsibility day by day as I try to serve you. I would indeed be sorry if by any act of mine the great constituency of the American Federation of Labor would feel that its confidence was misplaced or that I failed to discharge my responsibility.

I am not going to burden you now with any lengthy address, but some of

you and perhaps all of you will recall the pledge I made when you first elected me as President, the pledge that was renewed at the Detroit convention. I have endeavored to carry out those pledges. If I reserved to myself one hour of energy that I could expend for the American Federation of Labor I would feel that I was shirking my duty. I renew that pledge and as long as I serve you, I repeat again, all I can give of my strength, my mind and my body will be given to this cause.

President Green in the Chair.

James Duncan, Granite Workers, was placed in nomination for First Vice President by Treasurer Tobin. In placing Vice President Duncan in nomination Treasurer Tobin said: I rise to place in nomination the name of a man who is not present in this convention, due to a serious illness. He is a man who I consider personally as the finest type of fighting trade unionist and who has rendered service to the labor movement second to no man in our country. I consider him a living historian of our great labor movement. For forty-one years he has not missed a convention of the American Federation of Labor. For thirty years he has served on the Executive Council of the Federation. I have served with him for ten years, and no more constructive or courageous man has ever served in the capacity of an Executive Council member.

He fears no man and he endeavors to render justice in his decisions in the cause of labor. To me he is a guiding star, a light in the life of labor. When his light passes from us this labor movement will suffer a loss of no small consequence. I will take no more time in speaking of this genius, this great, constructive worker, but present for your consideration for the office of First Vice President the name of James Duncan.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan. The instruction was complied with and James Duncan was declared elected First Vice President for the ensuing term.

Frank Duffy, General Secretary of the Carpenters and Joiners, was placed

In nomination by Delegate Hutcheson of the same organization, who said: I desire to place before this convention the name of one who has served on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for years, and who has also served the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America as General Secretary for more than a quarter of a century. I take great pleasure in presenting the name of Frank Duffy for Second Vice President.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Sullivan, New York State Federation of Labor, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The instruction was complied with, and Vice President Duffy was declared elected for the ensuing term.

T. A. Rickert, General President of the United Garment Workers of America, was nominated for Third Vice President by John J. Manning of the same organization, who said: Ten years ago, at the St. Paul convention, when our movement and our country were both engaged in a great struggle, I was privileged to nominate a man for membership on the Executive Council. He has rendered yeoman service in that capacity. He has been president of the International Union he represents here since 1904, and has been a delegate to this convention for the same time. It is with pleasure that I present the name of T. A. Rickert.

No other candidate was nominated and the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert. The instruction was complied with and T. A. Rickert was declared unanimously elected for the ensuing term.

Jacob Fischer, General Secretary of the Barbers' International Union, was nominated for Fourth Vice President by Delegate Shanessy of the same organization, who said: It is with great pleasure I rise at this time to submit for your consideration the name of a delegate to this convention who has been the guiding star of our organi-

zation for the past thirty-five years. He has held the position of secretary-treasurer in our organization for the past twenty-seven years, and he has occupied his present position on the Executive Council since 1917. It is with great pleasure I present to you the name of Brother Fischer, my colleague.

No other candidates were nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Baker the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Jacob Fischer. The instructions were complied with and Jacob Fischer was declared Fourth Vice President.

Matthew Woll, President of the International Photo-Engravers' Union, was placed in nomination for Fifth Vice President by Delegate Olander, of the Seamen, who said: A great organization like the American Federation of Labor requires for its leadership men of action. They must necessarily be men of strong personalities, yet while occupying the positions of outstanding leadership they must also be loyal soldiers of the cause whose first duty is to carry out the instructions of the great organization they represent. With the ability and willingness to work they must combine the ability and willingness to speak for the views of our movement. By deed and word they must act for us. I offer in nomination a candidate who has measured up through the years to these requirements in every respect. Mr. President, I nominate for Fifth Vice President Matthew Woll.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Nagler, International Ladies Garment Workers, the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll for Fifth Vice President. The instruction was complied with and Vice President Woll was declared re-elected.

Martin F. Ryan, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Car-men, was nominated for Sixth Vice President by Delegate Millman, Maintenance of Way Employees, who said: I wish to place in nomination for this office a man who needs no eulogy in

this convention. He is a man of pleasing personality and is known to every one of us. He has served with distinction as president of the International Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and as Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. I consider it a privilege and an honor at this time to place in nomination for Sixth Vice President Brother Martin F. Ryan.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Hyland, of the same organization, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Martin F. Ryan. The instructions were complied with and Martin F. Ryan was declared Sixth Vice President.

James Wilson, President of the Pattern Makers' League of North America, was nominated for Seventh Vice President by Delegate O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department, who said: I rise for two reasons, first, to have the pleasure of nominating a gentleman for this office, and second, to get my name in the record. I have had this pleasure for several years, since the gentleman I am going to nominate has been made a member of the Executive Council. He is a young man I have seen grow up in the labor movement and I have watched him closely. I might have said we grew up together, but that might be misunderstood. I rise to nominate that capable young trade unionist who has demonstrated his ability to fill the office to which he has been elected, who has been chairman of an important committee in this convention for many years, and who has ably conducted the affairs of his own organization, Mr. James Wilson.

No other candidate was presented and, upon motion of Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles Central Labor Council, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Wilson. The instruction was complied with and Vice President Wilson was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

James P. Noonan, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was placed in nomination for

Eighth Vice President by Delegate Evans, who said: I am honored by being privileged at this time to present the name of a man for Vice President who is president of our international organization and has been unanimously elected since his first term. I am pleased at this time to present for the approval of the delegates the name of James P. Noonan.

No other candidate was nominated and, upon motion of Delegate Joyce, Electrical Workers, the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James P. Noonan for Eighth Vice President. The instruction was complied with and Vice President Noonan was declared duly elected.

Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, was nominated for Treasurer by Delegate Hughes of the same organization.

No other candidate was nominated and, upon motion of Delegate Manion, Telegraphers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Treasurer. The instruction was complied with, and Treasurer Tobin was declared duly elected.

Frank Morrison, International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination for Secretary by Delegate Pense, Printing Pressmen, who said: It is a great pleasure to place in nomination for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a man that the great state of Illinois and the city of Chicago gave to this body more than thirty years ago. He has demonstrated by his work, perhaps more than can be said in words, that he has filled the office ably. He has shown by his work that he is considerate, and he is very efficient in all that he does. It is therefore a great honor to place before you for your favorable consideration the name of Frank Morrison. (The delegates arose and applauded.)

Delegate Howard, International Typographical Union: More than three decades ago there came from the organization for which I have the honor to speak a young delegate to the American Federation of Labor. As some

of those who are sitting in this convention this afternoon may remember, he was a young man of raven locks and high ideals. Some of you have seen those locks turn to silver in the service of the American labor movement. His name has been so interwoven with the history of the American Federation of Labor during the past thirty years that it is to be found upon every page. The contribution he has made to the American labor movement has been surpassed by none who have rendered service in the interests of this organization and in the interests of humanity.

Speaking for the organization of which he is a member, it affords me great pleasure to second the nomination of Frank Morrison for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor—one of the patriarchs of the American labor movement.

No other candidate was nominated and, upon motion of Delegate Bolander, Tallors, the President was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary. The President cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Secretary Morrison, who was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green announced that, following the usual custom, two fraternal delegates would be elected to the British Trades Union Congress and one delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The President announced that the rule was to call for nominations for one delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, and, after his election, call for nominations for a second delegate and elect him.

Michael F. Greene, President of the United Hatters, was placed in nomination by Delegate Lawlor of the same organization, who said: I arise at this time to place in nomination for first delegate to the British Trades Union Congress a brother who is well known in this convention. While young in years, as compared to some of us old fellows, he is old in the trade union movement. He has been a member of this organization for more than a quarter of a century, most of that time

serving in official capacity, and for the past ten years serving as president of his international union. He is known to the members of his organization, not only as an able and efficient officer, but as a good fellow, a man who has always gone out of his way to help others, to bring a little more pleasure and happiness to those he is associated with and those he might meet.

I am sure that if that fighting delegate that was mentioned here a few minutes ago, and who unfortunately is absent at this time, were here, he would in his characteristic way call the man I am about to nominate "a good scout." He is a student of the labor movement at home and abroad, and is well qualified to carry a message of fraternity and good will to our brothers and sisters across the sea. He will tell them, if elected, what the American Federation of Labor has done and is doing to improve the conditions of the working men and women of America. And when he returns I am sure he will bring back a most interesting and instructive report to our next convention that you will all take pride in. I know the organization he represents will be greatly pleased and will consider it a signal honor to them if he is elected to represent them across the sea.

I consider it a privilege and an honor to place before you for consideration my friend of many years, my colleague in administering the affairs of our international union for the past ten years, that staunch trade unionist, the general president of the United Hatters of North America, Michael F. Greene.

No further candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Baker the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for first delegate to the British Trades and Labor Congress. The instruction was complied with and Delegate Greene was declared duly elected.

William B. Fitzgerald, Street and Electric Railway Employees, was placed in nomination for second fraternal delegate by Delegate Shea, of the same organization, who said: I assure you it affords me much pleasure to nominate a man it has been my pleasure to work side by side with for a quarter century. He is well

fitted to handle the complex questions that come before our organization. He has been an international officer of our organization for twenty-five years. I assure you he will represent the American Federation of Labor at the British Trades Union Congress because he has all the essentials for representing the American Federation of Labor. If they want a test of his physical ability, I assure you he can swim the English Channel if necessary. I take great pleasure in nominating William B. Fitzgerald, first vice president of the Street Carmen's Union.

Delegate Case: I rise at this time to eulogize this brother, and it is not the first time I have had an opportunity to eulogize him. I will not take the time to tell you all the good things I know about Brother Fitzgerald—he is a bashful fellow and is blushing now. I have had many occasions to call upon him. When you call up Brother Fitzgerald when you are in Detroit, he will say, "I'll be right down to see you." And you can bet your sweet life he will do it. He is fully capable of performing the duties that are given him to do, and the people in Great Britain, I am sure, will be pleased that we have sent such an able man to represent us.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Howard, Typographical Union, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William B. Fitzgerald. The instruction was complied with and Delegate Fitzgerald was declared duly elected delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Joseph W. Morton, Stationary Firemen, was placed in nomination by Delegate Huddell, Steam and Operating Engineers, who said: I welcome this opportunity to get into the record, and also to nominate a very good friend of mine to go to the convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. In sending men to represent us we should send men whom we know understand our movement. It gives me great pleasure to nominate the man I am going to mention for that position. He has been with us in the American Federation of Labor conventions, knows

our movement, and has been a fighter, not only in his own city but in other cities. I have met him many times in conferences, and have always found him large enough to see the other fellow's side of the case—Joseph W. Morton of the Stationary Firemen.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: It gives me a great deal of pleasure to second the nomination of Joe Morton. I have known Joe for a great number of years, and in the hurly-burly of the labor movement in Chicago it has been my pleasure and privilege to stand shoulder to shoulder with him in many fights in that city.

Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers: I rise not for the purpose expressed by my lifelong friend, Jim O'Connell, but to move that the secretary be authorized and instructed to express the unanimous wish of this convention by casting one ballot for my good friend, Joe Morton.

The motion was seconded and carried, the secretary cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Delegate Morton, and the Chairman declared him duly elected a fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY

Delegate Schulte: I would like to extend to the delegates a hearty invitation to meet in the next convention in the city I was born in. It is many years since the American Federation of Labor held a convention in that city. Some of the older members will recall the convention that was held in New Orleans. I want at this time to place that city in nomination.

No other cities were nominated, and New Orleans was selected by unanimous vote of the convention.

Treasurer Tobin: I think it would be well, perhaps, to inform the delegates that the next convention will be held in the latter part of November. That is in the constitution now.

President Green: The Chair is very glad to carry out the suggestion of the Treasurer and advise the delegates that the laws of the Federation provide that the convention shall be held in the month of November in a presidential election year, and inasmuch as there will

be a presidential election next year, we hope, the convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held on the third Monday of the month. The Chair feels that this fact may have had a great deal to do to influence the delegates to hold the convention in a good old southern city like New Orleans next November.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: Before we leave the order of elections, I would like the privilege of offering a motion that I think will meet the unanimous approval of the convention. I move that the secretary be instructed to send a telegram on behalf of the convention to First Vice President James Duncan, informing him of his unanimous election and again expressing the good wishes of the convention and the hope that he may be speedily restored to health.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Perham, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Tunnel and Subway Constructors vs. Hod Carriers and Building Laborers

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 58, the committee reported as follows:

After hearing both parties to this dispute all agreed to the following:

That President Green be instructed and authorized to call the representatives of both organizations together in conference in the City of Washington, D. C., within ninety days and endeavor to effect an agreement on all matters in dispute.

Your committee recommends that this be done.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Machinists vs. Street and Electric Rail- way Employees

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 55, the committee reported as follows:

Since this matter was referred to your committee the Executive Council at Thursday morning's session, page 214, reported to this convention an agreement

entered into between those two organizations, which was approved and adopted by this body, and therefore your Committee recommends that no further or other action be taken at this time.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Electrical Workers vs. Railroad Signalmen

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 51, and on Resolution No. 63, the committee reported as follows:

Electrical Workers vs. Railroad Signalmen

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates James P. Noonan, Chas. M. Paulsen, Edw. J. Evans, Martin T. Joyce, T. C. Vickers and Julia O'Connor Parker.

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen were chartered by the American Federation of Labor with the express provision that their jurisdiction of work should not encroach on that of any other then affiliated organization; and

WHEREAS, Since their admission to the American Federation of Labor they have continuously claimed jurisdiction over all men working in the signal departments of railroads, regardless of the fact that many employees working in the signal departments of the railroads are engaged at electrical work the greater part, if not their entire time; and

WHEREAS, The question of jurisdiction was definitely decided by the El Paso convention in 1924, to the effect that Signalmen or others in the signal departments of railroads that for fifty per cent or more of their time were engaged at work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers should come under the jurisdiction of the Electrical Workers, and such men should not be represented by the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen; and

WHEREAS, Ever since the action of the 1924 convention the Electrical Workers have used every means known to them to have the Signalmen comply with the El Paso decision; and

WHEREAS, The Electrical Workers have brought this refusal of the Signalmen to comply with the decision of the convention to the attention of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and they held a hearing on the matter, and, at the request of the Signalmen, ordered another conference held between the officials of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America, to be called by the President of the American Federation of Labor, and presided over by a representative of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This conference was held as ordered, and at this conference the officers of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America definitely and positively refused to agree to settle this matter on the basis of the El Paso decision, and have since that time been solicited by the President of the American Federation of Labor to agree to a settlement on the basis of the El Paso decision, and have persistently refused up to the present time to give any recognition to the decision of the American Federation of Labor, and continue to claim jurisdiction over all electrical workers in the signal departments of railroads, many of whom do work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers all of their working hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention order the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America to transfer to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, or disassociate from their membership, all men who for fifty per cent or more of their time do work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in accordance with the decision of the El Paso convention, within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That, in cases where it is not definitely shown as to whether men claimed by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers are employed fifty per cent or more of their time at work properly coming under their jurisdiction, the case be transferred to a tribunal or umpire designated by the President of the American Federation of Labor, and the decision of such tribunal or umpire shall be final; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That, if the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America fails or refuses to comply with this decision within the time specified, the charter and membership of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America in the American Federation of Labor shall stand suspended until full compliance with this and the El Paso convention decision can be shown by them; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall accept such members as are properly transferred to them by the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America, on payment of current monthly or quarterly dues, plus the regular charge for insurance benefits, but without charges as initiation fees.

Your Committee after hearing both parties to this dispute recommends for adoption the proposition made by President Green to the Signalmen in conference in Chicago on June 11, 1927, which is as follows:

All work pertaining to the maintenance and repair of electric, electro-pneumatic, electro-gas, electrical mechanical or mechanical signals, interlockings, interlocked switches, derails or railroad cross-

ing gates, train staffs, automatic train stops or controls, highway crossing alarms or signals and all other signal appliances maintained or repaired by the regular signal department forces, coming under the supervision of the signal engineer.

This shall include all composite mechanics, their helpers and apprentices, who hold regularly assigned positions in the signal department, and shall not be construed to include electricians, linemen, machinists, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers and carpenters or signalmen, who for fifty per cent (50%) or more of their time perform work as defined in Articles 140 and 141 of shop crafts national agreement, under date of September 20, 1919, or other craftsmen who for the performance of their craft work may be recruited from other departments or outside industries, for the purpose of constructing new sections of signal appliances.

(Signed) JAS. P. NOONAN,

I. B. of E. W.

D. W. HELT,

B. of R. S. of A.

In the event a dispute arises as to whether an employee is doing fifty per cent (50%) or less of electrical work as set forth in the agreement of 1919, said dispute shall be referred to an impartial tribunal to be created by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for final decision.

Your committee further recommends that in the event the Railroad Signalmen refuse or fail to agree to comply within ninety days with the foregoing decision, that the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to suspend the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America if and when it deems such action necessary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Helt, Signalmen, in discussing the subject, said in part: I rise at this time to explain briefly the circumstances surrounding this jurisdictional fight with the Electrical Workers and, at the conclusion of my statement, I am going to offer a substitute for the committee's report.

Our Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America first secured their charter from the American Federation of Labor in 1914. I am going to read the jurisdiction granted to our organization at that time. The usual correspondence was had between our representative and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, which resulted in setting forth our jurisdiction claims as follows:

"All signalmen who are actively engaged in the construction and maintaining of mechanical and automatic block signals, locking and interlocking plants, mechanical, pneumatic, electric or otherwise, while employed in a signal department of a railroad company."

We are a railroad organization only. We do not claim jurisdiction over those who work in shops in the manufacture of signal appliances, or electricians who do city contract work, or carpenters employed in the building department. There followed action by the Executive Council upon our declared jurisdiction resulting in the granting of the charter in 1914. In the present declaration of the Executive Council and in Resolution No. 68 it is stated that, in granting the charter to our organization, it was definitely understood that we would not encroach upon the jurisdiction of any other organization then affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. That is true, and it is also true that every charter granted by the American Federation of Labor requires the same understanding.

During the succeeding years, after 1914, this little, struggling organization endeavored to bring about the organization of the signal department employees on the railroads of the United States and Canada. There was no opposition in evidence to those efforts when we were merely struggling to bring about a thorough organization. There was no organization in those days, nor was there up to 1918, that wanted the signalmen. It seems strange, after we struggled for years to maintain and secure an effective organization to represent these signalmen, that only when we attained that organization did we meet with a claim for jurisdiction over them. Now it is claimed by the representatives of the Electrical Workers that they always represented signalmen.

During the years 1914, 1915 and 1916 the shop crafts organizations, the six mechanical trades, of which the Electrical Workers is one, endeavored to secure, and were successful in securing, an agreement on about nine Southeast railroads, the leading railroads in the Southeastern part of our country.

In that agreement wages and working conditions were established for the six shop trades, through the able leadership of A. O. Wharton, President of the International Association of Machinists, who was at that time president of the Railway Employees' Department. The agreement was a regional agreement. It covered all the six shop trades on those nine railroads. On six of those lines there was, 1917, when that agreement was submitted, complete up-to-date signal departments, having approximately 1,200 signal department employees employed thereon.

Now, gentlemen, if there was a basis of fact to the claim that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have always represented the Signalmen, and have always had jurisdiction over them, why wasn't one of those men on the Southeastern roads covered by that regional agreement?

Following the Railroad Administration of January 1, 1918, what do we find? The Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen appearing in Washington, endeavoring as best we could to represent signal department employees, and immediately we find electrical workers opposing our efforts. I will not tire you with a long discourse about the efforts that were made to settle the matter amicably, fairly and with equity. Sufficient to say that we did go down to New Orleans in 1919, and there, at the Electrical Workers' convention, President Noonan and myself arrived at what we hoped would be a fair and equitable settlement of the controversy, and we wired the then Director General of Railroads to the effect that on any railroad where the Electrical Workers has 51 per cent of the signalmen they should represent all the signalmen on the road, and where the Signalmen had 51 per cent of the men on that railroad we should represent all Signalmen.

That understanding and effort to settle the matter was without coercion, without intimidation on either side or from the railroad administration. The director general declined to accept the settlement we submitted to him, because the railroad administration had declined to grant our organization a na-

tional agreement, had refused to allow the electrical workers to sign the shopmen's agreement unless there was some settlement arrived at on this matter.

So an unknown quantity, an unknown venture, something not heard of before in railroad signaling, came into existence. It was a fifty per cent settlement clause, signed by President Noonan and myself. We notified our membership that a settlement had been arrived at, that it was signed by both presidents, and therefore the guerilla warfare that had been carried on by the Electrical Workers would be stopped. Nineteen days after that agreement was signed a circular letter, over the signature of the president of the Electrical Workers and the Executive Board, advised the Electrical Workers of the United States and Canada that no agreement on jurisdiction had been arrived at.

Delegate Helt described briefly conditions that followed the action of the Electrical Workers, the presentation of the resolution at the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor, the action that was taken there and the subsequent action taken by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. He emphatically denied a statement made in the El Paso convention that the signalmen got eighty per cent of their agreements when the shopmen were on strike, and stated that they presented evidence that the agreements of their organizations were secured through a decision of the Railroad Labor Board and these agreements were established, not after the shopmen's strike, but nine months before that strike.

He followed this by the statement that if the report of the committee should be adopted and if the American Federation of Labor is able, by police power, to enforce it, seventy per cent of the signalmen of the United States and Canada would be driven into company unions.

Delegate Helt then offered the following as a substitute for the report of the committee:

"All work pertaining to the installation, maintenance and repair of electric, electro-pneumatic, electro-gas, electric, mechanical or mechanical signals, inter-

lockings, interlocked switches, derails or railroad crossing gates, train staffs, automatic train stops or controls, highway crossing alarms or signals, and all other signal appliances maintained or repaired by the regular signal department forces.

"This shall include all composite mechanics, their helpers and apprentices, who hold regularly assigned positions at signal work, and shall not be construed to include electricians or linemen."

Delegate Helt moved the adoption of the substitute. The motion was seconded by Delegate Hayes, Signalmen.

Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers, in discussing the question, said in part:

Delegate Helt told you that we had a tentative agreement in 1919. He did not remember that until I recalled it to his memory while arguing the case before the present Adjustment Committee of this convention, and Delegate Helt knows that at that time the Electrical Workers had positively refused to sign the national agreement that was obtained by the shop crafts. He knows, too, that ten thousand copies of that agreement were distributed to the railroad shop crafts, and that the Electrical Workers refused to sign because the railroad companies wanted us, in that agreement, to waive all electrical work in the signal department of the railroads.

Waiving that meant the work on several very large railroads where we had constructed not only the signal work on that road, the electrical work in connection with the signal work, but in some cases where there was entire and complete electrification for more than 400 miles on roads with which we had maintained an agreement ever since those signals and that electrification was put in.

One of the first big jobs on signal work done in the Middle West was in the Northwestern station at Chicago. We installed that and maintained it. We installed and maintained the signal system in connection with the electrification of terminals at other points where they were put in. To have signed that agreement would have meant to move out of the signal departments on railroads, and we refused to do that, and it was because the na-

tional agreement was being held up that Mr. Helt came to New Orleans while we were holding a convention there and we agreed, as a temporary expedient, in order that the shop crafts agreement might not be held up indefinitely, to represent the signal men for the time being on every road where we had a majority of them, and we told him frankly that where he had a majority of them he could go on and represent them until the case was finally settled. I did not get back to Washington, but for some reason the agreement was not approved by the director-general.

Delegate Helt also tells you there were several conferences with the Railroad Administration relative to jurisdiction of signal work. Mr. Helt at that time continued to tell the Railroad Administration that in no case did the signal men claimed by his organization do more than 20 per cent electrical work, consequently the electrical workers were not entitled to any of these men. I personally made a proposition to Mr. Helt before the Railroad Administration that if his statement regarding the signal men was true, we would move out of the signal department of railroads and offer him, not the man who was doing 20 per cent, but the man who was doing 49 per cent electrical work.

Mr. Helt reluctantly accepted the proposition, after serious debate and calling in his Executive Council, which was there with him at that time. He tells you that nineteen days afterward there was a complete repudiation by the Electrical Workers of that agreement. That is absolutely, positively untrue, and Mr. Helt knows that to be untrue. He had a letter, one paragraph of which he was fond of reading. He didn't read the rest of the letter, refused to show it to the Executive Council at Montreal when I asked him to, and before this adjustment committee, when I asked him for the original document, which he must have had somewhere because he had what he claimed were copies of it, he passed it off by saying that copies were good enough. I had been trying

for the past five years to get hold of that letter from Mr. Helt and never had succeeded in doing so. Mr. Helt offered me typewritten copies, with a typewritten name on them, and I stated then and state now, without any fear of successful contradiction, that if he has a letter that is an exact counterpart of the copy that he shows here, with my name on it, the letter is a forgery because it was never written by myself, and I am supposed to be the man who wrote the letter.

At this point Delegate Noonan referred to the efforts to secure a settlement of the controversy at the Portland convention and again at the El Paso convention, calling attention particularly to the action of the Portland convention in providing for a conference of the two organizations involved. He stated that this conference was finally held, but without the presence of a representative of the American Federation of Labor, on the insistent demand of the Signalmen's organization. Continuing, he said:

At this conference, held in December, 1923, the Electrical Workers presented to the Signalmen exactly the same thing they had agreed to in 1919, word for word. The Signalmen unequivocally rejected it and gave us a document telling us that they claimed everybody with an assigned position in the signal department of a railroad. We naturally could not agree to that. Why? Because in the signal department of the railroad they not only raise poles, string wires that are signal wires, miles and miles of them, but they erect rheostats, motors and all other electrical apparatus that goes into the functioning of an electrical device.

In addition to that a great many signal departments on the railroads have their own electrical shop under the signal department, men working there eight hours a day one hundred per cent of their working time, doing electrical repair work, rewinding armatures, mending rheostats, setting new commutators, and taking the trouble out of electrical devices. On many of the railroads today the railroad has put under the signal de-

partment the telephone and telegraph department of the railroad.

Now, to say that we are claiming the telegrapher because he sits at the electric key and the motorman because he works at a controller is entirely out of the question, beside and apart from anything ever claimed by any craft organization.

Mr. Helt tells you that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Montreal, recognized that some great injustice had been done to his organization, or some such thing, and that they ordered a conference to be held. They did order a conference, and we agreed to have another conference called, but this time with a representative of the American Federation of Labor present. That conference was held, and all day Mr. Helt refused to say that he would or would not comply with the decision of the El Paso convention, until very late in the afternoon, and then finally stated that they had to have all of the men on assigned positions in the signal department on a railroad.

He did not tell us then, but he has told us since, that it was not because of any of the things enumerated before, but because of an action of his convention, and he told the present Adjustment Committee that his convention, since the Executive Council met in Montreal, had gone on record that they could not give any work in the signal department away—that was the intent and purpose of the statement made.

Now, we have tried recently to get this difficulty settled. We waited more than two years before bringing it to the attention of the Executive Council, even after a convention had rendered a decision on the matter. Mr. Helt made the same statement today that he made to the former convention. He made the statements, practically, to the present Adjustment Committee that he made in 1924.

There was no desire on the part of the electrical worker to take over every automatic or pneumatic signal man or men not doing electrical work at least the majority of the time, and when we went that far we thought we were going a long step in the direction of trying to give to

another organization some chance to go along and to keep as many men as it was possible for them to keep, without them actually taking away from our organization men who were doing all electrical work. The signal maintenance man is a trouble man, pure and simple, and it is 60 to 80 per cent electrical work, and in some cases 90 per cent electrical work.

Those are the men we want. In the proceedings of the convention of 1914, at which time the Signalmen were admitted, it was clearly stated that they had to agree that they would not encroach upon the proper jurisdiction of any craft then affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Helt reads a letter today to the American Federation of Labor from the then officers of the Signalmen, saying they claim this work, but he produces no document showing that this work is granted to the Signalmen.

We believe we are not unreasonable in saying that if a man is doing electrical work fifteen, twenty, thirty, forty or forty-nine per cent of his time, we do not want that man if he is an assigned signalman, but men who are assigned in the signal department who are doing seventy, eighty, ninety, and in a lot of cases one hundred per cent electrical work, belong to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and I hope the report of the committee will be adopted.

Vice President Rickert, chairman of the committee: My attention has been called to the fact that there is an error in the way the committee's report was written and read to you. The committee's report should read just as it was read to you, but after the words, "Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America," in the second recommendation, there should be the words, "If and when it deems such action necessary," so that the last recommendation of the committee would read as follows:

"Your committee further recommends that, in the event the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen refuse or fail to agree to comply within ninety days with the foregoing decision, the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to suspend the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America, if and when it deems such action necessary."

That is the report of the committee.

I merely wanted to make it clear so that you may know just what it is. That is what the committee voted for and is the way it should have read originally, but through an error either on the part of the stenographer or the chairman, it was written as originally read, which was incorrect. This is the correct report of the committee.

Delegate Russell, Commercial Telegraphers, spoke briefly in support of the substitute motion offered by Delegate Helt. He stated that as one who had not had the benefit of past discussions on the question before the convention, he felt that the railroad seemed to be a fairly good line of demarcation in this jurisdictional question. He referred to the large numbers of unorganized men and women in the employ of the General Electric Company, the Westinghouse Company, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company as a field into which he felt the Electrical Workers might extend their organization efforts.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers, a member of the Committee on Adjustment, spoke in favor of the committee's report. He reviewed the various attempts that had been made since the dispute started to arrive at a settlement, directing attention to the actions of the several conventions at which the question came up. He expressed the belief that it might be possible for the President of the American Federation of Labor to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy, and stated that with the facts before the committee, they could do nothing else than reaffirm the decision of the El Paso convention.

Delegate Hayes, Railroad Signalmen, in discussing the question, said in part: There are only 14,000 signalmen in America today. Fourteen thousand signalmen wouldn't add very much to the Electrical Workers' organization, for whom I have the greatest respect, but if you take just a few members away from our small organization you might tear the heart out of that organization.

I believe, and the members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen feel, that the charter rights as read to you by Brother Helt properly cover

the jurisdiction that we should have. We are a railroad labor organization, we do not claim jurisdiction over any other class of signal work, we don't want it. We want to remain a labor organization on the railroad and we want our jurisdictional rights as given to us by the American Federation of Labor.

I do not agree with the representatives of the Electrical Workers when they say here that 80 per cent of the Signalmen's agreements were obtained during strike and turmoil. We can easily prove that an assertion of that kind is not founded on fact.

We believe that the report as it has been corrected by the chairman of the committee is modified to some extent, but we also believe that on the whole it is in keeping with the resolution, which says that we must dissociate from our membership or transfer to the Electrical Workers' organization those who are doing 50 per cent or more electrical work. If we do that, if we are compelled to dissociate from our membership those whom they claim are doing 50 per cent electrical work, then we will have to turn them into company unions, as Delegate Helt has said, or no organization at all.

I hope you will accept the substitute for the original report of the committee, because if you do you will settle once and for all this question of jurisdictional rights.

Delegate Evans, Electrical Workers, said in part: All that the Electrical Workers ask in this situation is justice for both sides. A continued strike has been going on now for over seven years. It is time that the question was settled, and to be settled rightly and justly it must be settled by a decision based upon facts.

We are only asking you to analyze the report submitted to you by the Adjustment Committee. We are willing to abide by that report. The Electrical Workers are prepared on all railroads to take care of any men who are properly performing electrical work coming under their jurisdiction, and if we have been so unfortunate as

to be unable to organize all of the electrical field of this country, I hope you won't hold that against us because we are doing the best we can to organize them and we will continue to do that.

We ask you to vote down the substitute and to support the report of the committee, leaving to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and to President Green and the officers, or such others as they may designate, to decide what men do belong to the Electrical Workers and what men do not. If so many men do not belong as they claim, let the decision be arrived at and the decision will be in their favor, and the men will remain in their organization.

Delegate Raynes, Railroad Signalmen, requested that he desired his time on the floor to be allotted to Delegate Helt to answer some statements that had been made by a previous speaker.

President Green stated that if no other delegates desired to be heard, Delegate Helt might speak again.

Delegate Russell, Commercial Telegraphers: Before the delegate speaks I would like to ask a question of information. Isn't the resolution as it stands really an instruction to the President of the American Federation of Labor to do certain things, and if these things are not done he may, in his judgment, expel this organization?

President Green: The chairman of the committee may answer that question.

Vice President Rickert: There are no such instructions. There is no reference made in the report to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The instructions are mandatory in a certain sense, and yet there is a certain latitude permitting the Executive Council to use its judgment as to when and if they shall suspend the charter of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen.

Delegate Helt, Railroad Signalmen, in replying to certain statements made by Delegate Noonan, said in part:

President Noonan referred to the resolution at the Portland convention

and said that the Signalmen requested that a conference be held. I may say to you that there was no conference requested by the Electrical Workers prior to the convention at Portland. We have endeavored for years to secure a conference with them. We were able to have the one at Atlantic City and the one down at New Orleans. Otherwise we were disregarded. We were not even tolerated. They did not propose to recognize us as being in existence.

There is no claim for all of the signal department employees in our substitute to the committee's recommendation. There are upon the railroads of the United States electricians in the signal departments. On the Southern Pacific Railroad, I am informed by the general chairman, there are approximately one hundred electricians in the signal department—I am not talking about electricians in the shop. There is no connection, physically or otherwise, between the signal department and the maintenance of equipment, or the shop department.

They are receiving the wages that we secured through an arbitration award at San Francisco on March 6 of this year. Their working conditions are established under our agreement. They are not members of our organization, neither will we permit them to be members of our organization.

On the New Haven Railroad, between New York and New Haven, where the electric haulage is in effect, there is no jurisdiction trouble between the electrical workers and the signalmen. The electrical worker handles all the haulage, he brings the current up to the primary side of the transformer, and the signalman takes it from there to his apparatus.

On the Milwaukee lines west the Electrical Workers did have all the signal employees organized out there in the electrification. We are proud of that line of demarcation as made between the two involved. Signalmen on the Milwaukee lines west, since the director general of railroads in 1920 issued a national agreement, have been covered by the Signalmen's agreement.

President Noonan told you from the platform that they don't claim all the signalmen. On the D. L. & W. Railroad in 1921, when the Electrical Workers came up there and, by the force of the number of organizers and officials they had in the field, disrupted our organization, did they stop at the mechanical man, the interlocking man, or the manual signal man? They did not. They took in the last man they could get, and it took us two years to get the organization back and get a contract.

I ask this convention what will happen on the Southern Pacific, the third largest railroad in the United States that has signals on it, if this report is adopted? Six hundred and eighty signalmen, under the Electric Workers' interpretation, will be driven into company unions. That will happen on the Santa Fe, the Rock Island, the Burlington, the Northern Pacific, the M. K. & T., the Missouri Pacific, the Illinois Central, the Pennsylvania, the Pere Marquette, the Lehigh Valley, the D. L. & W., the Delaware & Hudson, the Central Railroad of New Jersey, the Reading, the New Haven, and on every railroad where the shopmen have been so unfortunate as to lose their contract and where company unions are in effect now.

I am appealing to you for justice under the original charter grant of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers, replied briefly to the statement of Delegate Helt, and said in part:

Is there any reason why an organization choosing to designate themselves as an industrial organization in any one craft or in any one line of endeavor should take in all the men engaged in that line? If that is the intention of the American Federation of Labor, pass the amendment, if craft jurisdiction means nothing, pass the amendment offered by the President of the Signalmen.

The substitute motion offered by Delegate Helt was declared lost, on a viva

voce vote being taken. Delegate Helt asked for a division of the vote, and the count showed that 26 favored the substitute, while 101 were opposed to it.

President Green declared the substitute motion lost.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Perham, secretary of the committee: This completes the work of the Committee on Adjustment, Mr. President, and the report is submitted and signed by the entire committee:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman;
H. B. PERHAM, Secretary;
EDWARD FLORE,
C. L. SHAMP,
J. B. ETCHISON,
WM. J. KERNGOOD,
ROY HORN,
LEE HALL,
F. M. SILLIK,
M. F. TIGHE,
WILLIAM F. CANAVAN,
FRANK KASTEN,
JAMES MALONEY,
M. F. GREENE,
MICHAEL E. McFARLAND.
Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Perham moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Adjustment as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: We have several committees yet to report—the Committee on Education, the Committee on Shorter Workday, and the Committee on International Relations, and perhaps one or two other miscellaneous matters. It is the opinion of the Chair that we can conclude the business of the convention by tomorrow noon if we meet promptly in the morning and conduct the business in an expeditious manner. I ask that all delegates come back tomorrow morning, so that we may have a full attendance and complete our business in an orderly and business-like manner.

At 5:40 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 14.

Tenth Day—Friday Morning Session

Los Angeles, Cal.,
October 14, 1927.

The convention was called to order by
President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees:

Dullzell, Abernathy, Cranna, Haggerty (J. B.), Belair, Frinke, Weitler, Kasten, Ornburn, Schulte, Coulter, Feeney, McAndrews, Snow, Huddell, Evans (D.), Fay, Graham, Steward, McNally, Fitzgerald (J.), Silberstein, Lucchi, Sigman, Weltz, Clarke (W. P.), Mahoney (T. J.), Squibb, Tighe, Brock (J. F.), Dubecker, Finnan, Mugavin, Swartz, Askew, Bock (P.), Ryan (J. P.), Bjorklund, Fry, Fljozdal, Hogan (S. C.), McCrane, Strother, Gorman (P. E.), Lane (D.), Kelly (M. J.), Hynes (J. J.), Redding, Pattison, Rooney, McCarthy, McCoy, Hedrick, Smith (W. R.), Barry (F. P.), Wilson (J.), Hannah, McGivern, Donlin, Blehl, McDonough, Huebner, Burke (T. E.), Rau, McGillivray, McQuade, Van De Water, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Gaviak, Gausman, Mitchell, Cullen, Grimshaw, Cashen, Perry, Manion, Collins, Spencer, Harris (E. J.), Atkins, Hulsbeck, Johnson (E. A.), Ely, Reilly (H. V.), Mates, Roberts, Stroud, Bennett, Studdard, Kelly (S. C.), Bowen (L.), Kosta, Johannsen, Cain, Buckland, Martel, Barry (E. D.), Starkweather, De Vore, Sands, O'Dell, McSpadden, Rice, Conter, Dennison, Dempsey, Smith (E. F.), Conkey, Draper, Wickert, Crowell, Edwards (E. W.), Young, Bower, Tosh, Reagan, Ferguson (A.), Hopkins, Woodmansee, Wood, Dean, Trimmer, Leavitt, Fitzpatrick, Ostran, Miller (J. B.), Goldberg, Campbell (A. C.), Caston, Flynn (M.), Gayhart, Elliott.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

Delegate Harding, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Eight-Hour Day for New York City Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Fred W. Baer of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The Uniformed Firemen's Association, known as Local No. 94 of the International Association of Fire Fighters, is requesting the city officials in New York City to grant an eight-hour day to the uniformed firemen in the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, The firemen in New York City are now working an average of twelve hours per day, or two shifts, and under the eight-hour day three shifts would prevail; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, in convention assembled, approved of the eight-hour day for firemen as well as the request of the New York local, and are giving every support possible to the local in its efforts to obtain the eight-hour day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, recognize the benefits that have already resulted in the establishment of the shorter work day in industry, and therefore endorse the request of Local 94 of the International Association of Fire Fighters for an eight-hour day in the New York fire department, and hereby request the city authorities of New York City to enact legislation providing for the eight-hour day in the fire department; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee be directed to co-operate with the International Association of Fire Fighters and Local 94 in their campaign to establish the eight-hour day and that the attention of the affiliated bodies in New York City be called to the necessity of co-operation in order to obtain the eight-hour day for the New York firemen.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 24.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 70 in the last "resolve" as follows: "That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor put forth its best endeavors to assist in bringing about a shorter work day and a shorter work week, not to exceed eight hours per day and six days per week, in the petroleum industry of the United States."

The resolution as amended reads:

To Assist Campaign for Eight-Hour Day and Six-Day Week for Oil Workers

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate H. C. Fremming of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, There are employed in the petroleum industry of the United States approximately 200,000 workers; and

WHEREAS, The State of California is the only part of the industry that operates upon an eight-hour day in all of its divisions; and

WHEREAS, In California, as well as the rest of the nation, workmen are required to work seven days per week; and

WHEREAS, In the other several states where oil is produced and refined other

than California, the general basis of employment is upon the time worn 12-hour day, and in many instances workmen are required to remain upon the job the entire 24 hours; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its forty-seventh annual convention assembled, that it goes upon record as being definitely opposed to such a condition as stated in these resolutions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor put forth its best endeavors to assist in bringing about a shorter work day and a shorter work week, not to exceed eight hours per day and six days per week in the petroleum industry of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

New Goal—Five-Day Week—History of Hours of Labor—Forty-Four-Hour Week

The portions of the report of the Executive Council under the above captions, pages 34, 42 and 54, were dealt with jointly by the committee, as follows:

That portion of the Executive Council's Report referred to your Committee contains information of much value upon one of the most important programs which the American trade union movement has adopted.

Under the caption, "New Goal—Five-Day Week," page 34, reference is made to the shortening of the workday and to the conditions which wage earners must meet in order that the Five-Day Week should be extended.

In connection with this, the Executive Council has submitted a brief but most valuable record showing the steady progress which the trade union movement has made in reducing the hours of labor, and in connection with this giving the outstanding facts relative to hours of labor from the sixteen-hour day of 1776 to the eight-hour day and five-day week now enjoyed by a goodly number of trade unionists. We call special attention to this brief history of the hours of labor in our country because of its practical value to all students of our movement who seek information concerning this subject. We commend the Executive Council for having prepared this compilation and we recommend that the Executive Council continue in its reports to incorporate data which will increase our knowledge concerning the develop-

ment of the shorter workday and work week.

Under the caption, "Forty-Four-Hour Week," reference is made to the effort to broaden the observance of the forty-four-hour week by applying the shorter work week in the Government Printing Office. We commend the action of the Executive Council in appearing before the Joint Committee on Printing in connection with this subject and recommend that these efforts be continued.

The general subject which has been referred to your Committee is of such a character that the Committee would not be justified in concluding its report without submitting a statement which would assist in emphasizing the importance of the subject.

The question of shorter hours can be discussed from its humane aspect. It can be considered solely from its social value. It can be discussed as a purely economic question.

Considered from a humane standpoint alone, or as a question of social necessity, or as a purely economic factor, the necessity of shortening the hours of labor can be demonstrated beyond cavil. That human beings in a land so blessed as our own should be compelled to work day after day to the point of physical exhaustion shocks the civilized mind. Labor is necessary to health and to the joy of living; labor strengthens the body and character, but hours of labor so extended that labor becomes a drudgery prevents the enjoyment of life. Our ancestors, the pioneers of our country, worked long hours, and because of this our critics attempt to condemn the shorter workday movement. But the pioneers worked in the open. They were not confined within four walls; rapidly moving and noisy machinery did not disturb or wear them. They were at liberty to rest during the day; to take moments for refreshment. The modern industrial mechanism, the conditions under which the workers are employed in industry today, are of such a different character that no comparison is justified as between the present and the pre-factory system. The men and women in industry who have given their great contributions to the creation of the nation's wealth are entitled to hours of work so

regulated that the drudgery of labor is eliminated.

The Creator intended that we should be social beings; that we should enjoy the society of our fellowmen, and that we should each take our part in the developing of the social relationship; that we should enjoy all of the blessings that come through human fellowship. The American trade union movement from the beginning has held that labor's contribution to the welfare of the community entitles labor to every social opportunity, and the opportunity of acquiring knowledge. It is not the workers without hours for sociability and the gathering of information who demonstrate the capacity of assuming the full responsibilities of citizenship, of playing a constructive part in the development of civilization. The history of every country has made it clear that in the evolution upward and forwards it has been the workers with most time for social recreation who have developed the constructive policies and placed dependence upon the methods of a democracy, instead of placing their hope upon the application of force in the overthrow of government by revolutionary methods.

It is a reflection upon the general intelligence of our nation that there still remain a few who oppose the shorter workday on economic grounds. We still find among those hostile to our movement, men who affirm that shortening the work day and the work week reduces the volume of production. If anything has been proven beyond the shadow of a doubt it is that the reduction in the daily hours of labor and the work week, has been accompanied by a most material increase in the volume of production. The United States Census Bureau is responsible for the statement that during the period from 1899 to 1925, the per capita production, the increased amount produced by the individual worker each day had increased as a whole 49 per cent. Perhaps—a representative assertion of the general truth is found in the iron and steel industry where since 1914 the per capita production has increased approximately 50 per cent; while during the same period, the eight-hour day has replaced the twelve-hour day for about one-third of those employed. The

economic understanding, the social philosophy, which has guided our movement in its efforts to reduce the hours of labor have been proven fully justified and wholly sound. We have made our progress from the twelve and fourteen-hour day to the eight-hour day and five-day week through the activity of our trade union movement, the work of education it has carried on, and through negotiations and agreements with employers. It is no longer a question of whether the five-day week can be established. It is established. It is here. And several of the organizations which make up the American Federation of Labor have established the five-day week through friendly negotiations with progressive and open-minded employers.

We must carry out our work of education until the shorter week has become universal, and in our efforts to accomplish this end we will be contributing to the social, moral and the economic benefit of our country. Man was made to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, but he was not created to be a beast of burden. It is our trade union movement which has lifted labor from the type of man depicted by the painter Millet, the slant-browed man with the hoe—to the type of citizenship which our workers now give to our nation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Harding: That completes the report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day, which is signed by the entire committee:

M. J. KEOUGH, Chairman;
JOHN C. HARDING, Secretary;
EDW. J. MCGIVERN,
E. J. GAINOR,
THOMAS P. HYLAND,
JOHN B. SCHULTE,
PETER BEISEL,
H. J. NORTON,
LEE HALL,
E. P. BARRY,
ELDEN L. CHAPMAN,
JOHN F. McNAMARA,
ROSCOE H. JOHNSON,
JAMES P. MEEHAN,
JOHN H. BELL,

Committee on Shorter Work Day.

The report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day was adopted as a

whole, as submitted, and the committee discharged by the President, with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Florence Hanson, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Organization and education are the hope for the advancement of humanity. Legitimate organization and true education should make of our citizens not only guardians of our heritage but also followers of those who have sacrificed for a society built upon the principle of co-operative effort for the benefit of all. The development of character and nobility of soul should be our educational goal.

Outstanding Achievements

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 37, the committee reported as follows:

Regarding the report of the Executive Council on outstanding achievements in education. We commend highly the achievements in the field of education this past year, and the active and progressive spirit shown.

The Workers' Education Bureau has done a magnificent work and should receive the continued support of the entire labor movement.

The Conference on the Elimination of Industrial Waste, held under the auspices of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union and the Philadelphia Labor College, is an outstanding educational achievement of the year. This was the first of its kind, but should by no means be the last. A careful study of the work of this conference is recommended.

At Passaic, N. J., the Workers' Education Bureau served the labor movement immeasurably. The purpose and idealism of unionism were most forcefully and dramatically brought home to the workers.

The American Federationist has been a leading educational agency and has again demonstrated that "the pen is mightier than the sword." The American Federationist compares favorably

with any magazine published, in content, in form, in character and usefulness. It should have unqualified endorsement and support. It is recommended that every officer of national and local organizations subscribe to and read the American Federationist, and it is recommended especially that all editors of labor papers and journals read and use, in the columns of their publication, current articles, with suitable comment.

One other educational achievement deserves mention. That is the organization of the teachers into trade unions. The past year has seen a definite improvement and growth in this field. This indicates that an increasing number of teachers are becoming socially minded and developing a social awareness and civic conscience. The union teacher is one who recognizes the labor movement as a great social movement for human betterment and regards it as a privilege and a duty to participate in that movement. He is seeking to develop for himself and others greater freedom and self-respect and thereby to make teaching a profession, a thing which can be accomplished only when the teachers have the freedom, strength and influence to establish the standards of their calling.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Report of Committee on Education

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 63, the committee reported as follows:

The permanent Committee on Education has continued its valuable work and presents evidences of satisfactory accomplishment, including undertakings in model provision for compulsory school attendance laws, present methods of apprenticeship training, and a study of how text-books are selected.

The work on compulsory school attendance is especially commendable. The committee finds that the need of labor action to protect children is as great as ever. A few states have made progress, two in 1926 and five in 1927, strengthening their provisions for the length of schooling required, or protec-

tion of minors at work. Nine states failed to pass bills or parts of bills submitted to them.

The survey of vocational education work has not yet been completed. The provisions regulating apprenticeship contained in the constitution of each trade union organization have been summarized and the type of vocational training done by corporations and controlled by management has been considered.

A vitally important work of the committee was the study of the circulation of text-books, showing what school authorities participated in the selection of the books, by whom the final decision was made, and how frequently decisions are revised. In calling attention to omission of important social developments from school texts for the teaching of history, civics and economics, as the labor movement and the woman movement, the committee has done a work of tremendous importance, which will bring worth-while results through the constructive co-operation on the part of publishers as well as authors.

One of the most pernicious of the legislative tendencies is the attempt to determine the content of the social and biological sciences by special interest or legislative enactment. The American Federation of Labor should be on the alert to combat all such tendencies, much in evidence at present.

Your committee recommends that the Committee on Education be directed to maintain its work of examining text books for use in the public schools and conferring with authors, so that it may further a fair and fully-rounded presentation of social, economic and political history.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Free Text Books

Under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

It may seem anomalous that a democracy which provides for free compulsory education should still force its school children to buy their text-books thus making equalization of educational opportunity more difficult. The American Federation of Labor urges

its constituent bodies in the various states and in the District of Columbia to work for the enactment of legislation providing for free text-books for all children of the public schools.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Continuation Schools

Under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Continuation schools were established to meet the educational and industrial needs of boys and girls who were forced by adverse economic conditions or ill-adjusted curricula to terminate their school careers too soon. These schools are now functioning with a large measure of success in twenty-six states. Anti-social, uneducated or misguided employers are seeking to undermine these beneficent laws which are not only doing much to enable children to lift themselves out of blind-alley jobs but also to develop their educational possibilities to the utmost. This has been made possible by the stimulation that comes from the correlation of education to one's work and by their contacts with reality.

Recently efforts have been inaugurated to undermine the operation of these laws by suggesting amendments reducing the compulsory school age or substituting evening school for day school attendance or by other substitutes for the continuation school. We regard all these attacks upon the continuation school as undesirable and unwise attempts to undermine these beneficent laws and institutions, and we urge every effort to defeat all such attempts.

We suggest that attendance should be required from four to eight hours weekly, that the curricula be broadened to meet the varying needs of the pupils—cultural as well as industrial; that better specialized equipment and buildings be provided by boards of education; that trained trade teachers be attracted to teaching by improving their status; that more liberal state and national aid be furnished to make these reforms possible; and that the work of the continuation schools be strengthened wherever possible. We further suggest that vocational guid-

ance be especially emphasized, along with health education and medical inspection, using the resources of the physician, the dentist, the visiting teacher and the psychiatrist.

The continuation schools, in their experimental state, with their small classes, their factual approach and their contact with life, offer boards of education a challenge as well as a rare opportunity of testing the validity of our traditional educational policies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Handicapped and the Rural School

Under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The committee wishes to direct the attention of the American Federation of Labor to the plight of two classes of underprivileged children. The Research Bureau of the American Federation of Teachers has made exhaustive study and a report on the situation of the crippled child. This report shows that of our forty-eight states only fifteen have legislative provision relating to the education of the crippled child and of these fifteen only ten have legislative provision for surgical treatment and care necessary to make such education possible.

Your committee is convinced that education and vocational training for the crippled child is humanitarian and can in many cases "make tax producers out of potential tax consumers."

Your committee is also convinced that the necessary education for these handicapped children requires that provision be made for medical, surgical and institutional care. Hence it desires to recommend that the A. F. of L. and its various constituent bodies strive to bring this matter before the federal Congress and the legislatures of their respective states, to the end that legislation necessary to adequate educational opportunities for this class of children may be secured.

The educational opportunities of the children in most rural districts is so inadequate as to constitute a severe indictment of our nation, and to be a leading cause of illiteracy and other social and economic dangers.

The inability of many districts adequately to finance their schools has resulted in short compulsory school year

in some states as low as four or five months, and low requirements for teachers. Boys and girls just out of the eighth grade are often employed as teachers and professional training among rural teachers is rare.

Some states are making notable advances through a method of consolidated schools, state aid to poor districts and raising educational and professional requirements for teachers.

The American Federation of Labor is deeply interested in this injustice to children and this menace to our nation, and will take active steps that all constituent bodies inform themselves upon the conditions in their several states and seek to interest all forces in their states in the matter of improving the rural schools.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Nursery Schools

Under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee believes that in harmony with its interest in all educational matters the American Federation of Labor should take cognizance of a new movement known as the Nursery School or training for the pre-school child. Many of our leading universities and of our prominent psychologists are giving much attention to study and experiment with this particular period. If it is intended that the junior kindergarten or nursery school become a part of our educational system, we should be informed as to its value or lack of value.

Your committee therefore recommends that the permanent Committee on Education make a study of the nursery school movement with a view to determining its advantage, if any, to human progress and the labor movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Publications

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 64, the committee reported as follows:

The attention of the members of the American Federation of Labor is called to the list of exceptionally fine publications issued by the American Federation

of Labor. It is recommended that every effort be made to place these in the hands, not only of trade unionists, but of others as well.

The attention of your committee has been called to the text books published for the Workers' Education Bureau which are known as the Workers' Bookshelf, and the criticism of some of our membership to the content of some of these books.

The initial plan proposed by the Workers' Education Bureau was to create an editorial board, on which responsible trade unionists were to serve to pass on the books as they were published. The method proved not wholly satisfactory in spite of the services of the members of the Board.

Criticism of certain portions of these texts was brought to the attention of the bureau with the result that changes were made or are being made in the existing volumes. A provision has been made whereby in the judgment of your committee there will be a proper safeguard for the future.

Your committee, therefore, desires to recommend that in the future all books to be published in the Workers' Bookshelf that deal with trade union problems receive the benefit of the careful editorial reading by competent representatives of the American Federation of Labor and we also urge all trade unionists who read these books to make such constructive suggestions as they think will be helpful to the Workers' Education Bureau. We believe in the value of such a bookshelf and we request the co-operation of the movement in making this of the greatest service to our membership.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Press

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 68, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee heartily endorses that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with the Labor Press and the very important part it plays with the development of the trade union movement. We recommend that the Labor Press of America be urged to

give continued support to the program of the American Federation of Labor and to give extra emphasis to the value of extending Workers' Education in every community. Your committee is deeply impressed with the opportunity for the development of this most important auxiliary of the labor movement and earnestly urges that our membership give greater support to its development and growth, to the end that it shall always, as it should, give expression to the hopes and aspirations of labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: The Chair desires to take advantage of this opportunity for just a moment to officially express the appreciation of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor for the services rendered by the labor press and by the editors of the bona fide labor press of our country. I know of no class of men who are working apparently more unselfishly and in a more devoted and loyal way than the editors and publishers of our labor press. They face discouragement many times, because in many communities the sentiment toward labor is hostile indeed, so that many times these editors are called upon to work in a community where the membership of organized labor is indifferent and where many outside of the organized labor movement are decidedly hostile.

I wish I might urge, with sufficient emphasis, and arouse action on the part of the members of our organized labor movement to give to the labor press in their respective communities the loyal and devoted support it deserves. I wish we might encourage these editors and publishers and that we might subscribe heartily for these publications. They represent in many instances the voice of labor in certain communities. They carry the message of labor, at least to labor and its friends. Many of the publications and many of the editorials are indeed of a high-class, and all of them are interesting.

I take advantage of this occasion to

urge continued active and loyal support to the labor press of our country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workers' Education Bureau of America

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 66, the committee reported as follows:

The Workers' Education Bureau has become such an important part of the educational activity of the American Federation of Labor that your committee feels that further endorsement is hardly necessary. The bureau has been a most effective and efficient agency for the promotion of workers' education in the United States; it has won its support by the merits of its service. It has been prompt to recognize its mistakes during its pioneer period and willing to make necessary correction. We again commend the bureau for its constructive and valuable aid in furtherance of the educational program of the American Federation of Labor.

The suggestion of the Executive Council that the executive committee of the Workers' Education Bureau be so changed as to give more responsible direction to supporting national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor is a wise suggestion. We approve of it. It is a recommendation by our Executive Council to the executive committee of the Workers' Education Bureau. We interpret this recommendation to represent an added expression of interest and belief in the great service of this bureau to the future of our labor movement and a desire to be a more vital part of it. We do not understand that this suggestion represents any want of confidence in the contribution of state Federations of Labor, central bodies and local unions in the administration of this program. We believe in their important part in the development of this educational program.

We recommend, therefore, to this convention the adoption of this suggestion of the Executive Council and urge a more active affiliation and responsible

co-operation by the other units of the American Federation of Labor in the development of this important movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Week-End Conference

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 66, the committee reported as follows:

The plan of the Week-End Educational Conference for the discussion of industrial questions, initiated and sponsored by the Workers' Education Movement, has been listed by the Executive Council as one of the outstanding achievements for the year. We concur in this belief. The Week-End Conference opens up a new and important method of securing important facts and of developing the technique of industrial relations.

Your committee's notes with deep interest the intention of the Workers' Education Bureau to hold such conferences in different parts of the country during the coming year. We recommend that all national, international, state federations and central labor bodies lend all possible assistance in making these conferences a success and thereby of the greatest service to the members of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Passaic Workers' Education Program

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 67, the committee reported as follows:

The establishment by the Workers' Education Bureau of an educational department in the city of Passaic to co-operate with the United Textile Workers of America in their difficult task was a constructive service. The achievements of that educational department are of the first significance. Your committee can hardly imagine a center where the educational work would be more difficult. By the measure of the difficulty in Passaic is the accomplishment to be rated.

What has been demonstrated, furthermore, in Passaic should be of great

value to labor in other centers. What has been won in the way of community support cannot be overestimated.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention go on record as endorsing the Passaic educational program whole-heartedly and commend the Workers' Education Bureau, the local education director of Workers' Education, and the United Textile Workers of America on their joint achievement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Institutes and Summer Schools

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 67, the committee reported as follows:

The growth of summer schools and labor institutes as a part of the program of the Workers' Education Movement is a sound development. The utilization of college campuses in this country for such summer schools under representative workers' educational committees is an important event. At the present time but a small proportion of over 700 colleges and universities in the country have any provision for summer instruction. If our Workers' Education Movement can utilize some of these plants for summer schools of their own it will be most valuable.

The holding of labor institutes of shorter duration to discuss problems of current interest to individual unions or groups of unions may be a most useful method of stock-taking on union progress. They should prove to be a most valuable way of formulating or developing new methods for labor.

Your committee recommends to this convention that they record their approval of the general purpose of such summer schools and labor institutes for wage earners when conducted under the auspices of the Workers' Education Bureau.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Research

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 67, the committee reported as follows:

The work of the research department of the Workers' Education Bureau is a much-needed adjunct to the workers' education movement. It should aid greatly in developing new methods of instruction and new material for study class use. While only a beginning has been made, we feel that it is filling a real need.

Your committee, therefore, adds its endorsement to this work and recommends to affiliated unions and study classes the wider use of its facilities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Fifth National Convention

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 67, the committee reported as follows:

We commend the action of the executive board of the Workers' Education Bureau in holding their fifth national convention in the Boston public library. Libraries are public institutions. In America our public libraries are making conspicuous and worthwhile efforts to aid the adult education of the citizens of their community. We congratulate both the Workers' Education Bureau and the Boston public library on this splendid evidence of co-operative effort.

Your committee desires to recommend to this convention the endorsement and approval of the major actions taken by the Boston convention of the Workers' Education Bureau in the development of its own work.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Affiliations

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 68, the committee reported as follows:

The affiliations of the national and international unions, state federations, central bodies and local unions with the Workers' Education Bureau have made a commendable increase during the past year. It should widen the service of the bureau, yet no educational agency can function up to the maximum unless it has an adequate income to carry forward its program

and a constituency through which to function.

Your committee, therefore, recommends to this convention that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized again to appeal to all national and international unions, state federations, central bodies and local unions to undertake active affiliation and support of the Workers' Education Bureau, so that the bureau can be of the maximum service to the American labor movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Memorials

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 68 and 69, the committee reported as follows:

Two memorials, the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Foundation and the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, were promoted actively through the office of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee recommends hearty commendation and approval of these activities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Special Days

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 70, the committee reported as follows:

Labor's Memorial Sunday, the fourth Sunday in May; Labor Sunday, the day preceding the first Monday in September, and the following day, or Labor Day, are labor's special days. Fitting observance of these days is urged, so that the power of the labor movement may be continually revered. "These are the days on which we turn from material things to their meaning or their spiritual purposes. The labor movement is fundamentally an effort to realize spiritual purposes—to enable men and women to free themselves from situations and hardships that restrict their development."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair takes the liberty to interrupt the report of

the committee for just a moment to give opportunity for our fraternal delegates to bid you farewell. They are leaving the city shortly. I will call upon Brother Sherwood to say a word to you now.

Fraternal Delegate Sherwood: Mr. President and delegates, it is not my intention to say farewell, sir, but good-bye. I am hoping that we may welcome many of you in the old country as fraternal delegates to our great Trades Union Congress, and I think I am entitled to say I live in hope that if the movement makes me rich enough to come back here and spend the rest of my days, if I can't find a better place in Great Britain.

I feel it a great pleasure to say to the many friends, some very intimate friends and acquaintances we have met during our stay in the city, how very delighted we are at all the kindness and helpfulness that has been extended to us in every possible degree, both on the sea, on land, in the air, in the movies, and in jail. Your Federation has left no opportunity untouched to give us a taste of every phase of civic and industrial life in this great center.

Friends, I regret to bid you good-bye, but duty calls us elsewhere, and I hope in the days to come the movement we stand for and live for will go on. Men may pass away, but this great movement must live forever, and in that spirit I bid you good-bye.

Fraternal Delegate Pugh: Mr. President and delegates, like my friend, Sherwood, I intend just to say good-bye. I thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the very kindly welcome we have received, myself and my wife and my colleagues, and the many friendships formed, the many new interests awakened. We certainly shall leave America with a very different conception of American affairs in many ways, with a better understanding of the great movement you represent, a better understanding of the difficulties you have to surmount, and a recognition of the fact that you, like us, are endeavoring to do the best you can to promote the interests of the great working class we represent.

I thank you kindly for the great interest you have shown in us and for your efforts to make us happy and comfortable, and I regret that the friendships cannot be extended even further than we have gone.

President Green: The Chair wishes to say just a word. We finally succeeded yesterday in landing these two comrades in the Los Angeles county jail. It was the purpose and intention of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to keep them incarcerated in the jail, and while we could stand the hard look upon the face of our good friend Pugh, when we looked into the appealing eyes of Sherwood we could not resist. Our sympathies were aroused and we pleaded with the sheriff to turn them loose. He finally did so.

I might explain this visit to you. It was at the request of the sheriff of this county that we had the privilege of visiting this wonderful institution. It was a revelation to all of us and we enjoyed it very much.

You will observe that Brother Sherwood and Brother Pugh overlooked saying that they spoke for their wives. I am going to speak for them. I know that they convey to you the farewell greetings of their wives, just as they do their own. We have enjoyed the visit of all of them very, very much. It has been a real pleasure to form their acquaintance and to count them among our friends.

I know I voice your sentiments when I say that we wish for them a happy stay in our country, pleasant and happy experiences while they remain here, and a safe and happy return to their families and friends. In behalf of the delegates to the convention we bid you all good-bye.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Hanson, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Public Health

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 72, the committee reported as follows:

We recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor bring to the attention of the President of the United States the failure of the budget bureau to provide necessary funds for the Public Health Service. We feel great satisfaction in the work of President Green to secure an investigation of the harmfulness of the pneumatic hammer in its effects upon the workers. We commend the Harvard School program and recommend that efforts be continued to co-operate with the United States Health Service to secure sufficient congressional appropriation for industrial hygiene research so that the service might be able to maintain adequate research.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Health

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 94, the committee reported as follows:

One of the prominent activities of the A. F. of L. has been to create conditions that would conserve the physical and mental health of the children of our nation. To this end your committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council and urges that a joint resolution be presented to Congress asking the creation of May 1 as Child Health Day, and that all affiliated bodies seek to have their state legislatures approve May 1 as Child Health Day.

Trade Marks

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 76, the committee reported as follows:

We recommend that efforts be continued to secure the passage through Congress of a bill providing for the registration of union labels.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Child Labor

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, page 93, the committee reported as follows:

It is hardly conceivable that in America where we pride ourselves on a sense of fair play and decency that a campaign marked by misstatements and vituperation could have been conducted successfully even temporarily by the opponents of the child labor amendment. In most cases the opponents of the amendment masqueraded as patriots. Yet in spite of the funds at their disposal, in spite of their insidious propaganda and elaborate machinery for spreading their misrepresentations, they must ultimately fail in their efforts to keep the childhood of the nation in economic bondage.

Notwithstanding the fact that some states have amended their statutes raising the standards for school attendance and work protection, child labor has increased the past year. The opponents of the child labor amendment have failed to make good on their statement that progress would be made. It has been found that governors and other public officials who had demanded the right of the states to legislate on child labor just as actively opposed amendments to state labor laws as they did the proposed constitutional amendment. Most pernicious propaganda was sent to the various states against the amendment. Child labor has increased in twenty-four out of twenty-nine large industrial cities. Eight out of twelve states reported increases. This increase is a stain on America's national honor.

To make our work to bring about the ratification of the child labor amendment more effective, we recommend that the American Federation of Labor be empowered to enlist the fullest moral and financial support of its members in their efforts to rouse the conscience of America against the evil of child slavery.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE CLINEDINST (Ely Trades and Labor Council)

Mr. President and Delegates: I speak in support of the committee's report. I believe, if my memory serves me correctly, according to the Encyclopedia of the American Federation of Labor, this body went on record in 1884 declaring for an amendment to the United

States constitution for the prohibition of child labor. I am going to recite a few of the conditions in the various states, speaking from my own observation during the time I was supervising inspector in the United States Department of Labor, Child Labor Division, and Child Labor Division, Treasury Department.

I want to first call your attention to the fact that all of the child labor of the nation is not in the Southern states. I want to call your attention further to the fact that New England capital, with all of its fine laws in various states in New England, is moving South for the specific purpose of taking advantage of the oncoming generation of the Southern states.

I want to call your attention to a condition existing in a nearby state. Over in Utah, not many miles from us, violations of the previous federal child labor laws were found in every inspection made in the state of Utah. I take these states at random in order that you may realize the importance of national legislation for the protection of the children of the United States.

In Pennsylvania, in a conference held in Harrisburg, between the federal inspectors, the chief mine inspector and the chief factory inspector, they frankly admitted that no inspections had ever been made in the colliery breakers in the anthracite field, due to the fact that the two departments could not agree as to whose duty it was to make those inspections. One of our inspectors working in the anthracite field at that time found many violations, but there was so much feeling on the part of the coal operators that he was called to Washington and after a lengthy conference with various officials, I say to you that he never returned to complete the inspections in the coal fields of Pennsylvania.

In Pennsylvania there were hundreds of employment certificates suspended, the preachers and priests likewise were selling employment certificates to children under fourteen years of age for the price of twenty-five cents each.

In New Mexico the officials of the Labor Department very frankly admitted that New Mexico had passed a state child labor law conforming to the standards of the federal child labor law in order to keep the federal inspectors out of the state, and that no inspections had ever been made for violations of the child labor law in New Mexico.

In North Carolina, where the commissioner of labor had held office for fifteen years, he admitted that no inspection had ever been made of the mines and mills and factories and workshops; that a questionnaire had been sent out annually for the employer to state whether or not he was violating the state child labor laws.

In Georgia, so far as I know, with all the industries, the commissioner of labor has no assistance whatever, makes no

attempt whatever to make inspections in the mills and shops and factories.

I realize that the time is growing short. I call attention to various sections of the United States. In Indiana we found a condition existing similar to the conditions in Pennsylvania, where the preachers and priests were selling certificates to the children in violation of the state and federal law, for the price of twenty-five cents each.

I take these states from various sections in order that you may go back home, that you may carry the message back to your people of the importance of labor taking a decided stand and putting the best that is in us for the ratification of the proposed child labor amendment. Let us bear in mind at all times that the proposed child labor amendment was an enabling act, and even though ratified by the necessary thirty-six states will have no effect whatever until Congress takes such action as they deem necessary. So I urge you, on behalf of the greatest asset the nation has, to go back home and work for the freedom of the child slaves of this nation.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Will the remarks just made by the delegate be printed verbatim in today's proceedings? If not, I want to make a motion to that effect.

President Green: They will be.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Authorizing Provision for Regional Directors for Workers' Education Bureau

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates John E. Gross, Colorado State Federation of Labor, and Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at previous conventions has given its whole-hearted approval of workers' education and of the program of the Workers' Education Bureau; and

WHEREAS, Further experience offers convincing evidence of the value to the workers and their movement for emancipation from low wages, untoward working conditions and long hours of labor, of that knowledge to be secured by the formation of workers' study classes and labor institutes; and

WHEREAS, Such a movement to be wholly successful requires the services of regional or state directors, men or women who are qualified both from the standpoint of acquaintanceship with the real problems of the worker and with the unions of workers and their programs; and

WHEREAS, In most instances city and state central labor bodies, being voluntary associations of delegates representing affiliated local unions, are without the power to assess their affiliates to carry

on this very important work of education; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this work can best be conducted with regard to the proper selection of such regional or state educational directors by some central agency, whether that agency be the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or the Workers' Education Bureau acting under and with its authority and with the approval and support of the various national and international unions comprising the American Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the forty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1927, that we again voice our approval of workers' education and authorize the President of the American Federation of Labor, in conference with the Workers' Education Bureau, to devise ways and means by which State and Regional Directors may be selected; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give careful consideration to the raising of any additional funds made necessary by this designation of Educational Directors, such directors to be financed only for localities or states where it is impractical for any reason for the state or locality to finance such undertaking; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That any regional or State Director so chosen shall be qualified to interpret the principles of our recognized labor movement, as well as qualified from an educational standpoint, shall become members of the American Federation of Teachers and maintain such membership while employed in that capacity, and shall be designated as Volunteer Organizers of the American Federation of Labor — to receive such stipend as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor may determine.

The subject matter of this resolution was given careful consideration by your committee, which agrees with the general spirit of this resolution and has so stated in its report on Workers' Education Bureau. It does not find itself in agreement with the methods proposed and therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organized Labor Should Be Properly Represented on Administrative and Advisory Boards Directing Vocational Education Programs

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry E. Schmal of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always advocated adequate provision under public control for the education and training of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was largely instrumental in the initiation of publicly-controlled programs of Vocational Education; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has continued to support and to cooperate in the development of such programs; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always stood for the maintenance of the standards of the trade and for the proper selection and further training of those preparing to enter the trade, as well as for the widest opportunity for those already employed, to secure additional education and training at public expense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses such programs of vocational education wherever such programs are so organized and conducted that organized labor is properly represented on national, state and local administrative and advisory boards directing such educational programs.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 87.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Organizations to Deposit Records of Trade Union History at A. F. of L. Headquarters for Availability to Students and Authors

Resolution No. 88 — By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, It is important that histories, text books and other literature which have a formative influence on national life be written so as to give due weight to economic, industrial and labor developments, as well as political events, and that the panorama of history be so presented as to give a true picture of social development; and

WHEREAS, Adequate records of trade union history are essential to furnish material for this literature; and

WHEREAS, Numbers of valuable union records are now unavailable to students and authors because they are scattered among innumerable local and international unions, city central and state bodies, and private individuals, where their existence is known only to a few; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Education be authorized to provide for the safekeeping of these records in American Federation of Labor headquarters and to urge all unions and individuals to send to this central repository their records of union developments, whether in the form of letters, clippings from periodicals, publi-

cations of their unions, literature for distribution, etc.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Education be directed to maintain its work of examining text books for use in the public schools and conferring with authors so that it may further a fair and fully-rounded presentation of social, economic and political history; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Workers' Education Bureau be requested to arrange for the compilation of histories of the different trade unions.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 88 be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Legislation Restricting Teachings in Public Schools

Resolution No. 98 — By Delegates Florence C. Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers and Mary C. Baker of the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

WHEREAS, There have been adopted in many localities measures which seek to prevent the teaching of factative data and the examination of theories in the natural and social sciences in our public schools and colleges; and

WHEREAS, Such restrictive measures are a serious menace to our American traditions and our American constitutional principles, for they deny the right of freedom of thought and freedom of speech; and

WHEREAS, There is in these restrictions on academic freedom also a serious menace to the basic democratic principles upon which our government is founded, for such restrictions imply the right of those temporarily in control of the machinery of state to determine the social, political and religious views not only of the community as then constituted, but also, the right to prevent future citizens from forming their own views on these subjects; and

WHEREAS, Such academic restrictions are fundamentally unpatriotic in principle, unsocial in practice and unsound in educational theory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does oppose in principle the enactment of any legislation or regulation which would seek to prevent the teaching of true facts and the examination of theories in the natural and social sciences in our public schools and colleges; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it does pledge its active support to fight such un-American attacks upon our schools.

It is the understanding of the committee that there have been several

pronouncements on this subject by the A. F. of L. in the past. Therefore, we recommend the reference of this resolution to the permanent Committee on Education for such consideration and report through the Executive Council to the next convention as seems warranted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Aid to Re-establish Public Schools in Flood Stricken Areas

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates Florence C. Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers and Mary C. Baker of the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

WHEREAS, The great flood disaster has left many of our people homeless and in dire need; and

WHEREAS, Immediate relief may minister to the physical needs of these stricken people; and

WHEREAS, The general help which we feel the federal government should and will give to these poor people may be delayed; and

WHEREAS, The schools and school children have suffered tremendously by this disaster; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledge itself actively to work to secure general federal aid from Congress for the sufferers in our devastated areas; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we work immediately to secure federal aid in building up the schools, and in securing the general re-establishment of the public school system in these areas to the end that permanent harm may not be done to the citizens of tomorrow as well as those of today.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 99.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Creative Education

Under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Organized labor regards education as a means to a nobler and better life. It takes pride not only in the part it has played in making possible publicly supported schools, but in its progressive educational outlook. After a survey of our educational system, the A. F. of L. believes the time has arrived for a thoroughgoing reconstruction of our educational aims, methods and curricula so as to bring them in harmony with present-

day life. Such a change will make it possible for our schools to function more effectively in the preparation of boys and girls for social living.

It, therefore, recommends to the sympathetic but critical study of individual members and of educational committees, of such modification of traditional curricula, subject matter and methods as tend toward allowing the child more individual development and toward developing in him social awareness and civic conscience.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hanson, Secretary of the Committee: This completes the report of the Committee on Education, which is submitted and signed:

JAMES P. NOONAN, Chairman;
FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON, Secretary;

JOHN H. WALKER,
THOS. F. KEARNEY,
H. C. GRIFFIN,
HENRY F. SCHMAL,
THOMAS FARRELL,
THOMAS E. BURKE,
M. O. VAN DE WATER,
WM. R. TROTTER,
A. O. WHARTON,
R. H. KOCH,
JOHN B. HAGGERTY,
LEWIS BOWEN,
B. M. JEWELL.

Committee on Education.

The report of the Committee on Education was adopted as a whole as read, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions of the convention yesterday afternoon, the following telegram was sent to Vice President Duncan:

Los Angeles, California.
October 13, 1927.

James Duncan, First Vice President,
American Federation of Labor,
25 Gilmore Street,
Quincy, Mass.

The Forty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor this afternoon unanimously re-elected you First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and directed the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to advise you of your unanimous re-election and to again convey the good wishes of the convention and express the hope that you may be speedily restored to health.

FRANK MORRISON.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Washington, D. C.,
October 13, 1927.

American Federation of Labor
Convention,
Los Angeles, Calif.

I take pleasure in transmitting to you the following resolution, unanimously adopted this day, October 13th: "Resolved, That the biennial general conference of the American Unitarian Association, representing both laity and ministers of our churches, now assembled at Washington, D. C., sends its greetings to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor and wishes them success in their deliberations."

GEORGE G. DAVIS,
Executive Secretary.

President Green: The telegram will be received and, if there is no objection, it will be incorporated in today's proceedings, and the Secretary instructed to make suitable reply. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

President Green: The Secretary will please read this communication, addressed to the convention for incorporation in our minutes.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

**AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF
STREET AND ELECTRIC RAIL-
WAY EMPLOYEES OF
AMERICA**

Detroit, Mich., Oct. 4, 1927.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Alexandria Hotel,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Brother Green—I am enclosing herein a transcript of resolution adopted at the twentieth convention of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, held at Birmingham, Alabama, September 12-19, 1927.

As secretary of the convention I was instructed to convey this resolution to the officials of the American Federation of Labor.

With best wishes and hopeful that the A. F. of L. convention will be harmonious, in the interest of the American labor movement and for future constructive work, I am

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) R. L. REEVES.

**Resolution Bearing Expression of
Appreciation of the American
Federation of Labor**

WHEREAS, The continued co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, through its executives and general and local organizers, was brought to the attention of this convention by the report of the international presi-

dent, with the recommendation that we express our thanks; therefore,

RESOLVED, That we appreciate the assistance that has been rendered our association during the past two years' term by the American Federation of Labor, and we feel grateful towards its officers and organizers for the helpful service they have given.

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our fealty to the American Federation of Labor as the most advanced expression of the rights, hopes and aspirations of the workers the world has ever known, and the most prolific in practical results, and the unyielding faith we have always had in the American Federation of Labor as a humanizing agency remains as firm as during the thirty-five years of our existence that we have been part of the great American labor movement.

**AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF
STREET AND ELECTRIC RAIL-
WAY EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA,
IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED AT
BIRMINGHAM, ALA., THE 19TH
DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1927.**

R. L. REEVES,
Convention Secretary.

President Green: The Chair feels inspired to express, in behalf of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, our deep appreciation of the action of the convention of the Amalgamated Association of the Street and Electric Railway Employees. The expression of appreciation of the delegates in attendance at that convention of the service rendered by the American Federation of Labor, its local organizers and officers, is both heartening and gratifying. Furthermore, the expression of the delegates of their renewed loyalty and devotion to the American Federation of Labor is, I am sure, highly appreciated by the officers and members of the Federation.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTER-
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS**

Delegate Perkins, chairman of the committee: The Committee on International Labor Relations is ready to report. With your permission it will do so through its secretary, Matthew Woll.

Vice President Woll, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Pan-American Congress

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above

caption, pages 38 and 39, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is in entire accord with the statements and declarations made by the Executive Council in that section of its report under the caption "Pan-American Congress," pages 38 and 39. Your committee is of the opinion that peaceful relations can best be achieved and maintained by sympathetic understanding rather than by war. We know of no better means to bring about this understanding than the Pan-American Congress.

The Pan-American Congress is in fact "a power against imperialism and exploitation" and is a ready means of bringing together people in geographical areas representing a definite unity, which makes for the good of society as a whole. The American Federation of Labor was largely responsible in creating the Pan-American Congress and was a helpful potential force in organizing the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

We heartily concur in this part of the Executive Council's report and recommend its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention" your committee is impressed with its importance to labor and mankind in general not only in the United States but in Mexico and in the republics in the southern part of Continental America.

We have listened to and read endless speeches and articles on the rights of man and the abuse of and denial of these rights when they apply to the economic and material welfare and the progress of working men and women, and the remedies, some of which while noble in thought and intention fall short of supplying that which in the judgment of your committee is the real, fundamental remedy. Your committee declares that it neither holds nor raises any criticism of the activi-

ties of our federated fellow trade unionists in Pan-America or elsewhere. We, however, feel that we are within the rights of and in accord with the ethics of propriety in here reaffirming one of the underlying, outstanding, demonstrated philosophies of the American Federation of Labor which it declared thirty years or more ago. It declared that the economic, political and social well being of all the peoples of any nation depends upon the consuming power of the masses and it has since been proved to the satisfaction of all economists, lecturers and others who are free to give expression to their sentiments.

We, moreover, call attention to the undisputed fact that there is no power on earth by which this consuming power can be maintained and enlarged except by and through the activities of the trade union movement. For this good and sufficient reason we feel at liberty to recommend that the workers in Pan-American countries and elsewhere devote more and more time and attention and study to the trade union movement, which in the final analysis makes for prosperity, improves their economic power and stabilizes remunerative employment.

Your committee took note of the fact that the Executive Council appointed the following delegates to attend the Pan-American Federation of Labor convention in the city of Washington, D. C.: William Green, Frank Morrison, Matthew Woll, James Wilson, James P. Noonan.

The other Pan-American countries were represented by:

Mexican Federation of Labor—Luis M. Morones, Eduardo Moneda, Samuel O. Yudico, Canuto A. Vargas, Emilio Barragan.

Panama Federation of Labor—Leopoldo Cordero Ayala and Carlos Alfredo de la Guardia.

Venezuelan Labor Union—N. Flores Gabrera, B. Suarez, George Pigeon, Ricardo A. Martinez and Luis Munoz Marin.

Guatemala Federation of Labor—Andres H. Morales, Jose Felix Quintana and Manuel Tribouiller, representing Confederation of Labor Unions of the West Coast of Guatemala.

Nicaragua Labor Federation—Solomon de la Selva, Victor M. Mercado, Rogelio de la Selva, Adan Torres Guerrero and Tranquillino Saenz.

Peru Federation of Artisans—Luis Roberto Rios Castell, and from Assembly of United Societies of Peru—Amador Benavides.

Dominican Federation of Labor—W. Medrano, Jr., Moises Ruiz and Manuel Pazos.

Cuba Railroad Brotherhood—Oscar Diaz Perez, Enrique Ferrer Perez and Miguel Andres Delgado Alonso and Juan Arevalo Viettes, representing the Association of the Sugar Industry Workers.

Republica de Colombia — Eduardo Illera, Directorio Obrero de Bolivar.

Porto Rican Federation of Labor—Santiago Iglesias Pantin, Pedro San Miguel and J. M. Vialdi.

Honduras Federation of Labor—Zoroastro Montes de Oca.

San Salvador Federation of Labor—David Ruiz.

The Republics of Costa Rica, Bolivia, Ecuador and Argentina elected delegates who failed to attend because of financial reasons and difficulties of transportation.

The Haiti Republic elected delegates who started but were prevented from making the trip.

Only three republics failed to elect delegates — Uruguay, Paraguay and Brazil.

Your committee finds itself in thorough accord with the notion that friendly relations should be maintained by the nations of continental America and that disputed questions should be adjusted by and through peaceful methods and by friendly intercourse, rather than by war. We are not pacifists. We stand ready to fight for our political rights. We are ready to strike for our economic rights in cases where our just demands in disputed questions are denied or if our opponents will not or do not meet us in a more friendly and peaceful method of settlement. We deplore, yes, abhor, destructive warfare on the economic field of endeavor, as well as on the political field, in the settlement of all disputed questions, but we should never surrender the right to fight or strike if honor, justice, freedom and self-preservation cannot be otherwise preserved.

We reiterate and reaffirm that no country can be fully free politically until its workers are also economically free, and through its unions have the right and strength to enforce its economic rights, to maintain fair and righteous demands for fair wages, hours of labor and working conditions.

A reference to the delegates' report, printed in full in the Executive Council's report, will show that President Green in welcoming the delegates to the convention said in part:

"We are interested in raising the standards of life and living among working people. We wish to encourage the workers represented in the Pan-American Federation of Labor to mobilize and develop their economic strength so that it may be intelligently and constructively used in furthering their general common welfare in the interest of men, women and children dependent upon the working people of all these countries," and that "we proceed from an unselfish and altruistic point of view."

Further: "We seek only an opportunity to serve humanity and to help men and women to live a fuller, freer and better life."

He well said: "Organization is a primary requirement if working men and women are to contend successfully with the forces of opposition."

In concluding, he said: "I cannot conclude this address of welcome without referring to the passing of our great leader, my distinguished predecessor, he who presided for a short time over the deliberations of the Fourth Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention held in Mexico City. I imagine that you miss him more than words can express, and that it seems but yesterday since you met him at the Mexico City Convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. I think I can truthfully say that the Pan-American Federation of Labor is really the child of President Gompers. He firmly believed that it would serve as an instrumentality to the furtherance of the economic welfare of the workers and in the preservation of peace among the nations on the American continent."

The report submitted by our delegates shows that thirty-six resolutions were introduced and that the outstanding ones that were favorably acted upon are mentioned in their report. These resolutions touched upon and dealt with the outstanding issues confronting not only the peoples of the republics to our south, but are of vital interest to the working men and women of our own country, especially those dealing with regulation of investors of capital in the Pan-American countries; the appointment by the respective governments of labor attaches in embassies and legations of all countries; interchange of communications between the labor centers of Pan-America; distribution of labor literature; the building of Columbus lighthouse in the Dominican Republic; in favor of peace between na-

tions; regarding interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine; that the Pan-American Congress reaffirm its declaration that a commission be sent to the Latin-American countries for the purpose of helping the organization of the workers, and furthermore, proposed that the expenses for such a mission be shared through contributions by the labor organizations affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor in such proportions and amounts as the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor may determine.

Our thanks are hereby expressed to the delegates for the able manner in which they represented the American Federation of Labor and for their instructive report and action, in which we fully concur.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice President Woll: I take the liberty, not as secretary of the committee, but in behalf of the Executive Council, to present a communication in connection with the report submitted on Monday of this week dealing with the investigation made by the Executive Council of the relations between the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Mexican government. On page 268 of the proceedings of this convention reference is made to an alleged agreement understood to exist or to have existed between the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Mexican government.

The Executive Council, in making that investigation, directed a communication to President Calles, asking whether that allegation was correct or not and if such agreement had been entered into. Since the opening of the convention a communication has been received from the office of President Calles, signed by his secretary, F. Torreblanca, which reads as follows:

Dear Sir—By recommendation of the president of the republic I beg to refer to your letter of August 30 past, to inform you that said high executive has read the contents of your letter and the inclosed document you mentioned, which is completely spurious, and it forms part of the campaign of calumnies that the enemies of the government of Mexico have been spreading since long time ago.

Without any other particular matter, I remain

Very truly yours,
(Signed) F. TORREBLANCA.

(Seal)

SECRETARIO DE INDUSTRIA,
COMMERCCIO Y TRABAJO,
MEXICO

September 9, 1927.

Senor Matthew Woll,
Fifth Vice President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

Muy estimado companero:
(Translation)

I beg to inform you that the document you kindly sent me with your letter of August 30th is spurious.

Saluting you affectionately,
(Signed) L. MORONES.

This is, of course, a direct denial that any such agreement as has been alleged by those unfriendly to Mexico has ever been entered into between the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Mexican government.

President Green: The communication just read by Secretary Woll will be incorporated in the proceedings of the convention for such information as may be helpful to the delegates and the membership of organized labor.

International Federation of Trade Unions

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 104, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "International Federation of Trade Unions" the Executive Council's report, on page 104, says in part: "Our Detroit convention expressed the hope that eventually a mutually satisfactory basis for re-affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions would be developed." We regret that as yet we cannot report any progress toward that desired end. A perusal of the report will show a part of the correspondence that passed between President Green and Secretary Oudegeest.

Your committee calls attention to the fundamental points upon which the American Federation of Labor based its withdrawal from the International Federation of Trade Unions. When the American Federation of Labor affiliated to the International Federation of

Trade Unions its laws provided that no resolution committing the various countries represented to any fundamental proposition or question could be adopted except by unanimous consent of each country represented. After the World War this procedure and others were reconstructed and the provision that important questions and resolutions could not be adopted without the consent of all the countries was entirely changed and the new procedure provided that all questions could be settled by majority votes and, in addition, created an executive committee with authority to act during the recess between conventions. In addition to this the per capita tax was considerably increased.

Under these new rules and regulations the American Federation of Labor in order to maintain its right to shape its own course of action, deemed it necessary to retire. At that time, in convention, through the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, we said, "The workers overseas in all lands need our counsel. We welcome theirs. We concede the right of their trade union movements to fix their own standards and their own method of development as best suits their own judgment and action. But our trade union movement reserves the right to fix our economic standards, our political destinies and social status in our own way and in accord with our principles, predicated upon the past, the present, and our optimistic, hopeful anticipation of a better, brighter and richer life for all workers who give material service."

The American Federation of Labor demands, and rightfully so, self-determination of all political matters and the abolition of all authority of the executive committee and the management committee except in instructions issued by the regular convention of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and that no decision be regarded as conclusive unless the same has been adopted by unanimous vote.

Your committee finds itself in full accord with the Executive Council's action and report, and recommends that it continue its efforts to reach satisfactory arrangements, by which

we can reaffiliate with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Geneva Economic Conference

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 108, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Geneva Economic Conference," beginning on page 108 of the Executive Council report, we note with approval that President Green suggested for appointment one so well qualified to represent Labor in this important conference. The Executive Council, on page 109 of its report, prints excerpts from Mr. Frey's report which we find instructive and interesting, and recommend them for your perusal and information.

We commend the action of President Green in this connection and recommend your endorsement and approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cuban Labor

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 105 and 106, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Cuban Labor," pages 105 and 106 of the Executive Council's report, your committee commends the action of the Executive Council and that of President Green, as portrayed in the foregoing. We are prompted to say that the leaders and representatives of organized wage earners, regardless of location, should be free to exercise rights and methods that lead to successful organization. Our sympathies and encouragements are with wage earners wherever located in their efforts to organize in the constructive trades union movement.

We are in full accord with the action of the Executive Council and President Green. We commend them for their action and recommend approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Third Pan-American Commercial Conference

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 106, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Third Pan-American Commercial Conference," beginning on page 106 of the Executive Council report, your committee notes with approval the action of the Executive Council in continuing its participation in these conferences in cooperation with the United States Government; also the appointment by the President of the United States of Vice President Matthew Woll, on the recommendation of President Green, as the delegate to represent the American Federation of Labor in the third and recent conference.

We are in accord that labor should be accorded representation in these conferences, and, moreover, we are in accord with the resolution introduced by Representative Woll:

"WHEREAS, Trade, commerce and finance are designed to enhance labor service, promote production, encourage manufacture and increase consumption and, combined, are all intended to serve human needs, lessen the burden of life and labor, and to provide increasingly for human happiness and well-being;

"RESOLVED, That this conference recommends including in the agenda for consideration at future conferences the subject of improving the material standards of life and labor of the masses of the people of the respective countries."

We are pleased to note that the purpose and object of this resolution was fully concurred in by the U. S. delegation and approved by the Third Pan-American Commercial Conference. In view of this action, we urge that President Green and the Executive Council impress on all Latin-American labor movements the necessity of having their respective governments select labor representatives to the next and all subsequent Pan-American Conferences. We further recommend approval of this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Australian Industrial Commission

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 101, the committee reported as follows:

Under the caption "Australian Industrial Commission," Executive Council Report, page 101, your committee notes with approval the action of the

Executive Council in receiving the Australian Industrial Commission on its visit to Washington during the past year. We concur in the opinion and judgment of the Executive Council that differences of opinion between labor organizations in the selection of labor representatives is a matter to be adjusted by the representatives in such countries and that the American Federation of Labor should not be called on to decide internal disputes between the labor representatives of such countries.

We are in full accord with the Executive Council report and recommend approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice President Woll: This completes the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

GEORGE W. PERKINS,
Chairman;
MATTHEW WOLL,
Secretary.

MAX HAYES,
JAMES WILSON,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
B. A. LARGER,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
JOHN H. WALKER,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
J. J. HYNES,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
SARA CONBOY,
E. J. MCGIVERN,
EDWARD J. GAINOR,
ALBERT ADAMSKI,
EDWARD J. EVANS,
JOHN COFIELD,
MICHAEL J. CASEY,
WILLIAM GREEN,

Committee on International Labor Relations.

The report of the Committee on International Labor Relations as a whole was adopted, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 103—By Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The delegates, officers and guests of the Forty-seventh Annual

Convention of the American Federation of Labor have enjoyed a most hearty welcome at the hands of the organized labor movement and the people generally of Los Angeles and vicinity and the State of California; and

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of Los Angeles and vicinity rendered untiring service to the convention throughout its sessions and provided for the entertainment and comfort of the delegates and visitors with most cordial hospitality and efficiency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention, on behalf of the delegates and officers and their wives and other members of their families accompanying them, and also on behalf of all guests and visitors, tender most hearty thanks to the trade unionists and other citizens of Los Angeles and vicinity and of the State of California and to the following:

Hon. C. C. Young, Governor of the State of California.

Hon. Geo. E. Cryer, Mayor of Los Angeles.

Hon. Hiram Johnson, United States Senator from California.

The City Council of Los Angeles.

Right Reverend Monsignor John McCarthy.

Reverend Dr. E. P. Ryland, secretary Los Angeles Church Federation.

Hon. Buron Fitts, Lieutenant Governor of the State of California.

Hon. William F. Bonnell, Acting Mayor and President of the City Council of Los Angeles.

Col. Jason S. Joy, Director of Public Relations of the Association of Motion Picture Producers.

A. F. of L. Convention Arrangements Committee

Collins Hardin, Chairman; H. E. Garman, Vice-Chairman; John S. Horn, Treasurer; J. W. Buzzell, Secretary; C. J. Hyans, Assistant Secretary.

Los Angeles Central Labor Council

A. W. Hoch, John F. Dalton, Anna Peterson, F. C. Carothers, John S. Horn, J. W. Buzzell, Roy Barber.

Los Angeles Metal Trades Council

M. A. Koch, Wm. Elliott, L. A. Parker.

Los Angeles Building Trades Council
Collins Hardin, Paul Kenney, P. J. Geraghty.

Los Angeles Allied Printing Trades Council

W. E. Steineck, Guy Merwin, H. E. Garman.

District Council of Carpenters

J. C. Blair, J. H. Hart, L. R. McGarry.

Women's Central Committee

Mrs. D. McCoy, Mrs. Ida Donald, Mrs. Herminia Warner.

Long Beach Central Labor Council, Harvey C. Fremming.

San Pedro Central Labor Council, L. R. Jackson.

Glendale Central Labor Council, John K. Sands.

Pasadena Central Labor Council, Harry A. Huff.

Symphony Orchestra of Musicians, Local Union No. 47, of Los Angeles, California.

Further, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention also tender its thanks to all others who have aided to make the stay of the delegates, guests and visitors pleasant and agreeable, and that the thanks of the convention be also tendered to the press.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

Secretary Olander: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

MATTHEW WOLL,
Chairman;
VICTOR A. OLANDER,
Secretary;

G. W. PERKINS,
B. A. LARGER,
A. A. MYRUP,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
GEO. W. LEWIS,
THOMAS L. HUGHES,
DAVE EVANS,
P. J. MORRIN,
GEORGE F. HEDRICK,
JOHN COEFIELD,
CHARLES P. HOWARD,
JOE WEBER,
P. J. SHEA,
JOSEPH W. MORTON,
Committee on Resolutions.

The report as a whole was adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: All the committees created by the convention have submitted their full, final and complete reports. All of these reports have been considered and acted upon. The Chair desires to express to all the committees sincere appreciation of the service rendered. The work they have performed has been very valuable indeed. All the committees who served the convention are discharged with the thanks of the officers and delegates.

Fraternal Delegate Farmilo was not present a while ago when the other fraternal delegates said good-bye. He is here now, so I will call upon him to say a word of farewell or a word of good-bye.

Fraternal Delegate Farmilo: Mr. President and Brothers—My stay with you has been very pleasant, and it has certainly been very profitable to me. I wish to express my very, very sincere thanks for the many kindnesses that have been shown me by the delegates assembled, the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and especially the Local Committee who made it possible for us to see many things and understand more about this great country.

It will be indeed a great pleasure for me to carry back to the trade unionists of our international unions in the Dominion of Canada the kindly feelings that you have shown towards them, the consideration of their welfare, the consideration of their welfare as members of the same organizations as yourselves, and that desire to further strengthen our movement in order that we might bring about greater changes in the interests of the working men and women of this great continent of ours.

It has been a great pleasure for me to attend this convention. It has enabled me to get the atmosphere of the trade unionists on this side of the line. I have seen you at work striving to bring about those changes which are so essential to the welfare of mankind, and having had first hand information and knowledge, and when matters come before us that may be questioned from time to time we trust we may be able to give them the correct viewpoint and the correct understanding as to your desires and wishes.

I wish you God-speed in your work,

and may we live to be able to attend many more of these conventions, because they are both educational and helpful, not only to the trade unionists, but to our two great nations.

PRESIDENT GREEN

It now appears that the work of the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor is completed, and it becomes the duty of the presiding officer to bring this most wonderfully interesting and constructive convention to a conclusion. It seems to me quite appropriate, in performing this pleasant duty, to refer to just one or two matters of profound interest.

This, to me, has been a most wonderful convention, and I feel that the officers and delegates, those of us who represent a great constituency, can consider ourselves very fortunate indeed in that we have been permitted to participate in the deliberations of the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It has been a wonderful opportunity for us to understand, as never before, the great work and the possibility and potentiality of this great American labor movement.

I have frequently said in brief addresses that I have made that there is no university in our land that can offer such a course in economics as the American Federation of Labor convention. The lectures, if I may dignify the discussion as that, and I think I can, the lectures, the addresses, the discussion, the subject matter dealt with are all of such educational and constructive character as to give to all who come here and listen and participate in our work a new point of view and understanding of our great undertaking, of our great work.

This has been really a most constructive convention. I want to refer to one outstanding achievement. I refer to the work of the Building Trades Department, that branch of the American Federation of Labor that represents in a most peculiar way the men in the building trades industry. I am happy indeed that this great convention made it possible for that

influential organization, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, to become reaffiliated with the Building Trades Department.

That outstanding piece of constructive work took place in the city of Los Angeles. For six years the membership of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America were not affiliated with the Building Trades Department, but they came back home here. Developments were of such a character that they could come back. They are now affiliated; they are where they belong. All who are members of the Building Trades Department are made happy, and we go from here out into our chosen field and out into our work with a greater degree of solidarity and unity than ever existed before in the Building Trades Department.

I want to officially express my deep appreciation of this achievement, and I am happy to go from Los Angeles with the Building Trades Department solidified and united as perhaps never before.

I think the work of this convention has tended toward a greater degree of efficiency, of understanding, of unity, and of co-operation. We go from here inspired to work as never before. We go out to face all our problems with a constructive program laid down by the American Federation of Labor, and I believe we will do more efficient work during the year 1928 than we have ever done before, because we go out with renewed courage, with renewed hope, with unfaltering steps. We are going out to carry out the mandates of this convention, to carry the message to those on the outside, to acquaint the public with our aims and purposes, and

last, but not least, to take an active part in the political campaign that will be waged in the year 1928.

In conclusion, may I express to the officers and delegates to this convention my thanks and appreciation for the support and co-operation they gave me as the presiding officer during all the sessions of this convention. May I express, finally, to the committee on arrangements representing the organized labor movement of Los Angeles the sincere thanks of this convention for their hospitality, for their kindness and for their co-operation. To all the working men and women of this section of Southern California, may we leave with them this assurance, that our interest is here, we brought it here, we leave it here, and wherever we work may the men and women who live and work here understand that we are as much interested in their social and economic welfare as we are in the workers of any other section of the country.

May I say to the representatives of the churches, of the civic bodies, of the city administration, to all, that we express our sincere appreciation of their kindness, their co-operation, their good will and their support.

And now, in conclusion, in this dramatic moment, I bring the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to an official close and declare it adjourned *sine die*.

At 12:20 o'clock p. m., Friday, October 14, 1927, the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned *sine die*.

Frank Morrison.

Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.

C. E. Tracy.

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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